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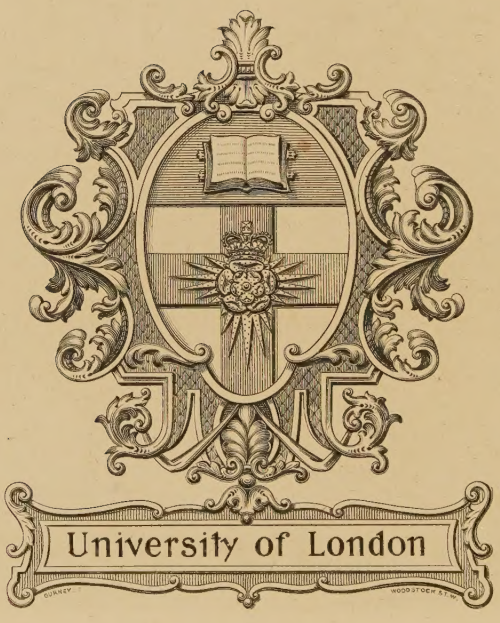

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WILLIAM IV.

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MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—

Moved, "That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 328

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 202, Noes 129; Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 310.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill [Bill 385]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 26th November*] 328

After long time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Land Charges Registration and Searches Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 356]

Bill, as amended, *considered* 455

Bill to be read the third time upon *Thursday.*

Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) Bill [Bill 381]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 455

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 6th December.

County Courts' Appeals (Ireland) Bill [Bill 367]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 456

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

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Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Jackson*) .. 456

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.* [2.45.]

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[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

QUESTIONS.

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CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARREST OF JOHN HICKEY, WITHOUT WARRANT, AT KILCROHANE, CO. CORK—Questions, Mr. Gilhooly, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 489

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXTRA POLICE FORCE IN THE QUEEN'S CO.—Question, Mr. Lalor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 490

THE TRUCK ACTS—DEDUCTION FROM WAGES, BALBRIGGAN—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 491

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CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—TRIAL OF MR. E. WALSH—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 528

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1882—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE) — LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh*) .. 529

After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 159, Noes 195; Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 316.)

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—Observation, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 558

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill [Bill 385]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time" 558

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Dr. Clark.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 202, Noes 141; Majority 61.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 581

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 348]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 583

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, with an Amendment; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next. [12.5.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30. *Page*

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate, [House adjourned] [4.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

QUESTIONS.

Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commission Court at Keady, Co. Armagh —Question, Mr. Blane; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 587

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South Africa (Bechuanaland)—Questions, Sir John Colomb, Mr. W. A. M'Arthur; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 589

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Crime and Outrage (Ireland)—Death of —— Drake, Kingscourt—Question, Mr. Mahony; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 596

Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885—Sale of Land in Meath—Question, Mr. Mahony; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 597

Irish Land Commission—Fair Rents—Ordnance Maps—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 597

Irish Land Commission — Fair Rents, Ulster — Applications and Awards—Questions, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Lea; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 598

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Royal Irish Constabulary—Removal of a Placard at Cooraclare, Co. Clare—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 600

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CUSTOMS OFFICERS, GLASGOW—OFFICIAL HOURS—Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) .. 602

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—RIOT AT CLASHMORE—CASE OF HUGH MATHESON, COTTAR — Questions, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 602

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JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—SIR BARNES PEACOCK—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 609

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BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) [Further Questions thereon] 611

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—

Moved, "That the Proceedings on the Committee of Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House,"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith*) 614

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 167, Noes 117; Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 318.)

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £139,510, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury' 614

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued*.

After debate, *Moved*, "That Item A, Superannuation Allowances, be reduced by the sum of £500, in respect of Diplomatic Pensions," —(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed 679

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £138,510, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 81, Noes 114 ; Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 319.)

Original Question again proposed 689

After short debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £139,180, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Hunter :*)—After further short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 69, Noes 126 ; Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 320.)

Original Question again proposed 692

Moved, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith :*)—Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 130, Noes 75 ; Majority 55.—(Div. List, No. 321.)

Original Question put accordingly, "That a sum, not exceeding £139,510, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury :"—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 145, Noes 72 ; Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 322.)

(2.) £4,400, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 693

(3.) £488,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 694

(4.) £13, to complete the sum for Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Registry.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 700

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £338, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for certain Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances in Great Britain" 701

After debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £238, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Picton :*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £422, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Portrait Gallery" .. 711

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 60, Noes 133 ; Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 323.)

Original Question again proposed 718

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Grants in Aid of the Expenditure of certain Learned Societies in Great Britain and Ireland" 719

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,900, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Dr. Clark :*)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question again proposed 722

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(8.) £4,852, to complete the sum for London University.

(9.) £7,000, to complete the sum for Universities and Colleges, Grants in Aid.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 724

(10.) £1,000, to complete the sum for Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 727

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jackson :*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

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MOTIONS.

Sand Grouse Protection Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir George Trevelyan, Lord Charles Beresford, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Henry James, Mr. Richard Power, Sir Edward Birkbeck, Mr. Broadhurst*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 391] 729

Tribunals of Commerce Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Jacoby, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Montagu, Mr. James Maclean, Mr. Esslemont*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 392] .. 729

ADJOURNMENT—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Jackson*) .. 729
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*. [1.35.]

COMMONS, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1.

MOTION.

SITTING OF THE HOUSE (SATURDAY)—
Moved, "That the Sitting of the House this day be held subject to the Rules and Orders in force with regard to the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 731

NAILERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1888—STANDING ORDER 27 (DISORDERLY CONDUCT)—MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM ORDERED TO WITHDRAW—Questions, Mr. Cunninghame Graham, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 732

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £46,260, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad" .. 734
After debate, *Moved*, "That Item A, Salaries, &c., be reduced by the sum of £500, part of the Salary of the Agent in Egypt,"—(*Mr. John Morley*:)—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 101, Noes 136; Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 324.)
Original Question again proposed 807
After short debate, it being half after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

PRIVILEGE.

SERVICE OF A SUMMONS IN THE OUTER LOBBY ON MR. SHEEHY, M.P.—LETTERS POSTED TO MEMBERS OF THIS HOUSE—Observations, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton) 812
Ordered, That the said Letters be referred to the Select Committee on Privilege (Service of a Summons in the Outer Lobby on Mr. Sheehy, M.P.).

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [30th November] *reported* 148

(1.) £139,510, (Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.)

After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out "£139,510," in order to insert "£138,310,"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That '£139,510' stand part of the Resolution:"—After further short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.* [6.30.]

LORDS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 3.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 3.

QUESTIONS.

IRISH LAND COURT—JUDICIAL RENTS—APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 821

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—RIVER BANN TRUSTEES—Question, Mr. Pinkerton; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 822

METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE—COMPENSATIONS AND PENSIONS—Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, Mr. Tatton Egerton .. 823

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF—REDUNDANT CLERKS—Questions, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 823

PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENTS OF THIS HOUSE—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) .. 824

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ARTILLERY VOLUNTEER CORPS—Question, Mr. Coghill; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 825

INDIA—LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF NUTHOO WILSON—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 825

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—DONALD MACLEOD—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 826

SCOTLAND—ROAD TRUSTEES OF WESTERN ARDNAMURCHAN—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) .. 827

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—FISHERY PIER AT SCHULL, CO. CORK—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 828

CRIMINAL LAW—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—THE CONVICTS BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY—Questions, Mr. Milvain, Mr. H. Gardner, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 829

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—JUDICIAL RENTS—PRICES OF PRODUCE, &c.—Questions, Mr. M'Cartan; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 830

METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE—Question, Sir George Baden-Powell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 831

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ACT—SECTION 23—Question, Mr. W. Sidebottom; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 821

TRADE AND COMMERCE—UNLOADING PETROLEUM OIL AT LIVERPOOL—Questions, Lord Henry Bruce; Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 833

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL—Questions, Mr. Aird, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Broadhurst; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 834

ARMY (INDIA)—INDIAN CADETS—THE REGULATIONS—Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 835

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC, 1888—THE JUDGES—Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 835

SEA FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—TRAWLING—Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. J. Sinclair; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 836

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROCLAMATION OF A MEETING AT WATERFORD—Questions, Mr. R. Power; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 836

SCOTCH SALMON FISHING BILL—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Thorburn; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 837

SOUTH AFRICA (NATAL)—SENTENCE ON FIVE NATIVES—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 837

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOLS—THE HEAD MASTERS—Question, Colonel Waring; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 838

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY—Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 838

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ARRESTS IN CO. KERRY WITHOUT WARRANT—Questions, Mr. Flynn, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 839

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CHANGE OF VENUE—Questions, Mr. Tuite, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 840

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE RIFLE VOLUNTEERS—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 841

LOCAL TAXATION—COLLECTION OF LOCAL RATES—Question, Mr. Bartley; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 841

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1886—SUPERVISION OF DAIRIES AND COWSHEDS—Question, Mr. Cochrane-Baillie; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 842

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POST OFFICE AT GLENANIFF, NORTH LEITRIM—Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 813

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE—NAILERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS OF CRADLEY HEATH—Questions, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Observations, Mr. Brooke Robinson .. 843

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THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPTAIN PLUNKETT, R.M.—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Lane; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 845

ARMY—COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF GENERAL OFFICERS—ROYAL WARRANT, 1887—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 846

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AT MEELIN, CO. CORK — WIDOW DEMPSEY'S FARM AT LOUGHREA—Questions, Mr. Dillon; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 847

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—RICHMOND DISTRICT ASYLUM—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 847

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS ON THE SHIRLEY ESTATES, CARRICK-MACROSS—Questions, Mr. P. O'Brien, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 848

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — THE CORONER'S INQUEST ON PATRICK AHERN, AT MIDLETON — GOVERNMENT REPORTERS — Questions, Mr. Lane; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 849

GRANTS OF RIGHTS OVER CROWN LANDS—THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION—Questions, Sir John Swinburne, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 850

CUSTOM HOUSE OFFICERS—HOURS OF DUTY—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 851

CRIMINAL LAW — LAW OF EVIDENCE — THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY — Question, Mr. Mowbray; Answer, The Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke) 852

LAW AND JUSTICE—A COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—LEGISLATION—Questions, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Bartley; Answers, The Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 853

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—REGISTRATION OF VOTERS—REFORMS—Question, Mr. Cremer; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 854

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—ROMAN-DUTCH LAW—Questions, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 854

EGYPT—SUAKIN—Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 855

PUBLIC BUSINESS—Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. A. E. Pease; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 855

ATTACHMENT OF A MEMBER (MR. GENT-DAVIS)—Postponement of Notice, Mr. T. M. Healy 857

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—

Moved, "That the Proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 858

Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 179, Noes 97; Majority 82.—(Div. List, No. 325.)

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £2,478, to complete the sum for the Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 858

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £12,707, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments" 874

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, Household, part of the Salary of the Chief Secretary, be reduced by the sum of £425,"—(*Mr. John Ellis :*)—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. William O'Brien :*)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 348]—

Order for Consideration, as amended, read 975

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *To-morrow*.

Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) Bill [Bill 374]—

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [10th August], read 975

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Companies Clauses Consolidation Act (1845) Amendment Bill—

Order for Consideration of Lords' Amendments read 976

Consideration of Lords' Amendments *deferred* till *To-morrow*. [1.10.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4.

Oaths Bill (No. 272)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Earl Spencer*) .. 976

After debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass : "—Amendment *moved*, and *negatived :*—Bill *passed*.

Land Charges Registration and Searches Bill—

Commons' Amendments *considered* and *agreed to* 980

Consequential Amendments made ; and the Bill returned to the Commons.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (No. 293)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Ashbourne*) .. 980

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day two months,")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

After debate, on Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the *affirmative :*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next ; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

The Parks (Metropolis)—Hyde Park—The Plantations by the Serpentine — Question, The Earl of Milltown ; Answer, Lord Henniker 1007

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Poor Law—The Lambeth Board of Guardians—Question, The Earl of Meath; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Knutsford) 1008

Local Government (England and Wales) Act, 1888, Repeal Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Denman*); *Moved* that the Bill be now read 1ª; objected to; and, on question, *resolved* in the *negative* 1009

[8.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4.

QUESTIONS.

Public Works (Ireland)—Construction of Light Railways—Question, Sir James Corry; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1009

Bankruptcy Act, 1883—Section 122—Amended Rules—Question, Mr. Woodall; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1010

Navy (Contracts)—Tobacco for the Navy—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) .. 1010

Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875—Adulteration of Lard—Question, Mr. Handel Cossham; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1010

Press Commissioner's Office (India)—Questions, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) .. 1011

Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887—Arrest of Mr. J. O'Leary and Mr. Michael Healy—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 1012

Piers and Harbours (Ireland)—Newcastle Harbour, Co. Down—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, Sir Herbert Maxwell (A Lord of the Treasury) 1013

Irish Land Commission—Fair Rents—Appointment of Additional Sub-Commissioners—Questions, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Flynn; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1014

Post Office (Ireland)—Allowances to Sorters in Travelling Post Offices—Question, Mr. Tuite; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1015

Egypt—Suakin—Reinforcements of British Troops—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1015

Africa (East Coast)—Blockade of the Zanzibar Coast—Questions, J. M. Maclean, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1016

India—The Indian National Congress—Speech of the Marquess of Dufferin—Questions, Mr. J. M. Maclean, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, Mr. Speaker 1017

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences Refused)—Question, Mr. Caleb Wright; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) 1019

London Coal and Wine Dues—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) .. 1019

Criminal Law—The Edlingham Burglary—Case of Brannaghan and Murphy—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) .. 1020

Grants of Rights over Crown Lands—The National Rifle Association—Questions, Sir John Swinburne; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1020

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ROYAL UNIVERSITY (IRELAND) — ROMAN CATHOLIC LADY STUDENTS — Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1021
LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND)—THE HAMILTON BURGESS FEE—Question, Mr. Philipps; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1021
EAST INDIA—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES AND CANTONMENT ACTS—Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1022
COLONIAL GOVERNORS—THE CAPE COLONY—SIR HENRY BLAKE—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1022
INSPECTORSHIP OF MINES (SCOTLAND)—Question, Mr. Munro-Ferguson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) 1022
SOUTH AFRICA — BECHUANALAND — KHAMA, CHIEF OF BAMANGWATO — Questions, Mr. Hubbard, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1023
SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL—Questions, Mr. J. C. Stevenson, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1023
BANK HOLIDAYS ACT—SECTION 5—THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY—Question, Mr. W. Beckett; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1024

MOTION.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1882—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE)—EGYPT—DESPATCH OF A BRITISH BATTALION TO SUAKIN—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*) 1024
After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 189, Noes 231; Majority 42.
Division List, Ayes and Noes 1058

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £12,707, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments" 1062
Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, Household, part of the Salary of the Chief Secretary, be reduced by the sum of £425,"—(*Mr. John Ellis:*)—After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 181, Noes 233; Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 327.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
It being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 348]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1134
Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday.*

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Liability of Trustees Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 365]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1134
After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned," —(*Mr. Conybeare:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *Friday*.

County Courts Appeals (Ireland) Bill [Bill 166]—
Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported* without Amendment .. 1143
Bill read the third time, and *passed*. [12.45.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

GRANTS OF RIGHTS OVER CROWN LANDS—THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION—Questions, Sir John Swinburne, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1144

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £553, to complete the sum for Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1144

(2.) £61,698, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1146

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £13,728, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland" .. 1213

It being after half Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [4th December] *reported* 1216

£12,707, (Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments.)
After short debate, Resolution *agreed to*. [6.30.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (No. 223)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland*) 1221
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—House in Committee accordingly.
Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed* with; Amendment *reported*.
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 3ª, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN BOARD SCHOOLS—SAUNDERS ROAD BOARD SCHOOL—Question, Observations, The Earl of Meath; Reply, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) .. 1229

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PUBLIC BILLS—AMENDMENT TO MOTIONS FOR SECOND READING—"THIS DAY SIX MONTHS"—Question, Lord Denman; Answer, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) 1232

HIGH SHERIFFS—LEGISLATION—Question, The Earl of Camperdown; Answer, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) 1232

[6.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6.

QUESTIONS.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—POISONING OF FOXHOUNDS—Questions, Captain M'Calmont, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Pinkerton, Dr. Tanner; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1233

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAED)—ARKLOW HARBOUR—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 1234

INLAND REVENUE—COLLECTOR OF TAXES AT TORQUAY—DEFAULT OF A TAX COLLECTOR—Question, Mr. Seale-Hayne; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) 1234

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—TRIAL OF THE CHIEFS—Questions, Mr. A. M'Arthur, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1235

LICENSING LAWS—WOLVERHAMPTON LICENSING SESSIONS—Question, Mr. Allison; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1236

ARMY — RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY — Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1237

ARMY CONTRACTS—MANUFACTURE OF CAVALRY SWORDS AT SOLINGEN—Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1238

ARMY CONTRACTS—DEFECTIVE CAVALRY SWORDS—Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 1239

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS) — COLLECTING EVIDENCE FOR THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Edward Harrington; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1240

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW—BREAKING UP A VAULT IN HEMEL HEMPSTEAD CHURCH—Question, Mr. Halley Stewart; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1242

CRIMINAL LAW—WILLIAM WADDLE, INDICTED FOR MURDER—IMPROPER QUESTIONING BY CONSTABLES—Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1243

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—EXPEDITION FROM ACCRA TO THE INTERIOR—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1244

TURKEY (ASIATIC PROVINCES)—THE CHRISTIANS IN KURDISTAN—Question, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1244

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—SECTION 51—ELECTORAL DIVISIONS OF MONMOUTHSHIRE—Questions, Mr. Warmington, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Arthur Williams; Answers, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) 1245

NAVY (ADMIRALTY CONTRACTS)—IRON—Question, Mr. T. Fry; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) .. 1246

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—ELECTORAL DIVISIONS, BELPER—Question, Mr. Jacoby; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) 1247

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India—The Indian National Congress—Speech of the Marquess of Dufferin — Questions, Mr. J. M. Maclean, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1247

Education Department — School Board Election at Aylestone, Leicestershire—Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 1249

Vaccination—Inquest on Elizabeth Murray, Birkdale — Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) 1250

The Magistracy (Ireland) — The Cork Divisional Magistrate — Question, Mr. Lane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1251

National Education (Ireland)—Model Schools — Question, Colonel Waring; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1251

Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887 — Proclaimed Branch of National League, Meelin—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 1252

Lunatic Asylums (Ireland)—Richmond District Lunatic Asylum—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1253

Law and Justice—Case of Charles Bertram, Adjudged a Bankrupt—Question, Mr. Conybeare [Not put] 1253

Trade and Manufacture — Nailers and Small Chainmakers — Insanitary Condition of Cradley—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) .. 1254

Law and Justice (Ireland) — Thomas Moroney, a Prisoner for Contempt—Questions, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) [Further Questions thereon] .. 1254

The Franchise Acts (Ireland)—Requisitions—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1257

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Case of Constable Edward Swindell—Questions, Mr. Lane; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1258

Irish Land Commission—Fair Rents — The Maps — Questions, Mr. M'Cartan; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1258

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Belfast Insurance Frauds—Registration — Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1259

Intermediate Education, Wales—Questions, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Mr. Mundella [No reply] 1259

Trade and Manufacture — The Gunlock Filers of Darlaston — Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1260

Trade and Manufacture—The Nailers' and Chainmakers' Trade — Co-operative Factories—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1261

Local Government Act, 1888—County Councils—Civil Servants—Question, Sir Algernon Borthwick; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1261

Egypt—Suakin—Reinforcements of British Troops—Questions, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1262

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL — Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1262

MOTIONS.

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1882 — RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE)—THE UNSATISFACTORY POSITION OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*) .. 1263

After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—

Moved, "That the proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 1275

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 226, Noes 117; Majority 109. (Div. List, No. 328.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £13,728, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland" .. 1275

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £800, part of the Salary of the Chief Engineer,"—(*Mr. Lane:*)—After debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

(2.) £2,010, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

(3.) £4,747, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1321

(4.) £5,973, to complete the sum for Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,665 (including a Supplementary sum of £10,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83" 1324

After debate, *Moved*, "That Item A, Law Officers, be reduced by £500, part of the Salary of the Attorney General,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre:*)—After further debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1378

Original Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 76, Noes 157; Majority 81.—(Div. List, No. 329.)

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 348]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1380

Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) Bill [Bill 381]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1380

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

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Sand Grouse Protection Bill [Bill 391]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1383
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

Trade and Manufacture — Nailers and Small Chainmakers — Resolution—
Moved, "That the state of things revealed in the Report of the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade in reference to the present condition of the Nailers and Small Chain Makers in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire requires the attention of Parliament at the earliest possible period,"—(*Mr. Brooke Robinson*) .. 1384
After short debate, Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

[2.40.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.15.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7.

QUESTIONS.

Inland Revenue—Taxes on Servants—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1392
Labourers' Allotments Act, 1887—Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) .. 1392
Local Government (England and Wales) Act—County Government—Election of County Councillors—Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1393
The Channel Islands—The Militia Law (Guernsey)—Case of W. H. Sarchet—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1393
Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen—Clause 9—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1394
Law and Justice—The Edlingham Burglary—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1394
The Truck Act—Deductions from Wages as Fines—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) .. 1395
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Dutch Cattle—The Foreign Animals Order—Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Vice Chamberlain (Viscount Lewisham) 1396
Navy Accounts and Expenditure—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) .. 1396
National Education (Ireland)—Payment of School Fees—Question, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1399
Inland Revenue Department—The Staff—Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1400
Public Health—Notification of Infectious Diseases in Towns—Prevention—Questions, Sir Walter Foster; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1400

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REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND)—COURT OF APPEAL—"HASSAN *v.* CHAMBERS"—Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 1401

LAW AND JUSTICE—C. BERTRAM, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1402

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) [Further Questions thereon] 1404

FISHERY HARBOURS (IRELAND)—LEADING LIGHTS—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 1407

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—ENFORCEMENT OF ARREARS — THE SALTERS' COMPANY—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1408

LAW AND JUSTICE — COURT HOUSES — ACCOMMODATION FOR PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL—Question, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1408

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — TECHNICAL SCHOOLS — Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1409

PRISON RULES (IRELAND)—TREATMENT OF PRIESTS AND CLERGYMEN—Questions, Mr. M'Laren, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 1410

CRIMINAL LAW—YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND BAIL—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1411

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSION, BALLYCASTLE, CO. ANTRIM—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1412

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND)—DISQUALIFICATION—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1412

COAL AND IRONSTONE MINES—DEATH RATE IN NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE MINES—Questions, Captain Heathcote; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1413

IRELAND—THE KILLARNEY BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE — RESOLUTIONS—Questions, Mr. Macartney, Mr. Dillon; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1414

NATIONAL EDUCATION OFFICE, DUBLIN — PROMOTION OF COPYISTS — Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1415

INDIA — THE COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE — COLONEL MARSHALL — THE NIZAM—Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1416

HOSPITALS (INDIA)—THE CAMA HOSPITAL—LADY DOCTORS—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1417

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONSTABLE EDWARD SWINDELL—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1417

THE CIVIL SERVICE—RETIRED OFFICIALS—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1418

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR—"EVANS *v.* MORGAN"—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1419

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BANK HOLIDAYS ACT—THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS—Questions, Mr. W. Beckett, Mr. Maple, Mr. Murdoch; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1420

EGYPT—SUAKIN—THE PAPERS—Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1420

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE—VOTE 21—LAW CHARGES AND CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS (IRELAND)—Personal Explanation, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1420

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Ministerial Statement, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) [Questions thereon] 1421

PARLIAMENT—THE ISSUE OF WRITS—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1423

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE IRISH ESTIMATES—Statement, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1424

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1425

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—NEW WRIT FOR MAIDSTONE—

Moved, "That a New Writ be issued in the room of the late Major Ross the Member for Maidstone,"—(*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Akers-Douglas*) 1425

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill [Bill 145]

Moved, "That the Bill be now considered" 1426

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," in order to add the words "this day three months,"—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, *Moved*, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. Sydney Gedge:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 189, Noes 154; Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 330.)

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 202, Noes 141; Majority 61.—(Div. List, No. 331.)

Moved, "That the Main Question be now put,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith:*)—Main Question put accordingly, and *agreed to.*

Further Proceeding *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That the Order be deferred till To-morrow" 1484

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) Bill [Bill 374]—

Order for Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [10th August] read .. 1486

Moved, "That the Order be deferred till Monday:"—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 273]

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That the Order be deferred till Monday" 1487

Question put, and *agreed to:*—Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

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Liability of Trustees Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 365]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [4th December], on Consideration of Bill, as amended:—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* 1487

After short debate, it being One of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*, and Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

COMMONS, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Thomas Moroney, a Prisoner for Contempt—Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden), The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1494

Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887—Arrest of Father Kennedy at Meelin—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1496

Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations)—The Special Commission—Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. George Bolton—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1497

Egypt—Suakin—A Map in the Library—Question, Sir John Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1497

Scotch Crofters' Emigration Committee—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1498

Sittings of the House (Saturday)—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1498

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £258,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland" 1498

After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 118, Noes 77; Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 332.)

(2.) £200, to complete the sum for the Endowed Schools Commissioners (Ireland).

(3.) £881, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £460, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, in aid of the Local Cost of Maintenance of Pauper Lunatics in Ireland" .. 1563

It being half after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

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QUESTIONS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1564

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Liability of Trustees Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 365]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Amendment on Consideration, as amended [7th December:]—Question again proposed, "That those words be inserted in the proposed Amendment:"—Debate *resumed* 1565
Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

PRIVILEGE.

SERVICE OF A SUMMONS ON MR. SHEEHY, M.P., IN THE OUTER LOBBY—
Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, *brought up* and read 1566
Moved, "That the Report be considered upon Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Sexton:*)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Report to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed*. [No. 411.]

ADJOURNMENT—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" 1566
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*. [5.55.]

LORDS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 10.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 10.

QUESTIONS.

INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—ARMIES OF THE FEUDATORY PRINCES—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1568
LOCAL RATES—COLLECTION OF RATES IN WESTMINSTER—Question, Mr. Bartley; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1568
INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE CARRAKOUT RIVER—Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1570
PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (IRELAND)—REVISION OF THE REGISTER OF VOTERS, Co. TYRONE—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1571
ARMY—THE ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS—ACCOMMODATION AT BALLYSHANNON—Question, Mr. Mac Neill; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) 1573
VACCINATION ACTS—SENTENCE ON JANE STREET, DERBY—Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1574

ROYAL UNIVERSITY ACT — PROFESSORS OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES — Question, Mr. Pinkerton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1574

ADMIRALTY—ATTENDANCE OF OFFICIALS—Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) .. 1575

MERCHANT SHIPPING—CASUALTIES AT SEA—THE ADMIRALTY—TELEGRAPH WIRE AT ST. ALDHELM'S HEAD TO CORFE CASTLE—Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1576

WESTERN AUSTRALIA—REPORTED GRANT OF A CONSTITUTION—Question, Mr. E. W. Beckett; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1577

HALIFAX TOWN COUNCIL — CHARGES OF MALPRACTICES—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1577

NAVY—MERCHANT STEAMERS FOR WAR PURPOSES—THE INMAN STEAMSHIP COMPANY—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1578

COLONIAL OFFICE—RE-ARRANGEMENT OF THE STAFF—Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1579

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—URGENT TELEGRAMS—Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1579

PRISONS — THE "HOBBLES" IN ENGLISH FEMALE PRISONS — Questions, Mr. P. O'Brien, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1580

COAL MINES—ACCIDENT IN PELLOWEL LEVEL COLLIERY—Question, Mr. Fenwick; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1581

NAVY—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NAVY ESTIMATES—PROTECTIVE ARMOUR TO LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIPS—Question, Sir Edward J. Reed; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1582

WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS) — THE SOUTH-WEST SUBURBAN WATER COMPANY—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1582

AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES—CHINESE IMMIGRANTS — Question, Mr. E. W. Beckett; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1583

COLONIES (REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES)—Question, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1584

BURIALS IN UNCONSECRATED GROUND — NONCONFORMIST FUNERAL IN SPALDING CEMETERY—Question, Mr. Halley Stewart; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1584

LAW AND JUSTICE — CASE OF PIERCE HARGREAVES, AT MANCHESTER ASSIZES—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1585

THE FRANCHISE ACTS (IRELAND)—NON-RETURN OF REQUISITION FORMS—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1586

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTION ON THE SHIRLEY ESTATE, Co. MONAGHAN —Questions, Mr. P. O'Brien, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 1586

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—TELEGRAPHIC ARRANGEMENTS TO THE CONTINENT—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1587

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ARMY—MUSKETRY INSTRUCTION AT HYTHE—Question, Mr. Norris; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) .. 1588

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—DISTRESS IN ARKLOW—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 1589

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARREST OF FATHER KENNEDY, R.C.C., AT MEELIN, Co. CORK—Questions, Mr. Flynn, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1589

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SALTERS' ESTATE—Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1590

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—INTEREST ON PURCHASE MONEY—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1591

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—SOMKELI—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1592

SOUTH AFRICA—THE EX-KING DINIZULU—Questions, Dr. Clark, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1593

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — ARREST OF MR. JOHN O'CONNOR AT GNEEVAGULLA — Questions, Mr. Gilhooly; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1593

HINDOO LAW OF MARRIAGE—INDIAN PROCEDURE CODE—REMOVAL OF A NATIVE CHRISTIAN GIRL—Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1594

PUBLIC HEALTH—INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE CRADLEY DISTRICT—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1595

THE MAGISTRACY—ARREST OF MEMBERS OF THE SALVATION ARMY AT NEEDHAM MARKET, SUFFOLK — Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Atkinson; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1596

CRIMINAL LAW—RELEASE OF PRISONERS—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1597

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—PAYMENTS TO ROAD CONTRACTORS — KERRY — Questions, Mr. Edward Harrington; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1597

NAVY—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—HASLAR HOSPITAL—Question, Commander Bethell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1598

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARRESTS OF J. AND D. SCANNELL AND OTHERS, Co. KERRY—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 1598

POST OFFICE—MALE STAFF (ESTABLISHED) OF CENTRAL POST OFFICE—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1599

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—APPOINTMENTS OF COUNTY INSPECTORS, &c.—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1599

PROBATE DUTIES (SCOTLAND AND IRELAND) BILL—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) .. 1600

FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—TRAWLING IN ABERDEEN BAY—Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) .. 1600

PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT—Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1600

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RUSSIA—RELIGIOUS MISSION TO ABYSSINIA—Question, Mr. Legh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1601

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—MR. BEAUCHAMP AND MR. GEORGE BOLTON, CROWN OFFICIALS, AS WITNESSES—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1602

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BELFAST INSURANCE FRAUDS—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1602

ARMY CONTRACTS—IMPORTATION OF BAYONETS FROM GERMANY—Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1603

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—ELECTORAL BOUNDARIES—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1604

PUBLIC BUSINESS—PERPETUAL PENSIONS—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1605

THE CIVIL SERVICE—PENSIONS FOR SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS—Question, Sir Edward J. Reed; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1605

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES—THE RETURNS—Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1606

LAW AND JUSTICE—STATE OF PUBLIC BUSINESS IN THE LAW COURTS—Question, Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1606

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM—CIRCULATION OF EXHIBITS IN LOCAL MUSEUMS—Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1607

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—THE EXPENSES—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1607

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. Burt; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1607

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT—Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) [Further Questions thereon] 1608

HOUSE OF COMMONS—FOG IN THE HOUSE—Question, Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) .. 1611

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—DESTRUCTION OF A TOWN—Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1611

EGYPT—SUAKIN—REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS—Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1611

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS IN DONEGAL—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 1612

PRIVILEGE (SERVICE OF A SUMMONS ON MR. SHEEHY IN THE OUTER LOBBY)—Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. John Morley; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1613

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—CASE OF BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY—Question, Mr. Milvain; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1613

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BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1613

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—THE TWELVE O'CLOCK RULE—A POINT OF ORDER—Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, Mr. Speaker .. 1614

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—

Moved, "That the Proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 1615

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 176, Noes 97; Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 333.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £369,288, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of the Constabulary Force, Ireland" 1615

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £359,288, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. J. E. Ellis:*)—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour:*)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 166, Noes 99; Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 334.)

Question put accordingly, "That £359,288, be granted for the said Service:"—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 100, Noes 169: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 335.)

Moved, "That the Original Question be now put,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour:*)—Original Question put accordingly, "That a sum, not exceeding £369,288, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of the Constabulary Force, Ireland:"—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 182, Noes 110; Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 336.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £35,750, (including a Supplementary sum of £3,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin" 1704

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Labouchere:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(2.) £32,562, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature, Ireland.

(3.) £585, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland.—Vote *agreed to* 1718

(4.) £5,346, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1718

(5.) £913, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.

(6.) £1,962, to complete the sum for the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(7.) £720, to complete the sum for the Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.

(8.) £1,401, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1719

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(9.) £460, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1720

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £658, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the support of certain Hospitals and Infirmaries in Ireland" .. 1723

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Sexton :*)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [8th December] *reported* 1726

(1.) £258,525 (Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.)

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution :"—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) Bill [Bill 374]—

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [10th August] read 1731

Moved, "That the Order be discharged :"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to :*—Order *discharged :*—Bill *withdrawn.*

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—

Lords' Amendment *considered* 1732

Lords' Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

Probate Duties (Scotland and Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Arthur Balfour, The Lord Advocate*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 397] 1734

Friendly Societies Act, 1875, Amendment (No. 4) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Tomlinson, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Burt, Mr. Bradlaugh, Colonel Blundell, Mr. Wood, Mr. Abraham* (*Rhondda*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 398] 1734

Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 1886, Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Conybeare, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Handel Cossham, Dr. Clark*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 399] 1734

[2.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

PARLIAMENT—DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT—Observations, Lord Denman 1735

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—

Bill returned from the Commons with the Amendment *agreed to*, with an Amendment: The said Amendment *considered* 1735

Moved, "That the Commons' Amendment be *agreed to*,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal :*)—Motion *agreed to.*

Public Health Acts Amendment (Buildings in Streets) Bill (No. 283)—

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read 1735

Third Reading *put off* to *Tuesday* next.

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CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—EXTENSION OF WORKS AT TABLE BAY—Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Knutsford) 1736

NAVY—GIBRALTAR AND BOMBAY—CONSTRUCTION OF DOCKS—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Replies, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Knutsford), The Secretary of State for India (Viscount Cross) 1736

PERSIA—OPENING OF THE KARUN RIVER—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) .. 1738

[4.45.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

QUESTIONS.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—COOLIE LABOUR AND LABOUR CONTRACTS—Question, Mr. Samuel Smith; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1739

INLAND REVENUE—PAYMENT OF INCOME TAX, &c. AT LOCAL POST OFFICES—Question, Mr. R. Chamberlain; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1740

SOUTH AFRICA—THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN BECHUANALAND—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1741

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—COMPENSATION FOR SLAUGHTERED ANIMALS—Question, Mr. Round; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1741

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FAIR RENTS—THE BALTINGLASS DISTRICT—Question, Mr. Byrne; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1741

LAW AND JUSTICE—COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL—STATEMENTS OF CONVICTS IN PRISON—Questions, Sir Robert Fowler, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1742

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—CASE OF BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1743

INDIA—PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT—MILITARY AND CIVIL BRANCHES—EQUALIZATION OF PAY—Question, Mr. H. S. Wright; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1744

CEYLON—INCREASE OF CRIME—Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1745

SALMON FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—THE TAY SALMON FISHERMEN—INSANITARY BOTHY ACCOMMODATION—Question, Mr. Menzies; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1745

CUSTOMS (LIVERPOOL)—HOURS OF OFFICIALS—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1746

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Dugdale; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1747

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION OF HEAD CONSTABLES—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1747

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Question, Mr. Samuelson; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1748

PRISONS BOARD (IRELAND)—THE BREAD IN WATERFORD PRISON—Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1749

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—OFFICE OF STOREKEEPER—Question, Mr. Tuite; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 1750

COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—THE CUTLERY TRADE IN BUENOS AYRES—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) .. 1751

INDIA AND THIBET—A COMMERCIAL MISSION—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1752

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1752

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CLAREMORRIS PETTY SESSIONS—MR. LONGBOURNE, R.M.—Questions, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1753

NAVY—ALLEGED SAVINGS—Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) 1755

INLAND REVENUE—STAMPING BILLS OF EXCHANGE, GLASGOW—Question, Mr. Hozier; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1756

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSION, CALLAN UNION DISTRICT, Co. KILKENNY — Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1756

AUSTRALIA — QUEENSLAND — APPOINTMENT OF SIR HENRY NORMAN AS GOVERNOR—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) .. 1757

COLONIAL SECURITIES — INVESTMENT OF TRUST FUNDS — Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1757

COLONIAL OFFICE — RE-ARRANGEMENT OF STAFF — Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1758

CIVIL SERVICE PENSIONS—RETIREMENT OF MR. DALY, ASSISTANT COMPTROLLER OF THE NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE — Question, Mr. Jennings; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1759

PUBLIC HEALTH—GREAT INCREASE OF MORTALITY FROM CANCER—Question, Mr. Ambrose; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1760

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACT, 1888 — ADDITIONAL STATISTICS — Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1760

AFRICA (EAST COAST) — THE BLOCKADE OF THE ZANZIBAR COAST — DESTRUCTION OF BAGAMOYO — Questions, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. John Morley, Mr. F. S. Stevenson, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1760

ARMY CONTRACTS—CONTRACT FOR 20,000 SWORDS WITH A GERMAN FIRM—Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1763

ARMY—THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS (LEITRIM MILITIA) AT CARRICK-ON-SHANNON—Question, Mr. Hayden; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1764

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL—Question, Mr. T. Robinson; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1764

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—ISLAND OF PEMBA—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1764

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—FAILURE OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY AT ARKLOW—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1765

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTING IN WICKLOW—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) .. 1765

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885 — INTEREST ON PURCHASE MONEY—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1766

THE MAGISTRACY—ARREST OF MEMBERS OF THE SALVATION ARMY AT NEEDHAM MARKET, SUFFOLK—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1767

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARRESTS OF J. AND D. SCANNELL, AND OTHERS, CO. KERRY—Questions, Mr. Flynn, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1768

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) ACT, 1874—ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1769

SUPPLY — SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, CLASS III., VOTE 16 — "TWO SPECIAL UNFORESEEN CASES"—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1770

PUBLIC HEALTH—INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE CRADLEY DISTRICT—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1770

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—AREAS OF DISTRICTS—Question, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1771

CUSTOMS—IMPORTATION OF GRAIN—Question, Mr. T. Robinson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1771

EGYPT—SUAKIN—THE PERMANENT GARRISON—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 1772

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE — NAILMAKERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS — Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1772

PUBLIC BUSINESS—Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1772

ARMY—ROYAL BARRACKS, DUBLIN — SANITARY CONDITION — DEATH OF CAPTAIN F. L. SPEID—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1773

EGYPT—SUAKIN—REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS—Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1774

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) [Further Questions thereon] .. 1775

PROBATE DUTIES (SCOTLAND AND IRELAND) BILL — Questions, Mr. Childers; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen).. 1777

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,247 (including a Supplementary sum of £500), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary for Scotland and Subordinate Officers" .. 1777

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland,"—(*Mr. Anderson :*)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1815

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland,"—(*Mr. Anderson :*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 80, Noes 112; Majority 32.—(Div. List, No. 337.)

Original Question again proposed 1835

After debate, *Moved*, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £10, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland,"—(*Dr. Clark :*)—After further short debate, *Moved*, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer :*)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 127, Noes 68; Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 338.)

Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 78, Noes 134; Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 339.)

Moved, "That the Original Question be now put,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer :*)—After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,376, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue" 1866

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,476, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Sir George Campbell :*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 69, Noes 166; Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 340.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £7,427, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland, and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays" 1868

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £800, the Salary of the Chairman,"—(*Mr. Anderson :*)—It being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [10th December] *reported* 1878

(1.) £369,288 (Expenses of the Constabulary Force, Ireland).

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£369,288," in order to insert "£364,288,"—(*Mr. Labouchere,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£369,288' stand part of the Resolution:"—After debate, *Moved*, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour :*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 141, Noes 39; Majority 102.—(Div. List, No. 341.)

Question put accordingly, "That '£369,288' stand part of the Resolution:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 141, Noes 39; Majority 102.—(Div. List, No. 342.)

Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

ADJOURNMENT—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" 1906

Question put, and *agreed to.* [2.10.]

LORDS.

SAT FIRST.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

The Lord Wolverton, after the death of his brother.

COMMONS.

NEW WRIT ISSUED.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7.

For *Maidstone, v.* Alexander Henry Ross, esquire, deceased.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3.

Finsbury (*Holborn Division*)— Gainsford Bruce, esquire.

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

Third Session OF THE *Twenty-Fourth Parliament* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *Great Britain* AND *Ireland*, APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1888.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 23rd November, 1888.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Land Law (Ireland) Act (1887) Amendment * [388].

Select Committee — Report — Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory [No. 403].

Committee—Land Purchase (Ireland) [385]—R.P.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE FRAUDS ON THE BELFAST BANK.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If a prosecution was instituted against two officials of the Belfast Bank, named Smyth and Rodgers, who were accused of abstracting £184,000, but were only charged with petty larceny by the Law Officers of the Crown, with consent of the Belfast Bank; if this large sum, or any part, was accounted for in the balance sheet published by the Belfast Bank; and, in what respect, if any, did the last audit differ from that of the late Glasgow Bank, which was supposed to have a large reserve against deposits and note circulation?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University (who replied) said: This Question relates to a prosecution which took place about 15 years ago. The two bank officials named were tried on the charge, not of the charge of petty larceny as alleged in the Question, but of conspiring to defraud and of defrauding the bank. The loss is overstated in the Question by about £50,000. It was entirely provided for in the then current year, ending July 31, 1874, by being paid out of the reserve fund of the bank; and not only has the amount so withdrawn been since restored to the reserve fund, but also that fund now

stands 20 per cent higher than it did before the withdrawal of the amount to meet the frauds. The audit of the Belfast Bank is the same as that of every limited bank in the United Kingdom; and is regulated by the Act of 1879, which was passed after and, in a chief degree, in consequence of the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878.

POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—CARRIAGE OF MAILS FROM OBAN TO FORT WILLIAM.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that the contract for the carriage of mails by steamer from Oban to Fort William stipulates that the arrival shall be at 3·30 p.m. in summer and 4·30 p.m. in winter, but that the steamer is generally half-an-hour, and often an hour, behind time; whether the contractors who forward the mails from Fort William to the inland portions of the parishes of Kilmallie and Ardnamurchan are obliged to be, and stand, in readiness at the post office at the above hours of 3·30 and 4·30 respectively; whether there is any penalty in the steamer contract for breach of agreement; and, whether he will take steps either to enforce punctuality or payment of the penalty?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University), in reply, said: The hon. Member is right in his facts as regards the carriage of mails by the steamer from Oban to Fort William. The loss of time which has occurred is due to the exigencies of traffic and the state of the weather, which has been recently exceptionally severe. There are no penalties. To provide for such in the contract would largely enhance the subsidy. The service, as a whole, is, I consider, satisfactorily performed. The contractors and the postmen who carry forward the mails from Fort William are, of course, required to be in attendance at the stated hours of arrival of the packet. The Ardnamurchan Post, I may mention, does not start from Fort William at all, but from Ardgowan, a point at which the steamer calls before reaching Fort William.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—LEVY OF THE NEW COUNTY RATE IN LONDON.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the new county rate in London will be in all respects levied as poor's rate, so that existing exemptions from the rate of the Metropolitan Board will cease?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Question raised by the hon. Member depends upon the construction of the provisions of the Local Government Act, and is, therefore, a point of law. I am constantly receiving inquiries as to the legal construction of the Statute on matters, many of them of considerable difficulty, which I have neither the power nor the desire to determine; and, therefore, I think it is better that I should not express an opinion upon them.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—HYLTON SCHOOL BOARD.

MR. WOOD (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether the late Hylton School Board was dismissed on the strength of the Inspector's Report; that the Board ought to be considered a Board in default; and why the Board was not supplied with a copy of the said Inspector's Report; and, why a public inquiry into the facts of the case was refused when urgently asked for by the said Board?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): The Hylton School Board were declared in default because they declined to comply with the Statute. The Department had no power to grant the public inquiry asked for; but if my hon. Friend will read the letter, a copy of which I have in my hand, and will be glad to give him, I think he will be satisfied that there were sufficient grounds for the action which was ultimately taken.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.) — MADRAS — REMISSIONS OF REVENUE.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Madras Government and the Government of India have received Memorials from Mirasdars of

Thattathimoolai, Nannilam, Talug, Tanjore, alleging that certain remissions of revenue have been improperly cancelled, such remission having been made to the village, pursuant to the Revenue Regulations, by the Head Assistant Collector, after due inspection, in consequence of the great damage and suffering caused by the repeated heavy floods destroying the crops; and, whether the Government will take any action in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State for India has not received any information or Reports concerning the Memorials referred to, nor has any representation on the matter reached him. As at present advised, the Secretary of State does not propose to take any action in the matter; but he will draw the attention of the Madras Government to the hon. Member's Question.

POST OFFICE—CONTRACTS FOR POST-CARDS.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) asked the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. R. Power) to postpone until Monday his Question with regard to the contract for post-cards, so as to allow him to communicate with the writer of a confidential letter which had been sent to him bearing on this subject. With regard to an answer given by him to the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) some days ago, to the effect that the present contract was for 10 years, he desired to explain that this included two years which had already elapsed.

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—RAILWAY FROM GALWAY TO CLIFDEN.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When it is probable that some of the public works in the West of Ireland, which have been recommended by the Royal Commission, will be commenced; and, whether the railway from Galway to Clifden, *viâ* Oughterard, with a branch to the Killeries, will be shortly undertaken, in order to afford work for the people during the winter?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I must refer my hon. Friend to a reply given by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland to a somewhat similar Question in regard to another district. That statement was to the effect that the Government are anxious to deal with those parts of the Report of the Royal Commission which refer to railways and harbours; but that these undertakings must necessarily wait until the proposals which the Government have already made, based upon the Royal Commission's earlier Report with regard to drainage, are dealt with by the House.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DRUMSWOODS, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has received a Memorial from the inhabitants of Drumswoods and its vicinity, a thickly-populated district in the County of Monaghan, four miles distant from a post office, praying for the establishment of a post office at Drumswoods; and, whether he intends complying with the prayer of the Memorialists; and, if not, can he say for what reason?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): A Memorial has been received. The post already established in the vicinity of Drumswoods is conducted at a loss, and the Drumswoods letters are too few to cover the additional expense which compliance with the Memorial would involve. I have, however, offered to establish a post office under guarantee, and I await the reply of the Memorialists.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS.

MR. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, having regard to the latest Returns of the Commissioners of National Education, which show that there are only 59 agricultural schools now in connection with the National Board, Whether the teachers of the schools examined last August have yet been paid their result fees; and, if not, whether he can offer any explanation as to the cause of the delay?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the National

Education Commissioners state that the number of agricultural schools shown in the latest Returns is 55. The teachers in some of the schools were paid result fees some time ago; the rest are now paid. They add that there has been no avoidable delay in the matter.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL—SCHEME OF THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, having regard to the fact that 11 years ago a Royal Commission reported that—

"For a thorough reform in the management and discipline of Christ's Hospital, we think that its removal from London is indispensable,"

and that the Charity Commissioners have, after exhaustive inquiries, reported that more boarders and 1,000 additional day scholars might receive the benefits of the school if the recommendations of the Royal Commission were adopted, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take action in the matter?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): The scheme of the Charity Commissioners providing for the objects set forth in the Question received the sanction of the Education Department on the 15th of June. Subsequently a Petition was presented to Her Majesty in Council, and the scheme will have to be considered by the Judicial Committee. If the Petition is dismissed, the scheme will be laid before Parliament in the usual way.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked when the question was likely to go before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council?

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE could not answer the Question.

MR. MUNDELLA expressed a hope that there would be no undue delay in the matter.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he would take care that there should not.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—RESIDENT MAGISTRATES—MR. F. T. M'CARTHY, R.M.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to observations made at Belfast on October 13 last by Mr. F. T. M'Carthy, R.M., on the hearing of the case of a destitute child named Mary M'Donnell, to the effect that from day to day proper cases for orders for admission of children to industrial schools come before the magistrates at Belfast, and the magistrates are obliged to send the children to the workhouse, or postpone the cases for want of room; also that the magistrates would do what they could to have increased accommodation provided; whether, after the child Mary M'Donnell had been committed to St. Patrick's Female Industrial School, the order was found to be inoperative, as no vacancy existed in the school; and, what decision has been come to upon the application of the Committee of the school (submitted to the Irish Government last August), requesting an increase in the number of children sanctioned by the certificate?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The attention of the Irish Government has been called to a report of the case alluded to, which appeared in a local newspaper. An application has been received from the industrial school in question, and also from several other industrial schools, for an extension in the number of inmates chargeable against Imperial funds. These applications are receiving careful consideration.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—PUPIL TEACHERS—NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a pupil teacher, who has been successful at the end of his first year, and who is 18 years of age, can then be appointed an assistant in a National School, with an average attendance of 70 children, where there is already a paid assistant in this school; whether, under similar circumstances, it is competent to appoint and to pay such a pupil teacher as an assistant teacher in a model school of same average attendance, and where there is already a paid assistant there; and, what limit there is to the number of teachers in a model

school, and how the number is regulated?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The National Education Commissioners reply to the inquiries in the first two paragraphs in the negative. As regards paragraph 3, they state that the same general principles apply to the appointments of assistants in ordinary National schools and to the staffs of assistants in model schools.

ARMY EDUCATION—ARMY ORDER 293.

MR. JEFFREYS (Hants, Basingstoke) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to put in force Army Order 293 of July, 1888, which enacts that after the 1st of January next all soldiers will have to take a first-class certificate of education before promotion to the rank of warrant officers; and, whether he is aware that this Order will debar many able and deserving old soldiers, colour sergeants of 18 or 20 years' service and others, from obtaining the position to which they have looked forward for many years?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The Army Order referred to will be so far modified that the first-class certificate will be not regarded as indispensable in regard to promotion of non-commissioned officers to the rank next above that held by them when the Order was issued. It is considered that this sufficiently protects the interests of men already serving; while the Order itself acts as a direct encouragement to men of superior education to enter the ranks of the Army. I may also remark that warrant rank is a comparatively new creation; and that the non-commissioned officers in question could not have looked forward to it at the time they entered the Army.

CUSTOMS (STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT)—THE SEVEN HOURS' SYSTEM.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When it is proposed to apply the seven hours' system to the Statistical Department of the Customs; whether it is a fact that the new classification is agreed upon, and is now awaiting the assent of the Treasury authorities; and, what is the reason (if any) for the continued postponement of the proposed re-organization of that Department?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): It is proposed to apply the seven hours' system to the Statistical Office of the Customs upon the basis of its present establishment. The question of a new classification is being considered by the Treasury in connection with the general questions of re-arrangements of staff involved in the adoption of the seven hours' system, recommended by the Royal Commission.

NAVY—DOCKYARD EXPENSE ACCOUNTS.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, When the complete Returns "Dockyard Expense Accounts, Parts I. and II., for 1887-8," will be presented to the House, only one Part having hitherto been published?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk) (who replied) said: The final Dockyard Expense Accounts are necessarily delayed for the receipt of the accounts from foreign stations, and for the completion of the Navy Appropriation Accounts. They will probably be completed in February next.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—APPEALS AGAINST FAIR RENTS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he is aware of the practice now adopted by some landlords in Ireland of appealing against the fair rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners, and of then serving on these tenants notices of eviction whereby the tenants are made caretakers; and, whether this action on the part of the landlords entitles the landlord to obtain a dismiss from the Land Commission on appeal, owing to the fact that the tenant is then a caretaker under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887"?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I am not aware of the existence of any such practice as that referred to by the hon. and learned Member in the first paragraph of his Question. It is the fact that a tenant

served with an eviction notice ceases to be a tenant (subject to his right to redeem his holding within six months), and is, therefore, not in a position to continue proceedings for the purpose of having a judicial rent fixed, unless he avails himself of his right to redeem. The service of this eviction notice is the termination of the proceedings in ejectment, and at any time during the pendency of such proceedings the tenant could have obtained a stay for the purpose of proceeding with his application to have a judicial rent fixed; and, further, under the 30th section of the Act of last year, a tenant to whom that section applied could have obtained a stay of proceedings and an order for payment of arrears of rent by instalments.

In reply to further Questions,

MR. MADDEN said, that if his attention were formally called to specific cases he would inquire into them.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — POST OFFICE CIVIL SERVANTS.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the Regulation prohibiting Civil servants from taking active part in contested Parliamentary Elections applies also to the election of County Councillors?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Although I do not think it is desirable for Post Office servants to undertake duties which are likely to involve them in Party contests of any description, it has not hitherto appeared necessary to debar Postmasters, who do not give their whole time to the Public Service, from membership of Town Councils. As regards the election of County Councillors, I have come to the conclusion, after consultation with my Colleagues, that the Rule prohibiting officers of the Post Office from taking an active part in contested Parliamentary Elections must be held to apply to the election of County Councillors. I am further of opinion that no Post Office servants should themselves be members of a County Council. Such membership is likely to involve frequent, and perhaps prolonged, absence from their posts of duty.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—PENSION TO MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will state why no provision was made in the Estimates for 1886-7, 1887-8, or 1889, for the pension awarded to Mr. Clifford Lloyd in 1885; and, whether it has hitherto been the invariable practice to make provision for each pension awarded in the Estimate next succeeding the date of each award?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am glad that the hon. Member has asked this Question, because it enables me to remove a wrong impression conveyed by me yesterday, when I said that the pension was awarded in 1885. It would be more correct to say that it was awarded in respect to services which terminated in 1885; as a fact, the pension was not granted until March, 1888, and therefore the hon. Member will see that no provision could be made in the Estimate to which he refers.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Was Mr. Clifford Lloyd in receipt of any salary during the years 1886, 1887, and 1888?

MR. JACKSON: Yes, Sir; he was in receipt of a salary from his Colonial appointment from the end of 1885 until 1887. It is not the practice of the Treasury to grant pensions in respect of services to an officer so long as he is in receipt of a salary in another appointment exceeding that of the appointment he has left. The hon. Member will, therefore, see that up to 1887, during which time he continued to draw a salary in respect of his Colonial appointment, the pension for his previous services really could not come into operation.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Then I understand the correct answer to be that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's employment ceased in 1885 on a certificate that he was permanently unfit for any service, and he then took service in the Colonies, for which he received a salary?

MR. JACKSON: No, Sir. The hon. Gentleman must not understand that to be the reply. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was granted a pension in respect of services which terminated in 1885 on a medical certificate that he was incapacitated for the discharge of the duties of the post

he then held. The House will understand that if, at a subsequent date, an officer so retired on such a certificate should recover his health, it would be quite open to the Government to call upon him to take up his duty in Ireland.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Then I understand that after being certified to be permanently unfit, he recovered, was employed, and now has a pension for the unfitness on which he retired?

MR. HANBURY (Preston): Is it a fact that these medical certificates of permanent incapacity distinctly state that that incapacity only applies to the work that the officer was engaged upon at the time?

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): When was the medical certificate granted?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Can the hon. Gentleman kindly inform us what is the precise state of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's health at the present moment?

MR. JACKSON: I am sorry that I am unable to answer that Question, because I do not know. The certificate was given in 1885, when Mr. Clifford Lloyd retired. As to the Question of my hon. Friend (Mr. Hanbury), the words of the certificate are to the effect that the officer in whose behalf it is given is incapacitated—[An hon. MEMBER: Permanently?]—permanently incapacitated if you like, for the discharge of his duty; and in this case it was distinctly stated by his medical attendant that he could not, without serious risk to his life, in consequence of the condition of his health, continue in the discharge of his duty.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): Was the attention of the Government called to the Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Service Establishments with reference to these medical certificates, and especially to the dissatisfaction the Commissioners expressed with the manner in which certificates were granted, and to their recommendation that the Treasury should have an independent medical opinion in all cases?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to answer that Question. Our attention has certainly been called to the extremely important recommendations made by the Commission; it has been my duty to look through them; and I hope it will be possible for the Government to submit either a change in the Regulations, or a Bill to the House, carrying out a portion of the recommendations of the Commission.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) inquired what was the length of service in respect of which this gentleman got his pension; whether when he was certified permanently unfit for service in Ireland he was also certified permanently unfit for service abroad; and how long it took him to recover his health?

MR. LABOUCHERE: When the hon. Gentleman answers that Question perhaps he will also say who was the medical man who gave that certificate. Will he produce the name, and tell us whether it was Dr. Barr?

MR. JACKSON: No, Sir; it was not Dr. Barr. The hon. Member for Camborne asked what period elapsed before Mr. Clifford Lloyd recovered his health? I have not heard that he has recovered his health, and so cannot answer the hon. Member. His length of service was, I believe, 11½ years.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Will the hon. Gentleman say whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd lost his health endeavouring to restore law and order in Ireland? And during the time he was doing so did not the Land League offer a reward for his assassination?

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member will see that these are Questions I am unable to answer.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—A "TIMES" WITNESS.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Why the prosecution of Cavanagh, one of the witnesses for *The Times* before the Special Commission, on the charge of shooting with intent to murder, was not conducted by the Treasury, as is usual in such grave charges; and, whether it is a fact that the defending counsel in the case is the senior counsel to the Treasury at the Central Criminal Court?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Regulations do not make it incumbent on the Director of Public Prosecutions

to take up cases of this nature on his own initiative. In this particular case no notice was given to his Department, and no application for legal aid was made, either by the police or by the magistrate by whom the prisoner was committed for trial. Judging from the report of the trial, it does not seem to be a case which presents any feature of exceptional difficulty or importance. The answer to the second paragraph is in the affirmative.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Attorney General, whether Mr. Justice Hawkins, in his summing up, declared that the prosecutor, a witness for *The Times*, had concocted a tale which, if true, would have caused half of the Irish Members to be hanged?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I must ask for Notice of that Question.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Why did not the police report the matter to the Director of Public Prosecutions; and why was the case considered to be of such small importance?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was ununable to tell, unless it was that it was a matter a private prosecutor could deal with.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—THE FUNDS.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, How, if £5,000,000 is granted for the purposes of Lord Ashbourne's Act, he proposes to raise the money, whether by Treasury Bills, Exchequer Bills, the issue of Stock, or otherwise?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): If the hon. Member will refer to the National Debt and Local Loans Act of last year, he will find that all money required for State loans will hereafter be raised by the issue of Local Loans Stock, so far as it may be needed—that is to say, so far as the sums repaid in respect of old loans are insufficient to meet the amount required for new ones.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS—A FREE PARDON.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is prepared, in the case of the Whitechapel murders, other than that of the woman Kelly, to offer a free pardon to any person not being the actual perpetrator of the crimes?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I should be quite prepared to offer a pardon in the earlier Whitechapel murders if the information before me had suggested that such an offer would assist in the detection of the murderer. In the case of Kelly there were certain circumstances which were wanting in the earlier cases, and which made it more probable that there were other persons who, at any rate after the crime, had assisted the murderer.

AFRICA (WEST COAST) — DISTURBANCE ON THE RIVER NIGER.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to reports in *The Daily News* and other newspapers of recent disturbances on the River Niger; whether he is in a position to give any information on the subject, especially whether those disturbances have occurred in the territory of the Royal Niger Company; and, if so, what was their origin; whether the Secretary of State has come to any decision on the increased imposts levied by the above Company; and, if so, whether it can now be stated to the House; and, whether any answer has yet been sent to the Memorial transmitted through the Governer of Lagos against the extension of the Royal Niger Company's Charter; and, if so, what was its purport.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (SIR JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The only Report which Her Majesty's Government have received of such disturbances relates to hostilities between the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Oil River, and of subsequent acts of cannibalism by the victorious tribe. These events were not within the Niger Company's territories. The Consul visited the spot, accompanied by the commander of one of Her Majesty's ships, rescued some surviving prisoners, and inflicted a fine on the offending tribe. He speaks in high terms of the assistance rendered to him by the coast tribes. I cannot at present make any

further statement to the House on the subject of the last two paragraphs of the hon. Member's Question.

PUBLISHING AND PRINTING OF THE DEBATES OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT—THE NEW CONTRACT.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What steps have been taken in regard to the new contract for the publishing and printing of the debates of the two Houses of Parliament; and, whether, when the contract has been settled, he would object to give a Return of the different tenders?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, he had already informed the House that tenders had been invited for the publishing and printing of the debates, and several tenders had been received. When the formal contract had been completed, he would lay it upon the Table of the House.

THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION—CASES DETERMINED.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he can state the number of cases determined by the Crofters' Commission during the first year of its existence; the number during the second year; the number of cases partially heard but not decided; and the number of applications still to be considered?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): As regards the first 18 months of the operation of the Crofters' Commission, the results are given in the Report to December 10, 1887. As regards the second half of the second year, the materials for information are not with the Scottish Office, but with the Crofters' Commission. Owing to stormy weather and consequent delay in postal communication, we have not yet heard from the Commissioners whether they can supply the particulars desired without interrupting their urgent duties, although from a telegram from the Commissioners I fear that the complication of the details required might be somewhat troublesome. The Commissioners have, however, written, and until receipt of their letter I cannot say more.

DR. CLARK: Might I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman if he will get the information from the secretary and clerks to the Commissioners? It is in their books, and is not to be got from the Commissioners themselves?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Of course the information would be derived from the officials of the Commission. At the same time, our application is necessarily made to the Commissioners. I understand the information received by telegram was from one of the officials of the Commission, and shows that the matter might somewhat embarrass the procedure in regard to what is at present being done in Lewis if it were entered into now.

ARMY—DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON SOLDIERS' RATIONS.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Departmental Committee on Soldiers' Rations has yet been appointed; when it will begin its deliberations; and, whether he can state its composition to the House?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Yes, Sir. The Committee which is considering the dietary of soldiers has commenced its labours under the presidency of my hon. Friend the Member for Exeter (Sir Stafford Northcote); with whom are associated my hon. and gallant Friends the Members for Hammersmith (General Goldsworthy) and the Ince Division of Lancashire (Colonel Blundell), Sir Redvers Buller, Sir Arthur Haliburton, and Surgeon General Massey.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—ADVANCES AND APPLICATIONS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In what number of cases advances have been made by the Land Commissioners under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act of 1885, for the purchase by tenants of their holdings, of sums between £2,000 and £4,000; and in what number of cases advances have exceeded £4,000?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that there have been 249 cases in which sums of between £2,000 and £4,000 have been advanced

under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885, for the purchase by tenants of their holdings, and 28 cases in which the sums exceeded £4,000.

CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND) — SENTENCES AT GLASGOW CENTRAL POLICE COURT.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, If Mr. Stipendiary Gemmel, at the Glasgow Central Police Court on Wednesday, the 21st instant, sentenced Mrs. M'Kenzie to 30 days' imprisonment, and ordered her daughter, aged eight years, to be kept in an industrial school for five years for the alleged theft of some articles of clothing from the Clothes Market in Greendyke Street; if it is the case that there was no evidence whatever against Mrs. M'Kenzie, or any evidence that her daughter had stolen the articles, or that both were not respectable persons against whom the police knew nothing; and, if he will take steps to enable Mrs. M'Kenzie to obtain an *interim* release pending an appeal, and will inquire into the case of her daughter, with the view of liberating her from the industrial school to which she has been sent, if found innocent?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Secretary for Scotland has asked the stipendiary for information as to this case, of which his Lordship has knowledge only from the newspaper report sent by the hon. Gentleman. The right to grant *interim* release pending an appeal lies with the High Court of Justiciary, to whom the appeal would lie by way of suspension. The High Court has also jurisdiction to deal in like manner with the order of the magistrate relating to the little girl. But I would remind the hon. Gentleman that, so far as the Executive Government are concerned, industrial schools remain within the Department of the Home Secretary, and are not within the charge of the Secretary for Scotland.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): Might I ask whether it is not the fact that the stipendiary did not convict the girl, though he sent her to a reformatory, and that the mother was sent to prison for having been art and part in a theft of which the girl was not convicted?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: The position is this. The High Court of Justiciary would certainly have the right to quash the order sending the girl to an industrial school, just as much as the sending of the mother to prison. Therefore, so far as the High Court was concerned, the two courses were one. But the Secretary for Scotland has not within his charge industrial schools, and accordingly any order referring to the matter must come from a Court of Law or from the Home Office.

DR. CAMERON: Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman communicate with the Home Office on the subject?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I gather from the Question of the hon. Member for the Blackfriars Division that there is to be an appeal to a Court of Law. If the sentence should be quashed, there is an end to the matter. Failing that, recourse might be had to the Home Office as regards the child.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX—EXEMPTION OF SCOTLAND.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the report is true that he has added, or intends to add, Scotland to the already long list of exemptions from the proposed Van and Wheel Tax; and, whether, in redemption of his often-repeated promise to give ample Notice as to when the second reading of the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill will be taken, he will now state how many days' notice of his definite intention will be given?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The suggestion of the hon. Member that to omit Scotland from the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill would be an exemption rests on a fallacy. If the proposed taxes were intended for the Imperial Exchequer, to omit any part of Great Britain would be an exemption; but the non-application to Scotland of a measure for raising local revenue cannot be called an exemption. It might be more properly described as a denial to Scotch ratepayers of a boon offered to England. The position with regard to this Bill in Scotland is different from that existing in England. In Scotland there has never been that pressure for the relief of rates which there has been in England, and which Government after Government have pro-

mised to satisfy. No similar demand has come from Scotland; therefore we have no similar demand to satisfy. While the Representatives of large sections of ratepayers in England hold me to my promise to proceed with the Bill, no similar representations have been made to me from Scotland. Neither in England nor in Scotland would I proceed with it from mere obstinacy or *amour propre*. But, with regard to England, I am under a promise which, with regard to Scotland, I am not under. Notice has been given over and over again that we will proceed with the Bill directly after the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill. It is impossible to fix the time more exactly.

MR. CAUSTON: Does not the Estimate of receipts made and quoted to the House by the right hon. Gentleman include Scotland?

MR. GOSCHEN: I have made a separate Estimate for England and for Scotland. One Estimate is for both England and Scotland together, and the other for England and Scotland separately.

MR. CAUSTON: I refer to the Estimate which has been circulated by the right hon. Gentleman himself.

MR. GOSCHEN: I have not the Estimate by me at this moment, and I cannot say from memory.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee): Are we to understand that the right hon. Gentleman has determined to exclude Scotland from the Bill?

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes, Sir. I shall be prepared to accept an Amendment excluding Scotland from the Bill.

MR. CAUSTON: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman give us some more definite statement as to when this Bill will be taken?

MR. GOSCHEN: It will be taken at the conclusion of the consideration of the Bill which is now engaging the attention of the House.

MR. CAUSTON: That is rather indefinite, for the closure may be applied, and this Bill may be brought on quite suddenly.

MR. GOSCHEN: There is no danger whatever of this measure, in which so much interest is, I know, taken on both sides of the House, being sprung upon the House. Hon. Members can form a very accurate estimate for themselves of when the Bill will come on after the intimation that we have given.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that we are at least entitled to 24 hours' Notice.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I promised the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) that I should have something to say on this subject and the course of Business to-day, and I will shortly do so.

EVIDENCE AMENDMENT ACT, 1870—REFUSAL OF A WITNESS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, at the Guildhall, Canterbury, on November 10, on the hearing of a charge of embezzlement against one —— Hopper, the magistrates, acting on the advice of their clerk, refused to allow J. Nye, who stated that he was without religious belief, to give evidence on affirmation; and, whether this is in accordance with "The Evidence Amendment Act, 1870?"

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. Member, I am informed by the clerk to the magistrates that Nye's evidence was not taken because it was not required, there being ample evidence without his testimony. I have already answered so many Questions of the hon. Member upon the point of law raised in the hon. Member's Question that I must refer him to my previous answers.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND)—"TENEMENT VALUATION."

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he desired to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland a Question arising out of the Report of the Irish Land Commission. Did the words "tenement valuation," at the head of one of the columns in the report, mean the value of the entire holding, including the value of the tenant's interest in the holding?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, it was difficult for him to answer this Question with regard to

a Report which was not before him without Notice. But if the right hon. Gentleman gave Notice of a Question he would give a definite answer.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, it was rather difficult to give Notice in regard to these matters, owing to the rate at which the Government were proceeding with the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill.

MR. MADDEN said, that the tenement valuation referred to was Griffith's valuation, which was no test of the letting value of the property. It was a valuation fixed exclusively for rating purposes, upon certain principles laid down by the Commissioner. It had been fixed at different times in different parts of Ireland.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked whether it were not the fact that where the tenant had made improvements after Griffith's valuation the supervisor came round and rated the improvements?

MR. MADDEN: There has been no general re-valuation.

MR. DILLON: Of course not. But does not the supervisor add a tenant's improvements to the value of his holding?

MR. MADDEN: There has been a re-valuation in certain individual cases; but tenants' improvements are not all included.

MR. DILLON: Is it not——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! A series of Questions like this amounts to a debate.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—PURCHASES OF HOLDINGS.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether, seeing that he had given the number of purchases from £2,000 to £4,000, he could not give the House the number of purchases under £2,000?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I gave an answer to that Question some time ago.

MR. MUNDELLA: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman lay on the Table on Monday a Return giving the required information?

MR. MADDEN: Certainly.

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—SATURDAY SITTINGS.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I should like to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has anything in his mind in regard to a Sitting of the House for to-morrow; and, if so, whether he will be kind enough to say what is in his mind?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am aware what an earnest desire the hon. Member always shows to be informed of his public duties. But I am not sure that he speaks the views of Members on both sides of the House in suggesting to me—[MR. LABOUCHERE: I did not suggest.]—that we should meet to-morrow. If I could gather that it was the wish of hon. Members, in order to facilitate the progress of Public Business, to sit on Saturday, it would be my duty to propose it. But I am aware that hon. Members want some rest under the present pressure of Business; and therefore I am not, as at present advised, disposed to ask the House to sit to-morrow.

SCOTCH CROFTERS EMIGRATION—THE COMMITTEE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with regard to the Motion for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into schemes of emigration which he had moved last night, and which stood seventh on the Orders for this evening, Whether he would consent to enlarge the reference so far as to authorize the Committee, in considering the question of colonization, not to confine themselves solely to British Colonies?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I must remind the hon. Gentleman and hon. Members that I explained last night, as well as I could, the immediate objects which the Government had in view. The House will be asked to vote a Supplementary Estimate with reference to a certain tentative colonization experiment which has been made from the Western Islands of Scotland. We desire to get as much information as we can with reference to this experiment before the House is called upon to proceed any further with it;

and we thought that it was only carrying out the pledges into which we had entered with the House that this Court should sit during the Autumn Session, make their inquiry, and report their opinion to the House with reference to this particular question, in order to guide the House in the present necessity. I am fully aware of the desire of hon. Gentlemen that the inquiry should be a large one into the whole question of colonization, and that it should not be restricted either to Scottish crofters or to any part of the United Kingdom. That large question must be entered into next Session; but if the House is of opinion that this Committee, which we desire should sit to advise the House, and to collect information with regard to this particular question, should not be appointed during the Autumn Session, we should have no alternative but to forego the Motion on the Paper. I should greatly regret that; because I think that, without reference to opinions and prejudices which hon. Gentlemen may entertain on the question, valuable information may be placed at the disposal of the House, which might guide them in coming to a decision as to the Vote, and as to the question whether or not colonization should be entered upon.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL gave Notice that when the Motion came on for consideration he would move that the scope of the inquiry be enlarged, so as to consider the question of colonization, not confined solely to British Colonies.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked whether the First Lord of the Treasury would not exempt the Order for the appointment of this Committee from the operation of the 12 o'clock Rule?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think it would be a mistake to enter upon a prolonged discussion of such a matter, probably at a late hour this evening. It is one on which I hope to arrive at practical agreement with hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, as well as my hon. Friends behind me. If I cannot arrive at such an agreement, I am afraid I will not be able to press for the Committee. It is obvious that the appointment of a Committee, even on a question of this important character, is not a matter on which the Government, at this period of the Session, can enter into a prolonged dispute with any Member of this House.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROSECUTION OF IRISH MEMBERS.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland, If he can inform the House whether it is true that criminal proceedings have been instituted in Ireland against seven Members of this House; and, if so, whether he will see that such prosecutions are postponed until these Members have discharged their duties to their constituents by taking part in the consideration of the Irish Estimates for the year?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The hon. Member must please to give Notice of his Question.

Subsequently,

MR. SEXTON said, that the First Lord of the Treasury had probably been informed that criminal proceedings under the Crimes Act had been instituted simultaneously against seven Members of the House. He wished to ask whether the institution of those criminal proceedings and the delay of the Irish Estimates had any relation to each other; and, if not, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to give the House an assurance, which might tend to facilitate the progress of Public Business, that the prosecutions in question would be so conducted that those seven Gentlemen should not be withdrawn from their public duties until the Irish Estimates had been considered?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): In answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to assure him and the House that I am personally unaware of the fact to which he refers. I only just this moment found a note from the hon. Member on my table informing me of the fact; and therefore it could not have been in my mind when I made the statement with regard to the Irish Estimates. I will inquire into the circumstances of the case; and I can only say that, so far as I am concerned, unless there is any good ground—any material ground—for haste in the business, I should certainly desire that hon. Members should be in

their places in this House to take part in the discussion of the Estimates.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—ADMINISTRATORS.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he could give the House any information as to the tenure of office of the two gentlemen who had administered the £5,000,000 under the Ashbourne Act, and who had taken three years in doing it. Were the gentlemen in question removables?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): As I understand it, the two Gentlemen to whom the hon. Member refers are not removables; but are within the terms of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act, and will continue till the end of next Session. It is the intention of the Government to deal with the question of the renewal of the Land Commission next Session; and, therefore, no change can be effected in the status of these gentlemen.

In reply to a further Question by Mr. T. M. HEALY,

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Government had withdrawn their Land Commission Bill, in which they had proposed to make Mr. Wrench a permanent officer and leave the terms of the other Commissioners at the discretion of the Treasury. He was not in a position to say what proposal would be submitted next Session.

MOTION.

LAND PURCHASE IN IRELAND—NAMES OF LANDOWNERS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) moved for the following Return:—

"The names of the Landowners the purchase of whose properties under the Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, 1885, has been sanctioned by the Irish Land Commission, with the following particulars against each name:—(a) Area of the property; (b) County in which situate; (c) Total rental; (d) Valuation; (e) Amount of purchase money; (f) Total number of holdings on the estate."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked whether the Solicitor General for Ireland would add a column in which would appear the arrears, if any, which had been dealt with in the present Session, as there had been a good deal of talk on that matter lately?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, he was not sure whether that information would be available in the Papers which were in the possession of the Land Commission; but if it were available there would be no objection to adding it to the Return.

Motion *agreed to.*

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I was asked to state the course of Public Business as far as I am able to make any forecast. The House is aware that I am in a difficulty as to making an accurate forecast of what the progress of Business will be. But, in the event of concluding the Committee on the Bill now under the consideration of the House this evening, we shall take the third reading on Monday, and the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill on Tuesday. And then, I hope, we shall proceed with the consideration of the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill on Thursday next. I think that would meet the engagements into which I have entered with the House with reference to these measures. An appeal was made to me by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway from Ireland to name a day for the consideration of the Irish Estimates. I understand the ground of that appeal, which is a reasonable one; and, assuming that the other arrangements can be carried out, we shall be able to take them on Monday week, and proceed with them from day to day.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: What will be the Business on Wednesday?

MR. W. H. SMITH: We must proceed on Wednesday with Supply. Possibly we may have to ask for a Vote on Account.

In reply to Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped the Navy Estimates would be taken as soon as they had concluded the Civil Service Estimates.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): Am I to understand that the Scotch Estimates and the Estimates for this Emigration Vote are to come after the Irish Estimates?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am sorry that it should be so; I am sorry that anybody should have to come after anybody else. According to my experience of Parliamentary life, I fear it must be so, unless we could arrange to sit in two or three houses at the same time. [*Loud Opposition Cheers.*] I am quite aware of the fact that no hon. Member would desire to be excluded from taking part in the debates on all questions affecting the Empire. I think I have answered the Question.

In reply to Mr. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) and Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan),

MR. W. H. SMITH said: It is the desire and intention of the Government to pass the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill if they possibly can do so. As to the Liability of Trustees Bill, I cannot give any engagement whatever with regard to any private Members' Bills.

AUSTRALIA — QUEENSLAND — APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR — SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Government of South Australia having expressed the wish that, as the letter addressed to them by the Colonial Office was communicated to the House, their answer should also be read, I will ask the House to allow me to read it—

"Sir W. C. F. Robinson
(South Australia) to
Lord Knutsford.

"(Received, Colonial Office, 21st of November, 1888.)

"Following telegram received from my Ministers:—

"Respectfully acknowledge the receipt from Governor of copy of telegram from Secretary of State for the Colonies relating to the appointment of Colonial Governors. In reply, Ministers desire respectfully to remark that the objections which are urged to course they have ventured to suggest appear to be untenable. Even if control over selection of Governor were conceded to Local Government, as it has been suggested that they desire, they contend this would not warrant a suspicion of impartiality of gentlemen appointed. An argument to the contrary carried to its logical conclusion would justify doubts as to integrity of highest judicial officer whenever dealing with question affecting interests of Government by which he was appointed; but, as a matter of fact, Ministers have no desire that Local Government should have power of controlling election Governor, or that any gentleman should be asked to undertake office subject to approval of Local Government. They only seek opportunity to state for favourable consideration of Imperial Government in such a manner as may be most convenient to Colonial Office any reasons which may occur to them why any contemplated appointment appears to be undesirable to them. If this opportunity is not to be afforded, there is, without doubt, possibility of objection being overlooked or not fully considered, which if noted or fully considered prior to appointment, would prevent it from being made. It would then become duty of Ministers to call attention to objection in question, and this would, without doubt, lead to much more undesirable position than if course Ministers have suggested were adopted. If, after full consideration of objection, the appointment were cancelled, it would involve no small annoyance to gentleman principally interested; and if, on the other hand, appointment were persisted in, it would be certainly much more reasonable to expect prejudice on part of Governor against Ministry raising objection than it would be to suspect bias on part of Governor in favour of Government for the simple reason that they could see no cause to protest against his appointment. Ministers most respectfully assure your Excellency that they have not slightest desire to encroach on Constitutional rights of Imperial Government with reference to Viceregal office; they are, however, convinced that probability of satisfactory appointment thus strengthening the bonds of union between Great Britain and Colony will be increased by course suggested. If South Australia were conceded privilege of stating objections to a proposed appointment, the power would be exercised with due regard to its importance, and no objection would be likely made. Furthermore, should there be difficulty arising from scarcity of information in Colony regarding fitness of gentleman suggested, it might be obviated by selection only men well-known reputation, and who might possibly be found among those who have exhibited an interest in Colonial affairs. The dignity and importance of office would, without doubt, justify such a choice. Indeed, if so desired by Secretary of State for Colonies, Ministers would be possibly able to suggest for Imperial consideration names gentlemen whose appointment would be acceptable to Colony. Ministers are encouraged to respectfully venture this last suggestion in view of expression of Secretary of State of great satisfaction and assistance which he would derive in selection, on account of knowledge of views of Colony on subject. "PLAYFORD (Premier)."

QUESTIONS.

—o—

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE WHEEL AND VAN TAX —EXEMPTION OF WALES.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town) said, he understood that, in his absence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was

asked a Question regarding the Wheel and Van Tax, and that the right hon. Gentleman expressed his willingness to except Scotland from the operation of the tax. Would the right hon. Gentleman make the like concession to the country with which he was connected—namely, Wales?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): No; I am not prepared to make that exception.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's County, Ossory): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether his attention has been called to the evidence given on Wednesday before the Special Commission by Sergeant Meehan, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who stated on cross-examination that he had come to London without a subpœna, in consequence of a telegram received from Mr. Rogers, his District Inspector; and whether this proceeding on the part of an officer of police, who is under the direct control of the Government, is consistent with the declaration of the First Lord that the Government maintain a position of impartiality and neutrality as between the parties now before the Commission?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I found a note from the hon. Member on this Bench when I came here a little more than half-an-hour ago. I had no previous knowledge of the circumstances to which the hon. Member refers. I am, therefore, quite unable to give any answer to his Question, and I must ask him to put it down for another day.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: I shall put it down again for Monday.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the arrangement of the Business for the remainder of the Session, he was able now to give a definite date when he would take the second reading of this Bill.

THE FIRST LORD (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am sure the hon. Baronet will see that I have entered into as many arrangements as I possibly can. I wish to meet the wishes and feelings of hon. Members as far as I possibly can; but I cannot go further than I have already done.

CHAPELS (CLONMACNOICE) BILL.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked the hon, and gallant Member for North Galway, Whether, considering the strong objection that existed in certain quarters in Ireland to this Bill, and the late period of the Session, he would not consider the propriety of withdrawing the Measure?

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, he had still some hopes of passing the Bill, which ought only to occupy 10 minutes.

MR. JOHNSTON said, he was told he was not in Order in discussing the Bill now; but the hon. and gallant Member should be aware that it was a breach of the Irish Church Act.

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

The House *divided:* — Ayes 195; Noes 159: Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 300.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.*)

[BILL 382.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I propose, Sir, to move the following Instruction to the Committee which stands in my name:—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide that the Irish Land Commission may take an account of the amount of arrears of rent due from tenants who

have made, or shall make, application to have judicial rents fixed for their holdings, and may decide whether the whole, or any, or what part of such arrears ought to be paid, and whether in one payment or by instalments, and at what dates the same shall be paid."

MR. SPEAKER: I took the earliest opportunity of intimating to the hon. Gentleman the irregularity in point of form of this Instruction which he proposes to move. The Motion of the hon. Member says—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide that the Irish Land Commission may take an account of the amount of arrears of rent due from tenants who have made, or shall make, application to have judicial rents fixed for their holdings."

That opens up the whole question of the Land Act of 1881, without any special reference to either Lord Ashbourne's Act, as it is called, or to the Land Purchase Bill now before the House. I do not think it would be in Order to open up the whole question of judicial rents, because it is conceivable that persons might make application to have judicial rents fixed without ever intending to apply for the purchase of their holdings under the provisions of this Bill or of Lord Ashbourne's Act. Therefore it seems to me that the Motion would open up a wider and independent question which ought not to be done in the discussion of a Land Purchase Bill, which merely authorizes a further advance of money for the purposes of Lord Ashbourne's Act.

MR. PARNELL: Of course, Mr. Speaker, I accept your ruling. I had always understood that an Instruction was necessary where the matter was not relevant to the Bill under discussion. Therefore I put the Instruction on the Paper because I conceived that it was not relevant to the discussion and required an Instruction to the Committee. I should like to ask whether I may be permitted to amend the Instruction by the introduction, after the word "tenants," in line four, of the words "desirous of purchasing their holdings?" That Amendment would, I think, bring it within the Rule.

MR. SPEAKER: That is an Amendment in the direction I have indicated as bringing the Instruction in Order. The hon. and gallant Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) has a Motion on the Paper in which he proposes that the Land Commission should permit tenants, "when purchasing their holdings," to do certain things. That is quite in Order, and if the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell) confines the Instruction to those tenants who wish to purchase under the Land Purchase Bill, and who wish that the amount of the arrears should be taken into consideration in settling the amount of the purchase-money, that, I think, would bring it within the terms of the formal Order, with which I alone have to deal, and would, being a limitation of the Notice on the Paper, not be such an alteration as would require a fresh Notice. I therefore think the hon. Gentleman, if he is prepared to take that course, would be in Order.

MR. PARNELL: Then I gather from your ruling that the addition of the words suggested would bring the Instruction within the Orders of the House. The amended Instruction will read as follows:—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide that the Irish Land Commission may take an account of the amount of arrears of rent due from tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings, who have made, or shall make, application to have judicial rents fixed for their holdings, and may decide whether the whole, or any, or what part of such arrears ought to be paid, and whether in one payment or by instalments, and at what dates the same should be paid."

It was not necessary for him to go at any great length into that question of arrears, although it was a very important and most pressing one. He had had an opportunity on the previous day of touching on that subject, and he would only say that, whereas the discussion on the first reading raised the whole question of the settlement of arrears as an alternative to the Bill, that Instruction introduced the question of the desirability of settling arrears in certain specified cases only, and as an addition to the Bill. It was argued on all sides of the House, and admitted by the Government, that there was an arrears question in Ireland which required to be dealt with. If this were the case, it was necessary to settle it from many points of view. It was necessary, from the point of view of security to the Exchequer, that they should put the tenant on an equal footing on the basis of freedom of contract in dealing with his landlord when he came to make terms for purchase. It was necessary

also to guard against inflation of the price given to the landlord where the tenant had no power to get out of his arrears except by entering into that contract. It had come to this, that in many cases of purchase in Ireland the arrears accrued due to the landlord had been added on to the purchase price, and had become a debt due by the tenant to the landlord which would have to be wiped out by these annual payments, extending over 49 years. Now, I was precluded by the Speaker's ruling from going into the wider question of arrears, but I could not see upon what ground the Government objected to the Instruction in its present limited form and scope. Did they wish, were they desirous, that the tenant purchasing should stand, so far as this House could place him, in a position of equality with the landlord in making his bargains? Did they admit—they did admit—that arrears exist in Ireland, and constitute a pressing question? If they were desirous that the tenant should be in the position of a free agent, if they considered, as they announced, that the arrears question did exist, then he said he could not understand upon what grounds of equity or justice, or desire to protect the Exchequer, they could persist in refusing the Instruction which he proposed. The matter of arrears had always been a pressing one. The limited field which he desired the Government to enter upon was not one of great magnitude or moment, but it was of importance as regarded the security of the Treasury from loss. It was of importance as regarded the power of the tenant to make his bargain upon free and equal terms with his landlord, and it was of importance as regarded the future smoothness with which the Act would work. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Instruction as modified in accordance with the ruling of the Speaker.

Mr. WADDY (Lancashire, Brigg), in seconding the Motion, said it was a fundamental principle of common law and of common sense that if two parties were to make a contract both of them should come together with their hands untied. But at present, beyond all doubt, in a great number of cases—he believed in the majority of cases—one of the parties — namely, the Irish tenant — came to make a contract with his hands very much tied indeed. He had gone during the vacation to the Vandeleur estate which had been mentioned during these debates. It had been stated that that estate was one on which proceedings were taken with great kindness and "sweet reasonableness" by the landlord and the agent; but yet in every case there was something left in the shape of arrears round the tenant's neck. He maintained that if the negotiation for purchase began while the tenants had arrears round their necks they did not give them a fair chance; and that the only just thing Parliament could do was to give power to the Land Commissioners to deal with arrears exactly as was done in the case of the Scotch Crofters. They must begin their negotiation by dealing with arrears just as if there was not to be a purchase, although they meant that there was to be one. They must get rid of the arrears entirely; and, until they did so, they were putting a screw on one of the parties to the supposed negotiation and bringing to bear on him a pressure that was in every way unfair. He wished to point out what was the bearing of those arrears, and the manner in which they grew, or did not grow, on estates that were reasonably managed; and he wished in illustration to take the Vandeleur estate, as to which he had an account of every man who had been evicted, and who might have purchased if he had a reasonable chance.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster) asked, whether the hon. and learned Member was speaking to the question of arrears or of purchase?

Mr. WADDY said, that if he was not in Order he would, no doubt, be called to Order by the proper authority.

Mr. SPEAKER was understood to point out to the hon. and learned Member that to go into the general question of arrears and their bearing on the ultimate position of tenants who might hereafter desire to purchase, was opening a wider field of discussion than it was competent for him now to enter upon.

Mr. WADDY said, he was anxious to point out that in every case of purchase, unless they had already previously made preparation for the arrears, they were rendering it impossible for an honest and fair arrangement to be made. It was not sufficient in all cases where there had been arrears to call upon the

tenant to make them part consideration of the price. But that was exactly the vice which was at the bottom of this Bill. Suppose the case of a tenant bound down with arrears on his holding. He could do nothing with the holding while those arrears were pressing upon him. He would like to purchase, however, if he could do so at anything like a fair price; but if they were going to add to the price of the holding the amount of arrears which the tenant could not pay, then they were simply doubling the price. Take a holding, the fee-simple of which was worth £100, the tenant having fallen into arrears to the extent of £30. The purchase-money would be £100 *plus* £30 for arrears. In such a case the tenant was perfectly helpless and in the power of the landlord. He cordially seconded the Instruction of the hon. Member for Cork.

Motion made, and Question proposed'

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide that the Irish Land Commission may take an account of the amount of arrears of rent due from tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings, who have made, or shall make, application to have judicial rents fixed for their holdings, and may decide whether the whole, or any, or what part of such arrears ought to be paid, and whether in one payment or by instalments, and at what dates the same should be paid."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, the Government objected to the Instruction of the hon. Member for Cork, because, in their judgment, it would place the tenant in a distinctly worse position than he occupied at the present time. It would decidedly injure his position, and recognize the arrears as a charge which might continue hanging round his neck after the contract had been sanctioned by the Commissioners, and after they had sanctioned the advance to him of the money necessary to effect the purchase. The Instruction distinctly recognized the arrears as an asset due to the landlord, independent altogether of the question of purchase and the value of his estate. This was not the condition of affairs at the present time. In present circumstances the rule of the Land Commission required that before making any advance the Commissioners must be satisfied that all rent had been paid, satisfied, or released; and the form of agreement provided that all rent due up to the last gale day should be included. If the Government accepted the Instruction there would be two distinct arrangements in force. There would be a contract of purchase recognizing a distinct liability on the part of the tenant to pay an annuity to the State, and there would also be a subsidiary contract recognizing on the part of the tenant a liability to his landlord, which would continue for some time after the contract had been made. As a matter of fact, however, no arrears of rent survived the purchase. After the purchase contract was once entered into, the arrears were *ipso facto* wiped off. What security had the tenant that those arrears were not added to the contract price so as to make it excessive? They had the security of the action of the Commission. The Commissioners were bound to see that the total sum paid was not excessive as regarded the tenant, and was not excessive as regarded the State. The Commissioners had to view both the ability of the tenant to pay the annuity to come, and they had also to see that the money advanced by the State was not more than the holding itself would afford capital security for. The Government believed that the returns furnished to the House showed that the Commissioners had done their duty in this respect. The average rate of purchase was 17·4 years, and as the arrears were wiped off, this left the tenant in a better position than before. The Commissioners were protecting the tenant and the State. No transaction was permitted to take place which was harsh or injurious to the tenant or which was dangerous to the State. In these circumstances, he trusted that the hon. gentleman would see that in the interest of the tenant alone the Government was bound to resist the recommendation.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said a serious misapprehension existed in the minds of the Government on this point, and it was one also which had run through the course of the preceding debate. The right hon. Gentlemen said the Commissioners were empowered to see that the tenant did not pay more than a fair price. But the Commissioners themselves had repeatedly and emphatically denied this statement. They had placed it on record that they had no legal power whatever to do anything of the kind. Then it was said that the Commissioners

had power to see that the holding as it stood with everything upon it was ample security for the advance; but had not the House heard it stated by the Irish Solicitor General that the holding as it stood was and ought to be regarded in many instances as more than half the property of the tenant? It might therefore easily occur—and he contended that it frequently did—that the Commissioners had no power whatever to interfere or stop the bargain, although it was manifest to them that the tenant was paying not only for the interest of the landlord, but for his own interest as well. The Commissioners were not empowered by law to protect the tenant against an excessive price for the landlord's interest; they were empowered to protect the State, and when they sent down a valuer to ascertain the security, that valuer had no instructions and no right to inquire what part ought to belong to the landlord and what to the tenant; but he valued the holding as it stood, and although lawfully and morally three-fourths ought to be the property of the tenant, it was practically competent for the landlord to compel that tenant, in spite of the Commissioners, to purchase and pay with the money of the State, not only the interest of the landlord, but a large proportion of the tenant's own interest as well. That was a consideration which ought to be present to the mind of every hon. Member. The First Lord of the Treasury seemed to think that he had disposed of the case when he pointed out that arrears disappeared when the purchase was made; but the mischief caused by the arrears took place before the agreement of purchase was signed. The Commissioners very properly insisted on the discharge of all liabilities before they advanced the money, but they did not insist that there should be a discharge of the unjust and oppressive arrears before the tenants signed the agreement. The powers of the Commissioners did not extend to a protection of the just rights of the tenants. They had no power under the law to protect a tenant after an agreement had been made from paying more than his holding was worth. Consequently the whole of the argument of the First Lord of the Treasury collapsed like a pack of cards. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite were altogether unacquainted with the subject, and merely got their arguments from the columns of *The Times*. An extraordinary misconception had taken hold of the minds of the Members of the Government as to their object in moving this Instruction. He did not know if the Chief Secretary had been present whether he would have made an attempt to defend this proposal, but he had never seen a measure defended in so lame, faltering, and ignorant a fashion as was this Bill by those responsible for it. There was unquestionably no landlord's agent in Ireland who would dream for a single second of denying that the arrears of rent were looked to by the landlords as a most valuable means of driving up the price of the holdidgs. The cases on which alone the House could be asked to advance this money was in the case of those estates in which some trouble and differences existed. Why should the taxpayers of England be asked to advance millions to increase the value if there were peace and quiet on these estates, and if there were no trouble upon them? On these estates the rents were more or less in arrear. What happened? The landlord proceeded to compel the tenant by process of law to pay the arrears, and when he was face to face with eviction, with no resource but combination and perhaps prison behind, the landlord went to him insidiously and said, "Sign this agreement for purchase at my price, and I will withdraw all the processes and the ejectments, and I will forgive the arrears." He could not understand a bargain in which there was more duress or less freedom. This was not a position in which a man who was making a bargain should be placed. The agent of Lord Kenmare, in the witness box at the Commission Court on the previous day, admitted that he kept alive the arrears on the Kenmare estate, and that it was a good thing to do. He swore in court that lots of tenants owed him rent for the spring of 1883. He kept the arrears alive for the same reason as every other agent who acted for a harsh landlord, although it might be said there were many worse landlords than Lord Kenmare—he kept those arrears alive because they were a valuable instrument with which to exercise pressure against the tenant. He was perfectly convinced that in four-fifths of the sales under the Act in Ireland the tenants had been more or less coerced by the existing arrears.

Proceedings were recently taken in the Court-house at Kildare in reference to an estate where a battering-ram and 200 or 300 police were employed to batter down the houses of the tenants who refused to sign agreements at 22 years' purchase. These poor people offered 18 years' purchase of the judicial rents, all the arrears being left to arbitration. The reply was that they must pay 22 years of the judicial rent and all the arrears. As they objected to pay more than 18 years' purchase they were served with ejectment notices. In the Court the tenants said they were prepared to repeat their offer of 18 years' purchase, when Mr. White, on behalf of the landlord, said—"Then you will get it now. We will withdraw all offers of purchase whatever." Whenever a body of tenants approached the Commissioners and said they desired to purchase but were prevented by a threat of eviction for arrears, the Commissioners ought to have power to untie their hands and set them free. If the tenants had some other alternative than that which lay before them of signing the agreement or being turned out on the roadside; if they could go before the Land Court or buy on reasonable rents, the case would be different. Then it had been carefully pointed out by the Government that the effect of purchasing was to reduce by 30 per cent the sum annually payable by the tenants. Now, in pursuing this course the Government were impaled on the horns of a dilemma—either they were guilty of the most iniquitous conduct to the landlords, or the rents formerly payable by the tenants had been grossly excessive. In the City of London it would not be necessary to bribe a man to buy his house by reducing his rent 30 per cent. In these circumstances, was not an unanswerable argument to be found—was it not a fair deduction that the former rents were unjust and inflated rents? There was really no escape from that position. If, then, the rents were excessive the arrears must be unjust; and it was a monstrous thing to leave the tenants under the screw of these unjust arrears in order to compel them to buy their farms on the basis of their unjust rents.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, he would not follow the hon. Member in the somewhat heated expressions which he had let fall. The principle, as he understood, of the Bill had now been generally adopted. That being so, he desired to speak in a conciliatory spirit upon what he believed to be the basis of the measure. He believed that the Ashbourne Act had been fully adopted by both landlords and tenants in Ireland; but the argument with which the hon. Member concluded his speech struck at the whole policy, not only of this Bill, but of every other Act aiming at the same result which had been passed since 1870, and also at the policy and the principles which time after time had received the cordial approbation of Irish Members. The hon. Member had quoted a case of which he had not caught the name—[Mr. DILLON: The O'Kelly estate, County Clare.]—and with the circumstances of which he was unacquainted. It was, therefore, impossible for him either to assent to or contradict the statement which the hon. Member had made. But, whether the statement was true or false, exaggerated or accurate, it had no bearing upon the question before the House. In the first place, that case never came before the Commissioners at all. There had been, it seemed, negotiations between the landlord and tenants. The proposal of 22½ years' purchase never came before the Commissioners, and would probably not have been approved by them. But suppose a tenant, with the *bonâ fide* intention of purchasing, came to the Commissioners and stated his desire to purchase, but as a preliminary asked the Commissioners to consider whether the arrears were just or unjust, would not the result inevitably be that the Commissioners would be converted into an Arrears Court? And it was obvious that the applications made to them to consider arrears would not be confined to *bonâ fide* purchasers. It might or might not be a good thing to deal with the question of arrears; but it was clearly altogether foreign to the Act, which could not be worked if the parties applying under it approached each other in a spirit of hostility. The proposal had no value at all if it did not mean the establishment of a general Arrears Court. Applicants, having got the matter of arrears settled, might change their minds and not go on with the purchase,

so that the Commissioners would become nothing else than a Court of Appeal to decide on the justice or injustice of arrears all over Ireland. If, however, after the application as to the arrears, it was made compulsory on the parties to proceed to a sale and purchase, a totally different state of things would be brought about, and one which, whether good or bad, was contrary to, and inconsistent and irreconcilable with, the principle of this Bill and every similar Bill which had preceded it. If the Instruction were agreed to, the effect would be to alter and revolutionize the whole policy upon which the Act proceeded; and he doubted whether it would be possible for the mover of the Instruction himself to draft such clauses as would carry out his view. He submitted, therefore, that, while a good deal might have been said in favour of the hon. Member for Cork's Instruction as it first stood upon the paper, in its altered form it was one which could not be worked concurrently with an extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act. He appealed to hon. Members, not in the least in a hostile or controversial spirit, not to insist upon the Motion of the hon. Member for Cork. The House had agreed to the second reading of the Bill, and re-affirmed the principle on which the Ashbourne Act had been originally passed; and he would entreat hon. Members to proceed with the Bill in a spirit of friendly agreement on the principle which had been thus affirmed.

MR. W.E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian) said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman commenced and concluded his speech in a spirit with which they must all sympathize, but at the same time he must point out that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had entirely passed over the main and the powerful contention that had been urged in favour of this Instruction. The right hon. and learned Gentleman contended that there was nothing to be urged in favour of this Amendment considered as an Amendment upon the extension of the Ashbourne Act. There was one thing to be urged, and it was a very considerable thing indeed — namely, that as the Act stood, when a purchase was about to take place the arrears constituted a lever in the hands of the landlord to compel the tenant to give an unjust price. Was that denied? The landlord and tenant were in these relative positions. The tenant was under arrears which, by hypothesis, he was unable to pay. The landlord wished to bring the tenant to bay, and the landlord was in a condition to say to the tenant—"I offer you this at such a price. Either take that price or pay me your arrears," which we know he could not pay, "or go out upon the road." But the right hon. and learned Gentleman said that under this Act there might or might not be arrears. If there were no arrears and there were no evictions, then it would not come into the present debate. The right hon. and learned Gentleman spoke as if the purchase under the Ashbourne Act was to provide a convenient arrangement between landlords and tenants in the cases of estates where no trouble or difficulty had arisen. Well, but that was not what they had been taught was the principle of the Act. They had been told the purpose of the Act was to pacify the country; but they did not pacify a country by enabling landlords and tenants, who never had had any trouble in their relations, or who had entirely got over their trouble, to come to an arrangement for the purchase of the estate. The object of the Instruction was to press upon the House that the existence of arrears—showed where trouble existed—it was indicated by the existence of arrears—and that in these cases the landlord had a most unjust power placed in his hands to extract from the tenant an improper price. Did the First Lord of the Treasury adhere to the speech he made half-an-hour ago? [Mr. W. H. SMITH nodded assent]. Did he assert that the Commissioners had power to inquire into the equity of the agreement made between the landlord and tenant? There was a plain question to which he hoped they would have a plain answer. He understood that assertion was traversed as being absolutely at variance with the facts. The assertion on his side was clear that the Commissioners possessed no shade or shadow of such a power, and that they had nothing to do with the equity or inequity of the agreement between the landlord and tenant. What they had to do with was the security given to the State. That was a totally different matter. The question of tenant-right, referred to yesterday by the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer, was a very proper thing for the Commissioners to take into consideration for the purposes they had in view, but the consideration was one which had nothing to do with the protection of the tenant. The First Lord of the Treasury made a case which was no doubt highly agreeable to his own benevolent mind and disposition, because he was the last man who would like to see a tenant placed in a position of difficulty or a landlord invested with a power which would enable him to exercise undue pressure. Having that view of what ought to be, the right hon. Gentleman philanthropically assured the House that was the state of the law as it stood. They had a right to ask, was the state of the law correctly described by the Leader of the House? Would he show them in what words, in what enactment, the Commissioners under the Act were placed in a condition to protect the interests of the tenants? The matter depended to a great extent on that, although the action of the Commissioners had been in many cases a very effective intervention. But if it were true, as he contended, that they had no right or power to protect the tenant, then what was the answer to be made to the contention that the landlord had the power to put before the tenant two alternatives only—purchase subject to the arrears or pay the arrears, or go out—and either alternative might involve the most grievous oppression? It was no answer to them to say that the principle of the Bill was in the judgment of the Government necessary to maintain the union between the two countries. It was for that sacred principle that the Irish tenant must suffer as the landlord required him to suffer—go out on the roadside or purchase on the terms placed before him. But then it was said the tenant, after getting his arrears settled, might say, "I don't mean to purchase; I have got rid of my arrears; that was all I wanted." That could be met by inserting a clause, and the right hon. Gentleman knew that there was nothing easier than to provide that the arrangement as to the arrears should be dependent upon the conclusion of an agreement between the landlord and the tenant. He therefore contended that nothing had been or could be said to shake the contention so powerfully urged by the Member for East Mayo, that there was a strong case of a practical grievance, and that it would be the duty, and, as he hoped, it would be the disposition of the House to adopt frankly the remedy.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, he trusted that, with the permission of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), who thought that everyone on that Bench was necessarily ignorant of Irish affairs, because he had not been in Ireland, he would be allowed to reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, who suffered from the same disadvantage.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: What is that?

MR. GOSCHEN: The disadvantage of not having been in Ireland.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Oh, but I have been there.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that, at all events, he could claim the privilege of a later acquaintance with Ireland than the right hon. Gentleman. It had been his pleasure and advantage to have been in Ireland comparatively lately. [An hon. MEMBER: Dublin.] He only mentioned this to show that they were on a level with the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, the fallacies in whose arguments they wished to point out. The House must have observed the extremely limited number of individual cases which hon. Members from Ireland, with all their knowledge, had been able to produce in these debates, and the very few cases in which they had been able to convict the Government of being wrong in their statistics. Even in the present debate the hon. Member for East Mayo had himself committed a gross error, and he would convict the hon. Member out of his own mouth. The hon. Member stated that he believed that in four-fifths of the cases of purchase the purchases had been made under the stress of arrears; but the hon. Member at another time asserted that the great majority—more than half of the purchases—had been made in Ulster; and had been made in cases where there were no arrears at all, and he complained that purchases had taken place where there were no arrears and no distress. Those statements of the hon. Member, who lectured the Government on their ignorance of Ireland, were diametrically opposed to each other. Then the hon. Member for East Mayo supported the new theory,

which had already been replied to, that the Government were on the horns of a fearful dilemma because, if the tenants were to pay a lower price in future than they paid before, this was tantamount either to a censure or the previous rents as being unjust or to an admission that they were now robbing the landlords. It was, however, the invocation of the credit of the State which made the difference between the two, and that was one of the very first principles of the whole of the arrangement, as, by being able to borrow money cheaper than it could be done by an ordinary borrower, the State was in a position to let the tenant buy at a cheaper rate, and therefore he was enabled to pay an instalment smaller than his rent, while yet the landlord was satisfied. He noticed that argument again, because the Government had been abused because they had not repeated arguments over and over again that they had used in former debates. Now, the speech of his right hon. Friend opposite had shown that the proposed Instruction, as drawn and presented to the House, was absolutely impossible of acceptance; but he said they could amend it in Committee.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: You can draw it out in the clauses.

MR. GOSCHEN: But it was by drawing it out in the clauses that would show the impossibility of dealing with it. [An hon. MEMBER: Let us see.] The hon. and learned Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. Waddy) argued that they ought to deal with arrears and close them up before they began to negotiate. Now, was that the view of the Leader of the Opposition? If they dealt with arrears before they began to negotiate, they opened up that vista to which allusion had already been made—that every tenant in arrears would come and say, "I wish to buy; wipe out my arrears," and when the Land Commission had cleared him, he might turn round and say, "I am prepared to give only five or ten years' purchase; otherwise I won't buy." Was it not clear that a proposal of that kind would simply wipe out all the arrears without promoting the purchase? On the other hand, suppose they made the arrears and the purchase independent negotiations, then it was said that the screw was applied to the tenants to force them into a hard bargain. If they once made the remission of arrears conditional on the agreement, they had not advanced the question at all from the point of view of hon. Members opposite. Hon. Members from Ireland did not want it conditional on, but independent of, the agreement, and then it was impossible to accept the proposal of his right hon. Friend. Therefore it would be perfectly futile to accept a proposition of the kind, because it would be impossible to work it out in clauses, which would either be absolutely unacceptable or would be nugatory and even injurious to the tenant. Then, again, there were no cases in which it had been necessary to pay more than 20 years' purchase, and yet the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had spoken of cases of gross iniquity, and appeared to think that the Land Commission would give the landlords the facility of wringing unjust rents out of the tenants. £5,000,000 had been spent, £1,000,000 more had been applied for, yet no single case of individual injustice had been shown. ["Hear, hear!" *and* "No, no!"] He held, therefore, that it could not be said that the tenants who had purchased their holdings had paid too much. ["Yes, yes!"]

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): They are being sold out in Kerry now by the Purchase Commissioners for the instalments.

MR. GOSCHEN: Because they have not paid their instalments. What has that got to do with it? There might have been one or two cases, but the fact that in two or three cases in Kerry the tenants had not paid their instalments did not prove that these instalments were too high. It was impossible to judge from single individual cases. The hon. Member by his interruption did not show that the tenants had paid too much.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) said, that he had mentioned the case of the Marquess of Waterford's tenants, who had, under pressure, contracted to pay too high a sum by way of purchase money.

MR. GOSCHEN repeated that if tenants had really been subjected to undue pressure, they would have been overwhelmed with cases in proof thereof. At all events, he would put it fairly to the House. Out of 8,000 or 10,000 cases, was there any which had been brought forward showing that there had been

that strain put on the tenants which has been alleged? And, again, he must point to the protection which was given to the tenant by the Land Commission. And in answer to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he must repeat what had been stated over and over again in former debates, that the protection to the State was at the same time a protection to the tenant. That was the protection afforded by machinery of an organization against which no complaints were brought; and besides that, the Government were able to bring forward the satisfactory proof, in the sales which had actually taken place, of the remarkably small number of years' purchase which had been given. The average price in Kerry was not 17 years' purchase, but 16·8, which included arrears. Supposing there were in Kerry cases where there were arrears extending over four or five years, it would appear that the number of years' purchase was only 11 or 12. That looked much more as if the amount of arrears in Kerry had induced the landlords to accept a very low price than as if the existence of arrears had enabled the landlords to place any strong pressure on the tenants. He had endeavoured to meet frankly the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It was not that the Commissioners asked themselves directly what was due to the landlord and what was due to the tenant in a particular case; but the tenants had the security which he had described—namely, that the Commissioners would not, for the sake of the State, sanction a purchase that was unduly high for the value of the property. He ventured to think that through the action of the Commission there had been none of those cases to which the right hon. Gentleman has alluded. He had endeavoured to prove that while the right hon. Gentleman had spoken theoretically, and had said that there might be gross cases of injustice, it had been impossible to prove that any palpable amount of injustice had been done throughout these large transactions, and the figures of the sales showed that the rate had not been exorbitant, and that there was real protection in the Commission which watched over the interests of the State and at the same time indirectly over the interests of the tenant.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had put a plain question to the Government and had asked for a plain answer. He asked whether the Government adhered to the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury, that the Commissioners, before sanctioning any purchase, took means and were empowered to make inquiries as to the basis of that purchase. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had evaded that point, because, by a solemn judicial decision, Mr. Lynch, one of the Commissioners, stated that they had no such power. The decision was given in the case of one of the Waterford tenants. It was reported in *The Irish Law Times*, and the decision had ruled hundreds of cases since it was delivered. The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that there was duress in that case; but the Land Commissioners decided that there was no duress. Lord Waterford was by no means a bad landlord; but in the bad times arrears accumulated on his estate, and a test case was taken from his estate into the Commissioners' Court. Lord Waterford was charged, through his agent, Captain Gandy, with forcing the tenants right and left, by means of writs of ejectment, to take advantage of the Ashbourne Act. The case which he himself took into Court from the Waterford estate was one in which the tenant was two or three years in arrear. Captain Gandy went to the tenant and asked him whether he would purchase, and the tenant said that he would. Before this, however, the agent had issued against the tenant writs of ejectment, and he wished particularly to point out that these documents were dated weeks anterior to the agreement to purchase. They asked the Purchase Commission, under these circumstances, for a decision, and the tenants came up and swore that they never would have purchased but for the writs issued against them. The Commissioners decided that this was not duress; but, as he had pointed out, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that it was. Which of these views was to prevail? The Irish Members were told that they were not precise in their facts. The facts of this case were reported, and could be read. What use, therefore, would it have been if they had taken subsequent cases before the Commissioners when they were solemnly told that the Commissioners had no power to go into the question? They were told by Mr.

Lynch that if two men came before him, one to buy and one to sell, and he sent down his valuer, who informed him that upon the tenant's right and the landlord's interest there was security for the advance by the State, he had nothing whatever to do with the antecedent relations between the parties. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, said, "What harm is there if a little pressure be used, so long as the State has good security?" That was all very well for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but what was it to the Irish Members? It was proved, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that these men had not paid too much, because in no case had 20 years' purchase been given. Twenty years' purchase of what? The man whose case he had referred to, could he have got a judicial rent fixed? If he had attempted it he would have been put out of his holding. The fact was, the 20 years' purchase was upon the old rent which had been paid, and this was equivalent to 40 years' purchase on the judicial rent. He should like to inform the House that there had not been a judicial rent fixed in 50 per cent of the farms in Ireland; a judicial rent had been fixed in the cases of about 200,000 farms out of 500,000. Men were prevented from going into Court because of the existence of arrears—because, if they went into Court, the landlord would at once issue an ejectment against them. The Fox tenantry came to him and asked him whether they should buy or not? He advised them to buy because they owed a year or a year and a-half's rent, and it was being added to the purchase-money. They hoped that times would improve, and as they would not be called upon for an instalment until late in the present year, they thought that they would be able to meet it. In *The Irish Times* of Tuesday last it would be seen that these tenants had sent in a petition to the Land Commissioners, in which they said that Lord Ashbourne was the greatest benefactor and pacificator that Ireland had ever had; but they were unable to pay their instalments. These men were fairly prosperous, and lived in a county where there had never been an agitation against the payment of rent, and there was no duress used against them. They were, however, tempted to purchase because, by doing so, they would get rid of existing arrears. This was the case on the Fox estate, and the temptation must be greater in the adjoining townlands. If the Government were unable to accept the Instruction, could they not at least accept an Amendment to this effect—that every payment of money, every order made by the Land Commissioners, should be an order made in open Court, that it should be made upon proceedings which the Land Commissioners were empowered to inquire into, and that the Commissioners should take care that the security should be a security with reference to the landlord's interest in the holding? It must be remembered that the tenants' interest was made extinguishable by the non-payment of a year's rent. It was a novelty to hear the Irish Attorney General telling the tenants that they owned half the soil in Ireland; yet his chief could tell audiences there was an exact analogy between Irish tenants and those living in the slums of London. If the Government wished to give relief to the tenants and security to the State, they would make this a judicial proceeding, and only allow a transaction to be carried through when it was found by the Land Commission that there had been no duress. Look at the case of "Londonderry *v.* Fergusson," in which the landlord sought to get an order for the recovery of rent which would be the subject of judicial abatement. How were tenants to stand independently before such landlords? In the Waterford case the Land Commissioners said they had no power to go behind what the valuer said, and they declined to allow the previous relations of landlord and tenant to be opened up. He recently met the Duke of Abercorn in the Land Court looking for his quarter of a million. As he jostled up against the Duke he experienced a profound emotion, and he said to himself, here was the brother of a Cabinet Minister who was endeavouring to force through Parliament a Bill which would put a quarter of a million of this swag into his pocket. When such men threw out hints of what might happen if tenants did not purchase, the tenants could not be acting freely. The landlords might be animated by profoundly disinterested motives, but it was difficult to believe it. When the ducal brother of a Cabinet Minister would benefit so much, the Cabinet hardly came into Court with clean hands. It was said that the details of cases were not furnished

by the Irish Members. It could hardly be expected that they would supply them in debate under the liability to be closured; but they could be supplied by thousands if the Bill were referred to a Select Committee. He repeated the challenge to the Government to show that the Land Commission had power to enter into antecedent relations; and, if the Government found they were wrong, let them give the Commission statutory power.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that the hon. and learned Member could not have described the transaction in question more inappropriately than by suggesting that the landlord went off with the swag. The tenant paid instalments that were lower than his rent, and the income of the landlord was invariably reduced. In the Waterford case the landlord entered into the usual agreement to purchase, and on the 11th of July the agreement came before two Commissioners upon the report of the inspector as to the sufficiency of the security. Afterwards application was made to one Commissioner, Mr. Lynch, to have the agreement cancelled on the ground of duress; and he held that the Commission had not jurisdiction to set aside deeds or contracts for sale, and that they could only decree specific performance on the application of either party. On the other hand, he was prepared at any stage, before the actual payment of money, to order stay of proceedings in any case in which there was evidence showing reasonable ground for application for relief; and, further, the Commissioner said there were circumstances in which he would not hesitate to throw upon the vendor the onus of applying to the Court for a decree for specific performance.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked the hon. and learned Gentleman to state all the facts of the case to the House.

MR. MADDEN said, he thought it unnecessary to do this. It was quite sufficient to mention the conclusion at which the Commissioner arrived. This House was not a Court of Appeal from the Commissioner. There was a Court of Appeal in Ireland to which the tenant could have gone, but did not. The Commissioner in giving judgment said that there was no evidence of any duress by the landlord to compel the tenant to enter into the agreement to purchase. Either the Commissioner was right or wrong. If he was right, there was an end of the matter, and there was no duress. If he was wrong, why did not the tenant appeal? He did not appeal, and they must take it that the Commissioner was right. The Commissioner pointed out that the mere existence of arrears on an estate could not be pleaded as a bar to a purchase. Did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian think that there ought to be no sales on estates where there were arrears, and that all tenants in arrear should be debarred from purchasing and thus prevented from obtaining this opportunity of wiping off their arrears? The Commissioner pointed out the "happy results" which flowed from these purchases in terminating strained relations between landlord and tenant. The House had been told that there were numerous cases in which pressure had been brought to bear upon tenants to purchase, but, notwithstanding all the hon. and learned Member for Longford's professional experience in matters of this kind, he could only relate this one case, which, upon being looked into, did not in any degree support his contention. The hon. and learned Member had also referred to the petition of certain tenants. The temptation to allude to that very amusing document was too much for the hon. and learned Gentleman. Certainly it was tempting; but what was this document? It was a petition presented by a tenant on the Lane-Fox estate, and the substance of it was, "We bless Lord Ashbourne as the greatest benefactor to the country, and we are paying our instalments." This was not a case of men who were led into a bargain which they could not fulfil. They said, "We are not men who are likely to live for 49 years," but the document rather led to the conclusion that they expected to live for 65 years, and so the sense of humour of the hon. and learned gentleman could not resist the reading of this document. What was the inference from this document? Here were men who were paying up, and what they said was this—"We want during the period of 10 or 15 years for which we expect we

have to live to pay a lighter rate." He could not see how that document strengthened the hon. and learned Member's case. These men had paid their instalments and were apparently quite willing to fulfil their engagements, though they made certain suggestions as to a change in the conditions of repayment. There was another observation of the hon. and learned Gentleman on which he wished to say a word. He said—"Take the rate of purchase upon judicial rents." If they were not judicial rents the tenants could go into the Courts and get judicial rents. With regard to Kerry, to which reference had been made, he was in a position to inform the House that there had been 275 sales in that County and only in 10 cases were the instalments in arrear. In one case the holding certainly was advertized for sale, but upon that being done the instalments in arrear were paid up, so that these figures could not be said to corroborate in any way the contention of the hon. and learned Member. Some remarks had been made with regard to the function of the Commissioners in this matter. It was true that their duty was to protect the State by seeing that the tenant did not purchase at a price for which his holding would not be adequate security. But this was practically an indirect and substantial protection to the purchasing tenant. And just in those cases where the tenant most required protection, where the value of his interest in his holding was least, would this indirect protection of the Commissioners be found to be most effective.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he thought it would very much facilitate discussion if members of the Government did not contradict one another. The hon. and learned Gentleman's argument was inconsistent with that of the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket). He wished to call attention to a very singular difference between statements of the Solicitor General for Ireland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had plainly stated to the House that the Commission in protecting the State also protected the tenant; but the Solicitor General had risen later, and at once this direct and identical protection had become an indirect protection. He would show that it was neither one nor the other. What the Solicitor General had said confirmed the view of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) that the tenant right was an additional security for the payment of the money, an assertion which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had most emphatically repudiated. The Solicitor General now admitted that when the Commissioners were discussing the terms of the agreement, what they asked was not whether the landlord's interest was alone sufficient security for the repayment of the money, but whether the landlord's interest *plus* the interest of the tenant was enough security. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was in entire disagreement with the Solicitor General with regard to this point. ["No, no!"] He had understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say, on the previous night, that there were two securities—there was the security of the ownership of the landlord and there was the security of the ownership of the tenant—and so there was a double security for the purchase of a single security, because the single thing that was bought was the landlord's interest, and for that there was the security of the landlord's interest and the tenant's interest. Now, there was the declaration from the Solicitor General that the Commissioners did not judge of the amount paid to the landlord by simply the landlord's interest, but by the tenant's interest combined with the landlord's. That declaration got rid of the double security, and showed how fallacious was the whole position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Solicitor General on this matter. Their whole position was that the security for the State was identical with security for the tenant; but how could that be. The only thing the Commissioners asked was whether the whole value of the farm was equal to the 17 years' purchase which the tenant had paid—the whole value of the farm including the ownership of the tenant and the landlord combined. Therefore the tenant might have given too much, and at the same time the State might be secured. It was a complicated question; but he repeated

that the tenant might make a bad bargain while the State obtained perfect security.

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not admit the argument of the hon. Member; but I cannot reply now, though I will do so when I rise.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would read to the House some very remarkable figures given to him by an hon. Member. The judicial rents on which purchases were made amounted to £97,000 odd. Griffith's valuation on the holdings amounted to £86,000 odd. So the valuation of the tenant and the amount of judicial rents purchased upon were practically identical. Griffith's valuation included the improvements of the tennnt, and, therefore, the Commissioners included the value of the tenant's improvements in the security for the money which the tenant agreed to pay. Accordingly the bargain might be a good one for the State and a bad one for the tenant, and this being the case, some protection for the latter ought to be provided.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) said, that it was not until the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland had been delivered that the most important objection which had been urged had been understood; and the Solicitor General had understood it more than grappled with it. The objection was that between the tenant and the State there was not that identity of interest which was necessary if the action of the Commissioners was to be looked to for the protection of the tenant. He was one of those who had not seen their way to oppose the Government's proposition. The reason which made him vote in favour of the principle of the Bill made him anxious that some Instruction such as that now under consideration should be adopted. But the very fact that a satisfactory and considerable security had been obtained for the State was just the reason that might make the Commissioners indifferent as regarded the tenant unless they had the duty cast upon them to see that an undue proportion of the money advanced did not go in payment for the landlord's interest. They would have no reason to inquire whether the tenant had made a fair bargain with the landlord. What was wanted, and what he pressed the Government to do, was to take care that the very purpose for which this public money was being offered should be fulfilled, and that this public money should not be taken merely for the sake of enabling landlords in Ireland to get better bargains than they would otherwise obtain. What they on that (the Opposition) side wanted was that a fair bargain should be made between landlord and tenant, and that only so much of the public money as the landlord was properly entitled to should go into the landlord's pocket. What they asked the Government to do, if they wished the Act to be really useful, was to accept the principle of the Instruction, and to develop it. Unless the Government took this step, they would render useless what might otherwise be a most useful and beneficial measure. He rejoiced once more to find himself in accordance with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, he absolutely denied that in this matter the protection to the State was any protection whatsoever to the tenant. The Solicitor General for Ireland, in introducing the Bill, made the very valuable admission that in the majority of cases the interest of the tenant in his holding was greater than that of the landlord.

MR. MADDEN: What I said was that in many cases in Ireland the value of the tenant's interest under the existing law sold for a larger price than the fee-simple.

MR. MAHONY said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman admitted that in many cases the tenant's interest sold in the open market for more than the landlord's interest, and pointed out that that was a great security for the State. But when the hon. and learned Gentleman spoke a while ago he took quite a different view. There were 519 cases, involving a sum of £243,000 purchase-money, in which the Land Commissioners refused to assent to the terms of purchase, but subsequently sanctioned an agreement, when the purchase-money was reduced by £41,000. That showed that the tenants had been induced by some means or other to agree to pay £41,000 more than the holdings were worth. These holdings were security for only four-fifths of the money. But the holding meant the tenant's interest and the landlord's interest combined. In the 519 cases he had mentioned, the

inspectors went down and looked at the whole value of the holdings or the interests of landlord and tenant combined, and therefore we had it beyond contradiction that those unfortunate tenants had agreed to pay £41,000 for the landlords' interest alone more than the landlords' and tenants' interests combined were worth. He would like the Chancellor of the Exchequer to point out a single word in the Act which enabled the Commissioners to withhold their sanction if there was sufficient security, and one-fifth of the money was kept in their hands as an extra security.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, he had received a letter with reference to a tenant named Reidy, in the County Kerry. The landlord asked him to purchase at about 17 years' purchase. This would mean £120 a-year as the purchase instalments. Reidy considered the terms too high, and refused to purchase. Ultimately he agreed to the terms on the landlord promising to pay for him the first two instalments of the purchase money. The landlord also gave Reidy a present of nine cows and gave him 10 more in time. The first two instalments of the purchase money were paid by the landlord. When the third fell due Reidy was only able to pay £40. When the fourth instalment became due, in May last, Reidy was only able to raise £50 by selling the stock of his farm, and he has been served with a writ for the arrears. What was that but robbing of the public purse? He would undertake, if the debate were adjourned, to bring from County Kerry several instances of tenants being put out of possession, and in particular would prove that in the case of one man the sheriff had come to him with a signed purchase agreement in one hand and a writ in the other.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, he wished to draw attention to the proposition of the First Lord of the Treasury, which went to the root of the discussion. The First Lord had pointed to the Land Commissioners as being possessed of an authority and as using that authority to consider the equity of the terms between the vendors and the purchasers. His right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian challenged the First Lord to say whether or not the Commissioners possessed and did exercise that authority, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer evaded that question. He said that if the Commissioners considered the interest of the State they would at the same time consider the interest and equity of the tenant. He would venture to answer the question of his right hon. Friend out of the mouth of Commissioner Lynch himself. In the judgment which was first brought to the attention of the House by the hon. and learned Member for Longford (Mr. Healy), and upon which the Solicitor General for Ireland afterwards endeavoured to pu a new and different complexion, Commissioner Lynch used the following language:—

> "The basis of our jurisdiction is the agreement of the parties. Our duty, then, if we are otherwise satisfied with the security, and if a guarantee deposit is provided as required by the Act, is to make the advance; if we are not so satisfied we reject the application."

He wished particularly to call the attention of the House to the following sentence:—

> "We have no power to fix prices or revise contracts for sale, and therefore it behoves both landlords and tenants to consider well the terms of sale before entering into agreements."

He submitted that that was a complete answer to the challenge of his right hon. Friend, and overthrew completely and entirely the position taken up by the First Lord of the Treasury.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, what he maintained was that it was the duty of the Commissioners to see that the advance which they sanctioned was one which the conditions of the case would permit; and those conditions, indirectly, as his right hon. Friend had said, were the most sure and complete protection of the tenant. What the Commissioners took into account when their surveyor went to inspect the holding was the rent or annuity which a solvent tenant might be expected to pay for the holding as a tenant. [Several hon. MEMBERS: As it stands.] That was to say, it was the landlord's interest that was sold. [*Cries of* "No!"] That he asserted to be the case, and those who questioned it must obtain information which would overthrow that statement. The tenant's interest was not purchased by the advance which was made by the Commissioners. All the interest that was purchased was the landlord's in-

terest. The rent to be paid to the landlord was one which the Commissioners, by the report which they received, had reason to believe was an annuity in the place of rent, which the tenant might with ease continue to pay. That that was so was shown by the fact that the judicial rent was reduced by from 20, 25, and even 30 per cent, and that judicial rent had been fixed as a rent which the tenant might reasonably, rightly, morally, and lawfully pay to the landlord for his holding.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 148; Noes 182: Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 301.)

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) moved—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that power be taken in the Bill to enable the Land Commission to permit of tenants, when purchasing their holdings, to also purchase grass land or other lands not held to be used wholly or mainly for the purposes of tillage, and situated in the neighbourhood of their holdings."

It would be an enormous boon to thousands of poor tenants in the west of Ireland, whose holdings were insufficient to maintain themselves and their families, if they could be allowed to take a few acres—three or five, or at most 15 or 20 acres—from adjoining grass farms. In many instances the owners of these large farms would be willing to sell small portions of these farms to tenants. In this way the cottiers in the congested districts in the west might be materially benefited, and would be able to practise that rotation of crops which was absolutely necessary to prevent the exhaustion of the soil. They would change the whole status of the tenants if they adopted his Amendment, and if they took a prudent view of grass farms. The people were hungering after them. It would help the landlords and it would enormously help the tenants, besides showing the people in that far part of Ireland that the Government were willing, not only to concede something, but something that the public wanted. His principle was to begin improving small men—men of two acres or five acres, and so on up to 15 acres; not that they were better than the big men, but because the money went further. If they adopted his suggestion they would do great good in the west of Ireland, and the people would be immensely improved.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.) seconded the Motion, pointing out that in the congested districts they might go for miles without seeing a house or a human being, but it was only when they penetrated into the most inaccessible districts that they realized the situation. What was the genesis of this vast expanse of grass land in the west of Ireland? In the time of the famine great stretches of land were turned into grass farms, but most of those great speculations came to grief, and the days of large cattle ranches in Ireland were doomed and gone. Those grass lands, extending over hundreds of thousands of acres, were incapable at present of rearing the stock they were originally intended for, but if they were split up into small parcels and handed over to the farmers, it would inevitably have the effect of increasing the comfort and well-being of the farmers and make them a self-respecting class of the community.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to enable the Land Commission to permit of tenants, when purchasing their holdings, to also purchase grass land or other lands not held to be used wholly or mainly for the purposes of tillage and situated in the neighbourhood of their holdings."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) thought that a more unfortunate question in reference to Ireland could not be brought forward than was embodied in the present Instruction. It was one that had come down from a very long time past. The result of the policy that came into vogue after the famine of amalgamating farms and laying them down in grass was that the poorer tenants had been driven to the bad lands, to the fringe of a bog, to sandhills, and the barren coast line of the west, so that the parts of the country which were least able to support a large population were precisely those where the population was congested. The population of Ireland had decreased by 20,000 during the past year, and he was sure the Government, Radical or Tory, which would stay this depletion by giving employment to labourers and small farmers to enable them to stay at home would deserve the thanks of the people of Ireland and of

all good people. He had often wondered that it had never struck some Members of the Government that great relief would be given if these large grass farms were cut up and offered in the market. If they were to cut up those grass farms, and give a preference to those which were connected with adjoining farms of a different character, they would soon effect a considerable improvement in the condition of those parts of the country in which grass farming prevailed. In connection with that question, they ought to bear in mind the immense impulse that would be given to employment if a better system of farming could be made to supersede grass farming. Grass lands always had a tendency to degenerate into moss, or waste, and such farming ought to be discouraged. The Government ought to take this matter up, and they might do so with a reasonable prospect of raising Ireland out of the miserable condition she was in.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, he did not complain of the spirit in which the Amendment had been brought before the House. He did not propose to argue the question of the purchase of grass land, although he believed there were cases in which it would be an undoubted advantage to the tenant if he had the opportunity of adding some grass land to his farm. But where the landlord and tenant were willing to carry out such a transaction as was suggested in the Instruction, they could do it outside the Act. The question was whether money was to be advanced under the present Act for that purpose. If they adopted any such proposal as this it was obvious that very stringent provisions would have to be taken in order to prevent its being used in a way contrary to the spirit of the Act. He might say that there were on the Paper two Amendments which were opposed to the proposed Instruction, and those Amendments stood in the names of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). He opposed the Instruction on the ground that it would be necessary, to a great extent, to recast the Act in order to make such an Amendment practicable.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) said, he thought it an unfair method of argument for the right hon. Gentleman to bring forward Amendments on the Paper which had not yet been reached in opposition to the Instruction now before the House. If this Instruction had been proposed from the other side of the House, the Government would, he believed, have accepted it, for it was plainly a just and beneficial proposal. The only argument urged against it was that there was another and different Instruction on the Paper standing in the name of another hon. Member. Unless the Bill was extended, as this Instruction suggested, its benefits would be confined entirely to the class of large tenants, and it would be of no service whatever to the small cottier tenants in the poor districts of the country. What the Instruction proposed was merely that when an estate was being sold the landlord should be empowered to split up the adjoining grass lands and allocate portions of such grass lands to the purchasing tenants. This would enable the tenants who purchased to improve their position, and would thereby not only benefit them, but provide additional security to the State. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Irish Representatives could go and advise their constituents on this matter. The right hon. Gentleman would be taken at his word and his *bona fides* would be tested. But if the Bill were enlarged, as suggested, it might be of service to the poor cottier tenants and save them from their present unhappy position.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) said, he regretted that the hon. Member who had just sat down had thrown unnecessary bitterness into this question. He wished that hon. Members from Ireland who sat on the Benches opposite should accept from him the assurance that those on his side of the House who came from the North of Ireland desired as heartily and earnestly as did hon. Members opposite the welfare of the peasantry of the South and West of Ireland. There should be no sectional difference on this subject; and, therefore, when so reasonable a proposition as that of the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway was submitted to the House he desired

briefly to express his hearty concurrence and his hope that Her Majesty's Government would find themselves able to accept, at any rate, the spirit of the proposal.

MR. COMMINS Roscommon, S.) said, he desired to express his concurrence with the sentiments of the last speaker. He held there would be no difficulty in inserting a clause giving effect to the proposal. He attributed the distress in the congested districts mainly to the tenants having been deprived, at the time of the famine, of their grass lands, which were let at low rents, as grazing farms, to Scotch contractors.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) said, an amount of irrelevant matter had been introduced into the discussion of the simple proposition of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway, which would be perfectly incredible to anyone who had not had experience of this House. He could not urge the Government to accept the Instruction in the present Bill, because it would encumber it in a way which the period of the year and the circumstances of the case would not admit of, but he thought something of the kind might usefully be considered in connection with any larger measure. He thought it would be equally in the interest of all parties concerned. It certainly would facilitate the sale of some estates where the landlord might be willing to dispose of his property, provided he could do so as a whole, but would not do it if he were obliged to leave his estate in a chess-board state, with the grass farms unsold and the tillage farms parted with. He was the occupier of a grass farm himself, and he admitted that he should be willing to buy the lady up who owned it. Therefore, he supported the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member, while he could not recommend its adoption in the present Bill.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he would appeal to the House not to prolong the discussion. The question had been discussed in a very friendly and amicable spirit on both sides, and had certainly not been met in a hostile spirit by the Government supporters. There were very serious difficulties in the way of engrafting the proposal on to this Bill, but it was a matter which might very fairly be raised by a separate and distinct proposition, and in a distinct Bill. If the Instruction were not to be withdrawn, he hoped they might be permitted to divide upon it at once.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that he would withdraw it if the Government would undertake to legislate upon it next Session.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, the interest of the subject to Irish Members was shown by the fact that, although the Instruction was moved from below the Gangway on the Opposition side, its principle had received the support of two Irish Members on the Ministerial side. Still, they had before them a good many matters of importance that were more germane to the Bill. Therefore, if they were to have a Division, it might be taken at once; but perhaps the hon. and gallant Member would be content with the assurances of support he had received.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) declared that he must regard the speeches of the Solicitor General for Ireland and the First Commissioner of Works as nothing short of a positive insult to the Irish Members, who were not to be put off with flimsy and paltry excuses two years old. He regarded the present question as a test of the good faith of the Government in their proclaimed endeavours to do something for the working poor of Ireland.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 128; Noes 159: Majority 31.—(Div. List, No. 302.)

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Increase of limit of advances by Irish Land Commission, and provision therefor).

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston), in rising to move, in page 1, line 7, to leave out the word "ten" and insert the words "six and a-half," said, the object of the Amendment was to limit the sum to be used for the continuance of the Ashbourne Act. He did not propose this particular sum because he believed the principle of the Bill to be a good one, or because it was likely to do much good for the pacification of Ireland. He had already discharged his duty by voting, as he should do on all other occasions, against the grant of any fur-

ther sum for carrying out the provisions of the Land Purchase Act. Having done that, and having been beaten in the Divisions, he thought the opportunity should not be lost of endeavouring to reduce the amount, and his proposal was to vote £1,500,000 instead of £5,000,000. From the figures given by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden), it appeared that 14,338 applications had been made under Lord Ashbourne's Act, of which 8,632 had been closed, leaving 5,706 to be dealt with. If the total applications—14,338 — were complied with, the £5,000,000 already voted would be exceeded, according to the hon. and learned Gentleman, by something like £1,000,000. He thought it was time that they should close the account, and as £1,000,000 was stated by the hon. and learned Solicitor General to be the amount necessary to complete the present applications, he proposed £1,500,000, believing that that sum would cover everything. He wished to fix a limit to the advances of money under the Act. £5,000,000 were granted by the first Act; it was now proposed to vote another £5,000,000, and there was no guarantee that they would not be asked to grant £5,000,000 more from time to time for the purpose of carrying out what many considered to be a wrong principle. He desired to have the account closed for this reason: that the sooner it was closed the sooner would the Irish land scheme, which they were told was in the minds of the Government, be produced. If it existed, the sooner it was produced the better, and if it was a good scheme, then the sooner it was passed the better. At all events, all encouragement to delay its production should be avoided. But he objected to the present Bill on account of its principle, and therefore he wanted to limit the amount of money granted under it. It created a new class of landowners, and the more new landlords there were created in Ireland the more difficult it would be to deal with the Land Question in the future. One of the difficulties of dealing with the Land Question in Ireland arose from the many different titles which had from time to time been created under various Land Acts. By creating these new occupying owners they would be creating a class which would form an additional barrier to the carrying out of radical changes in the land system of Ireland. Therefore, although he was quite willing that small occupying owners should be created, he did not think that public money should be given under that plea partly for the relief of the landlords, and partly for the benefit of a small class of tenants. He thought that whenever public money was voted it should be used for the benefit of the community at large, and not for one or two particular classes, or for the encouragement of a system that would interpose an obstacle to the settlement of the land difficulty in Ireland. He had also another reason. He had no wish to see the Government placed in more direct relations with a larger number of the Irish tenants. It was said that the security was good. He did not think the security was better than that proposed in the Bill introduced by the late Government. Indeed, it did not seem to him to be as good a security as that which was then condemned. At that time many vigorous speeches were delivered, not only in Birmingham, but in other parts of the Kingdom, in which that security was called flimsy and unstable. If it was flimsy and unstable then, it was flimsy and unstable now, and he did not envy the consistency of those men who went blithely into the Lobby to support this grant on flimsy and unstable security, while they indignantly repudiated in 1886 any scheme for taking money from the British taxpayers for the benefit of Irish landowners. Another objection was that the money, as it was proposed to be applied, would not touch those classes which most needed help. Only 2 per cent of the 400,000 tenants in Ireland with holdings under 30 acres, whom they professed their anxiety to relieve from the poverty and hardship of their present life, had been touched by the £5,000,000 already voted. £5,000,000 more would affect but little those portions of the country where the social condition of the people was worst. From the last Report it would appear that 7,711 tenants had been relieved in the Province of Ulster, and only 6,627 in the other three Provinces. It was remarkable that the money to relieve the landlords should have been distributed mostly in that portion of Ireland which supported the Government. It had never

been contended that the money was intended to benefit the community at large. It had been used for the benefit of a class which scarcely deserved the largest amount of the sympathy of the Legislature. The Bill had been spoken of as a measure for the pacification of Ireland, but that task must be a very easy one if dealing with some 8,000 farms could effect the pacification of the country. Only 2 per cent of the poorest class of the Irish tenants had been relieved, so that the result had, as regarded the relief of poverty, been exceedingly minute. If the Act of Lord Ashbourne had been really useful in effecting the pacification of Ireland, then the sum of £5,000,000 was much too small, and it ought to be at least £50,000,000. He apprehended that the Government desired to have this £5,000,000 in order to put off the day when they would have to produce a complete land scheme. Those who believed that the scheme of the Government should be produced at the earliest possible day were perfectly justified in limiting the amount of money to be granted. It must have been noticed that as the discussion upon the Bill proceeded the smaller the majorities of the Government became. That ought to teach them a lesson, like the Bill brought on earlier in the year for the payment of a salary to the Under Secretary for Ireland. Another good thing had been brought home by these debates, not only to Members of the House, but to the public outside—namely, that Lord Ashbourne's Act was a scheme which benefited only a small class of persons in Ireland, and that it could not benefit the poorest tenants to any large extent. What he held was that public money ought not to be expended for the advantage of one section of the people of Ireland alone. The labouring classes in England asked for allotments, and were most anxious to have them, but the Allotments Act of last year had proved a sham, and they had been unable to get them. He, for one, objected to a sum of £5,000,000 being voted by Parliament in order to do a piece of work in Ireland that would confer little or no benefit upon the poorest class of the community, while agricultural labourers in England were unable to obtain land, because public money could not be used to help them.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 7, to leave out the word "ten," and insert the words "six and a half."—(*Sir Walter Foster.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, the hon. Member had not only raised the question of the amount to be granted, but had again attacked the general principle of the Bill. He thought hon. Members opposite would scarcely expect that the Government should again enter upon the general question, and the speeches of hon. Members on both sides of the House ought to be confined to the actual sum to be voted. The hon. Member had once more raised the somewhat odious point that the friends of the Government were being favoured with regard to the application of the money. Hon. Members must know that the Government had absolutely no control or influence with regard to the orders or dealings of the Land Commission. And here he would make a confident appeal to hon. Members opposite. They had admitted that they had confidence in the Land Commissioners, with the exception of one hon. Member, who always attacked everybody, and who would not admit the honesty of anybody except himself. [*Cries of* "Name!" An hon. MEMBER: Do not be afraid!] He did not wish to mention any name; but hon. Members opposite who had been in their places throughout the evening would know who had attacked the independence of the Commissioners. During the debate hon. Members admitted that they trusted the Land Purchase Commissioners, because they were willing to put the question of arrears into their hands. When they were challenged as to whether they trusted the Commissioners, by their silence they practically admitted that they did trust them. It was an absolutely false suggestion that influence had in any way been brought to bear on the Land Commissioners to favour the tenants or landlords in any particular part of Ireland, or to favour any particular class of applicants. The Commissioners were bound to listen to and to deal with the applications as they came in, and

he felt called upon on behalf of the Land Commission to repudiate the suggestion that they had in any way favoured any class of persons whatever. The hon. Member argued that the sum should be limited, partly because he did not believe that the right persons would receive the money. But if the hon. Member had studied from year to year the applications to purchase, he would see that the applications were, in an increasing degree, coming from the precise districts in which he would desire to see the money distributed; and it was from Kerry and other congested districts that applications had lately been increasing. It was not true that no applications for a fair share of the grant had been made by the poorer districts of Ireland. He wished to impress upon the Committee the fact that Kerry stood third in all Ireland in the order of counties which had made applications for purchase.

SIR WALTER FOSTER: In number, or in amount?

MR. GOSCHEN: In number; 860 loans had been applied for in that county. He thought that was satisfactory, and he did not see why the hon. Member should desire to diminish the significance of the fact. Then, again, in the county of Donegal there had been 706 applications. That also was a poor county. From the whole of the Province of Ulster the applications numbered 7,700, but in this number both Monaghan and Donegal were included, and the hon. Member knew very well that both in Monaghan and in Donegal there were a large number of poor tenant purchasers. Therefore it was not true that all the money had hitherto gone to the richer and more thriving districts, but the facts were quite the contrary, and there was an increasing number of applications from the less thriving districts, where it was especially desired by hon. Members to see the number of owners multiplied. He would ask the Committee whether it was desirable to check the new movement in the direction of a peasant proprietary by limiting the number of applicants? The hon. Member knew that there were already a large number of applications, and he wished to limit the number. By that means the Commission would be brought practically to a deadlock, and it was precisely that state of things the Government were anxious to avoid. The hon. Member wished to see a comprehensive Land Bill introduced. He hoped the hon. Member also wished to see it passed, as well as introduced. But did the hon. Member realize that if his suggestion were complied with they would have to propose that Land Bill in the early part of next Session? But the Government had to consider the demands and requirements of England and Scotland, as well as Ireland; and the hon. Member was aware that many important Scotch and English questions demanded the attention of Parliament. The Government, therefore, were not prepared, in the very first month of next Session, again to engage in the discussion of an Irish Land Purchase Bill. They asked the House to give them a sum which would be sufficient to carry them over till the time came—which, he hoped, would be no remote time—when they would be able to submit their plans to the House. It would be entirely breaking down the object they had proposed for themselves to vote a smaller sum to carry them over the interval which must necessarily elapse before a larger measure could be proposed and carried. He asked the Committee to confine themselves to the question as to whether or not they should vote a sum sufficient to bridge over the interval, and not to go through again those principles which had already been discussed at considerable length. The money would be distributed fairly in all parts of Ireland, without favour and without advantage to any applicant. The applications would be taken, as hitherto, in the order of their being presented to the Commission. He trusted that, in the course of time, a large number of applications would be made by those portions of Ireland where they especially desired to see a peasant proprietary established.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer contended that, as the Amendment merely applied to the amount of money to be raised by the Bill, there was no reason why the Committee should enter into a discussion of the general principles of the measure. He did not propose to detain the Committee with more than a very few sentences. In con-

sidering the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Sir Walter Foster), he thought they ought to look to the time at which that Bill was introduced, and what had happened since. The Bill was laid upon the Table of the House a week or so ago, but since that time there had been a series of debates which had damaged the Bill to a greater extent than any Bill he ever remembered. He would give an illustration of his meaning. One of the most important speeches that had been made was made by an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, an ex-Minister belonging to the Conservative Party—the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). The noble Lord described the Bill as being altogether financially unsound; and he (Sir George Trevelyan) ventured to say that, in the arguments used by the noble Lord in support of that contention, he was supported by the general feeling of the House. [*Cries of* "No!"] Certainly the noble Lord was supported by the general feeling of the House, and was supported, also, to a considerable extent, by the feeling of the Treasury Bench; for, if ever he had seen a Ministry glad to catch at a straw, it was when the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer to whom he was referring said he would support the Bill, although he believed it to be financially unsound, as it only asked for £5,000,000 more. He had read carefully the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which followed that of the noble Lord. He could not put his finger upon any sentence in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted the Bill to be financially unsound; but the general tone of his speech was a complete acknowledgment of the strength of the arguments of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. The noble Lord supported the Bill notwithstanding that he regarded it as financially unsound, but because a sum of £5,000,000 was all that was asked for. Here, then, they had a Bill, the financial soundness of which was attacked by the Opposition side of the House with arguments that were unanswerable and unanswered, the defence of the Government being that they were only going to ask for another £5,000,000. He would ask the Committee to consider what that meant. They had been told in many speeches, and in the eloquent peroration of the eloquent speech of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), that this was a Bill for pacifying and settling Ireland, and doing away with those difficulties between landlord and tenant in Ireland, which was the real problem they had to solve. That, at any rate, was a fine description of the Bill, and hon. Members who voted for it might think they were doing a great public service. There was no fine description of that kind put forward now; it was altogether withdrawn. There was no pretence of pacifying Ireland or of settling the Irish question by this Bill, and the issue had been narrowed to this—that they were simply asked to vote another £5,000,000 in order that those fortunate great families in Ireland, which happened to be first in the field, should be allowed to go off with the taxpayers' money in their pockets, leaving their obligations and their positions as landlords behind them. He admitted the truth and justice of what the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said as to the Government. He should take shame to himself if he were to suggest that the Government were favouring or playing into the hands of these families, but these families were in the market anxious to sell their estates for £200,000 or £300,000; and £5,000,000 of the public money were asked for by which their wish would be gratified. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Then for what other motive was the money asked? They were now told by the Government itself that the Bill was such that it was a calumny and an injustice to say that it would lead to any more Bills like it in the future. He maintained that the measure was not financially for the advantage of the taxpayer, and that it simply enabled a system of land purchase to be carried out in Ireland for the benefit of the Irish landlords at the expense of the British taxpayer. They were told by the Government, in their defence, that it was not meant to be a great scheme, nor a perfect scheme, nor even a sound scheme, but was only meant to provide £5,000,000 more to keep things going.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he presumed that the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to misrepresent. In his first speech

he (Mr. Goschen) had said that this proposal was to be limited to £5,000,000. There was no departure from the attitude he had taken up on the matter from the first. He had, in his speech, distinctly stated that the Bill was not intended as a redemption of their pledge that they would bring in a larger measure, but intended only to bridge over the interval until their larger measure could be introduced.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN said, he was not speaking of the personal attitude of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but of the way in which the scheme was regarded by the House on the first night, and of the speeches by which it was then defended. The Government were very glad on the first night to have the scheme defended and spoken of as a grand scheme to pacify Ireland. They were now glad to have it defended on the statement that it was not a perfect scheme, but simply a measure to divide £5,000,000 more among the Irish landlords. Now, he absolutely objected, as a Representative of the British taxpayers, to vote £5,000,000 for a scheme which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he did not consider to be a perfect scheme, and which he himself considered very imperfect and exceedingly dangerous. It was not a scheme for the advantage of trustworthy tenants in Ireland who had shown their *bona fides* by paying a portion of the purchase money, but it was a scheme for clearing the estates of certain landlords who wanted to have them cleared. It had been stated in debate that certain great families were going to receive large sums at the expense of the British taxpayers. He was told that it was a libel to say so. Well, he did not know that it was a libel; he had no means of knowing the facts. He knew nothing about the matter. All he knew was that in June the Government said they would ask the House to vote £5,000,000 sterling with, for aught he knew, a good deal more to follow. Would not a Government which respected the House of Commons have given directions to the Land Commissioners to draw up statistics and facts on that subject to be laid before the Representatives of the taxpayers? He was told that a Blue Book—a Report of the Land Commission—had been made up, not to September, October, or November, but to August last. He had seen it in the hands of hon. Gentlemen opposite. It was a small, compact document, which might have been got up and printed in a week, and considering that it was not only in type, but absolutely bound in blue on Monday morning, it might surely have been placed in the hands of hon. Members, at any rate, on that Friday evening. He was obliged to form his ideas on the question from the answers that were given to Questions and the tags of the rhetoric of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He was not certain that it was a libel to say that a great nobleman connected with the Government was to get a large portion of the money—£200,000 he believed. [An hon. MEMBER: More than that.] He might be uttering a great libel if he repeated an observation which had been made from the Opposition Benches and not been contradicted by the Ministry—namely, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland himself, the Head Executive Officer of that country, intended or hoped to profit under the Bill. He could only say that he trusted the allegation was a calumny. He could not conceive anything more indelicate or more improper than that the Head Executive Officer in Ireland should occupy such a position, because, although it might be said that he did it entirely in the interests of his tenants, still there were ill-natured people who would say that he did it for himself. He (Sir George Trevelyan) had been opposed to the Conservative Party all his life, but he was prepared to pay it this tribute, that he had always found it a good-natured Party. The Conservative Party evidently believed that if the Lord Lieutenant intended to sell his estates, he did it entirely for the benefit of his tenants. But whatever his object might be, it was something very like a scandal if a great officer connected with the Executive in Ireland got any benefit whatever from a Bill of such an equivocal nature as this one had been described, in the early part of the evening, to be. It must be remembered that in the House itself there was a large body of Members opposed to the Bill who had only been defeated by a majority of 34; and, looking at the great pressure that could be brought to bear upon the

tenants under the Bill, he maintained that no high officer in the position of the Lord Lieutenant ought to engage in any operation under the measure. Perhaps he himself might be wrong, and perhaps there were no great and powerful families which had carried away large sums of money under the Act; but still, for all that, they found themselves face to face with the position that the Bill was now defended on the other side of the House by the suggestion that this sum of £5,000,000 was the last £5,000,000 that would be asked for. It was a scheme which he defied any man, standing on the platform of a public meeting of his countrymen, to defend; and, under the circumstances, seeing that the Amendment of his hon. Friend exactly met the merits of the case, he should support the Amendment to substitute £1,500,000 for £5,000,000. That sum would just satisfy those tenants and those landlords who had carried through their arrangements up to the point of being something like a contract, and would also enable Parliament to discharge its obligations to the Treasury and to the taxpayer.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, he would not detain the Committee long by replying to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir George Trevelyan), which he had heard with as much disappointment and regret as any he had ever listened to in that House. Of course he should not have much to do in replying to it, because not one word of the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman had any bearing upon the Amendment now before the Committee. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would tell him what part of it he ought to reply to. He (Mr. Plunket) would repeat that he had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman with very great regret, because the right hon. Gentleman had adopted a style of appeal which was seldom heard in that House, or in any other Assembly, no matter how commonplace might be the character of the demagogic appeals made to it. The style of argument used by the right hon. Gentleman was such as that they were familiar with in the pages of a book called *The Financial Almanac*. Every one of the insinuations and suggestions which the right hon. Gentleman had thrown out was not a direct charge, but was calculated to create suspicion, to inflame passion, and to array class against class. And who was the right hon. Gentleman who had attempted to set class against class? He, who now sought to draw a distinction between £5,000,000 and £1,500,000, was himself the Minister who had introduced a Bill to expend £20,000,000 for the same purpose.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: On Irish credit.

MR. PLUNKET: On Irish credit! That was the only defence or excuse. Whether it was upon Irish credit or English credit, the money was to be advanced; and what difference did it make if the great shame was to be committed of these great families putting the money or the plunder into their own pockets? Supposing such a charge were true; what provision was there in the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman to prevent this from occurring? None whatever. He (Mr Plunket) said then that it was a total misrepresentation of the facts. It might be that the right hon. Gentleman had some other object than to inflame the minds of the public by representing that the great families were marching off with the public money. Was there anything which forbade the landlords, great or small, from coming in and benefiting by this Bill as well as their tenants? Where was the shame, and what was the scandal? The main policy of the Bill was the policy of the Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman. What did it matter who got the money—whether it was one landlord or another—so long as the benefit was produced and the occupying tenant converted into the owner? The right hon. Gentleman said that he did not directly charge the Government with playing into the hands of their friends. Did he not know that the Government could not play into their hands? Did he not know that the Government had nothing whatever to do with the distribution of these monies? He asked Englishmen, to whatever class they belonged, whether that was a fair method of attack? He asked the right hon. Gentleman not to say, "I will not give names," but, instead of throwing out insinuations, to make his charges in an open and straightforward manner. Passing away from the subject, which was distasteful and odious to him, he would

ask the Committee seriously to consider what was the real question before them. The Government asked for £5,000,000, and it was proposed by the Amendment to grant only £1,500,000. Why did they ask for £5,000,000 and not for £1,500,000? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government desired the Bill because they did not want the machinery of the Ashbourne Act, which had effected so much good and operated with such satisfaction, to fall to the ground. They were of opinion that the machinery should continue to be carried on; and in order to make sure that there should be no failure he said that £5,000,000 was a fair sum to ask for. How did the case stand? He believed that for the last two years the money voted by Parliament had been spent at the rate of £2,250,000 a-year. It had been spent at an increasingly larger rate; and was it not natural that as the benefits of the Act became appreciated, all classes of tenants —the poorest as well as the larger and more thriving—should desire to come in? As time went on the smaller had, in proportionally larger numbers, been coming in, and as far as any distinction was to be drawn between the last £5,000,000 and the present £5,000,000, the benefit would be more and more in the direction of the smaller tenants. Could they get anyone from Ireland to deny that, up to the present moment, the effect of these transactions had been not only beneficial to the landlords, but to the tenants? He could not deny that it might be possible to put their finger upon one case as an instance in which the working of the Act had not been wholly satisfactory, but in the mass of cases there could be no doubt that it had had a beneficial effect. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, with all their industry, ability, and zeal, had not—if they would forgive him for saying so—their heart in opposition to the Bill. They knew that there was a strong feeling in Ireland in favour of giving the experiment, successful as far as it had gone, a further fair trial. It was only an experiment on comparatively a small scale. It was the beginning of a policy which, with whatever qualification they might make in it in the future, all parties, from whatever part of Ireland they might come, regarded as sound. It was acknowledged that the scheme was popular in all parts of Ireland, and the Government asked the Committee to give them this additional £5,000,000—which was not in itself a large sum—with every prospect of developing the resources of the country at but slight risk to the State. The system had been successful, and they asked that it might not be interrupted, popular as it was with every class in Ireland. So far as not only the immediate but ultimate effects were concerned, speaking with some knowledge of the country, he declared that nothing but unmixed good would result.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, who commenced his speech by an attack upon his right hon. Friend the Member for the Bridgeton Division (Sir George Trevelyan), had stated that he believed his right hon. Friend was the author of a Bill which practically would have treated £20,000,000 in the same way as the present Bill treated £5,000,000.

MR. PLUNKET: I said for the purpose of his argument.

MR. CHILDERS said, he could not blame the right hon. Gentleman for not remembering all the proposals of that Bill, but there was one proposal which he appeared entirely to have forgotten—that not a single sixpence, under the Bill of his right hon. Friend, could be advanced until after the Representative of the county, elected by popular election, had decided that it should be advanced. The Bill enabled advances for the full amount of the purchase-money to be made to the tenants after the plan of advancing three-fourths under the Act of 1881 had failed. But the repayment had to be guaranteed by the county; and not only so, but that previous assent was necessary before any advance was made. Thus, if an advance were proposed to be made to purchase an estate in Tipperary, it was necessary, under the Bill of his right hon. Friend, that a Body popularly elected by the occupiers and owners of Tipperary should approve that particular advance; and without that approval it could not be made. That was a totally different manner from the proposal of the present Bill, where there was no popular representation whatever, where the county was not responsible

for the advance, and had no voice in its sanction. He believed the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who appeared to doubt his accuracy, would find that he was right in both those respects. He had not, however, risen merely for the purpose of putting that matter right, but to call attention to another point. The Government were aware in June or July that this proposal was to be brought forward. He wanted to know why they did not then instruct the Land Commissioners to cause to be prepared, before the House met in November, a complete Paper, to be laid before the House, showing the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act, with detailed accounts of the purchases and advances, giving the names of the sellers and the acreage of the farms? There was nothing to prevent them from making such a Return. The Act had now been in operation for three or three-and-a-quarter years; and he understood from the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Plunket) that this year £2,000,000 had been advanced, or arranged to be advanced. That being so, there could have been no difficulty in getting the Commissioners to prepare a Return of the operations from August, 1885, to the month of August in the present year, showing the way in which the money had been expended. There had been no Return of the kind. The Government now sought to extend the operations under Lord Ashbourne's Act by granting another £5,000,000 without producing a page of any Return to show the manner in which the first sum of £5,000,000 had been expended. He recollected when there was a proposal in 1860 to expend a sum of £8,000,000 upon fortifications, before a Bill was introduced into Parliament, the utmost details were given to the House, and those details were followed by the Bill. Parliament had a full opportunity to discuss the Return before the money was voted. Full information was similarly given as to the advance for localization purposes, which amounted to several millions. He should like to know why that precedent had not been followed now? It was the duty of the Government to give the whole body of information officially to the House, not to distribute one or two copies of a Return to this or that Member — a Return which, he might say, as he had seen it, was most imperfect and delusive. If it had been so given to them they would have been in a position to discuss the Vote. As it was, certain statistics had been given, but they did not possess anything like a complete body of information on any point connected with the advances that could be said to be within the grasp of any hon. Member. They were told that many thousands of tenants had applied for advances, and that so many thousands of persons had been agreed with in respect of their applications, and certain sums of money advanced. He had not the smallest wish to obstruct the Bill; but he did say, by all the analogy of Parliamentary practice, that that information ought to be given to the Committee before they were asked to do what, in the opinion of the hon. Member for the Southport Division of Lancashire (Mr. Curzon), was carrying out an operation to do justice to persons who had not yet applied for advances, and who, the hon. Member said, would be defrauded if the same facilities were not given to them which had been given to other landlords and tenants in regard to the first £5,000,000.

MR. WINTERBOTHAM (Gloucester, Cirencester) said, the Committee had listened a short time ago to a speech from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket), in which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed much virtuous indignation; but hon. Members on that side of the House wanted, and the country wanted, something more than virtuous indignation. They wanted to know whether it was true or whether it was false that a certain Tory Nobleman was going to receive £250,000 out of this public money? Was it true or false that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was going, under this Bill, to obtain, by the benefit of the National credit, better terms for his estates than he otherwise could obtain in the open market? He had no wish to dwell upon these circumstances, but he desired to put the matter very plainly. Members of the Government might make as many virtuously indignant speeches as they liked, but the country would insist upon having answers to the plain questions which had been put. There was only one other thing he wished to say. He

had no desire to wander from the Amendment—he objected to the Bill *in toto.* He objected to any grant of National Funds for purposes that did not fulfil conditions which the present Bill certainly did not fulfil. Therefore, as the smaller he could make the grant the better he should be pleased with it, he should support the Amendment. He had, however, risen particularly to call attention to an argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who appealed to the House and to the country to repose confidence in the administration of the Bill because of the deservedly high character of the two Commissioners. He thought it would somewhat facilitate the passage of the Bill through Committee if the Government would say they intended to accept the Amendment which stood lower down on the Paper, and which would very much alter the status of these two Commissioners by making them irremovable by the Lord Lieutenant and irremovable by Her Majesty's Government during the expenditure of the money. That was the particular reason which had induced him to rise, and he thought that as the Government had appealed to the Committee to have confidence in the administration of the monies by these two gentlemen, it would be a good thing to put them in a position in which they could exercise their power independently.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to reply in the early part of the discussion he appeared to treat the question as a simple "hum-drum" matter. He had, therefore, been much surprised to see the right hon. Gentleman priming the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works to deliver the fusilade which he subsequently fired off upon the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan). He confessed that he had never in his life seen so much needless heat displayed by a Minister as had been imported into the debate by the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works. As far as he could see there was no need whatever for such a display, and if the Government wanted to conduct the Bill on business lines they ought to restrain such exhibitions. He was reminded of the anecdote of the man who was charged with pocket-picking. His hand was found in that of another person, but his high character was pleaded as the ground why he could not have committed such an act. The Government told them that the Bill was going to be administered with great impartiality and fidelity by the Commissioners. Although he disliked some of the decisions of the Commissioners, the language he would use towards them was the language of praise. But he wanted to know, if the Government were going to use the money for the benefit of the Londonderry's and Hamilton's, and others like them, what was the use of talking of the status of the Commissioners? He must test the Government by their own Bill, and he thought that in an Act of Parliament no language of a less usual character had been employed against these gentlemen. The estimate the Government formed of them now was that they were men of high integrity and impartiality. But did they so speak of them only a few months ago?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the remarks of the hon. and learned Member would be in Order when they reached an Amendment that stood lower down on the Paper, but at that stage they were irrelevant.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he had no intention of discussing future Amendments, but both the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had made it a point that it was impossible for this money to be misused or mis-spent, because two gentlemen of high character and integrity would have the spending of it. The Government, however, had not always the high opinion they now expressed of these gentlemen, because in the Bill which was introduced on the 22nd of March last, and the second reading of which they forced through the House by the use of the Closure, the Commissioners were described somewhat contemptuously as "the two persons appointed to be members of the Land Commission," and it was carefully provided that they should only hold office until the sum provided should have been appropriated. "Or"—and he

asked the Committee to give attention to this point as showing the inner mind of the Government—

"Or until the Treasury, having regard to the pressure of business on the Land Commission under the said Act, shall order and declare that the services of the said two persons are no longer required."

In other words, the Treasury might dispense with their services on any day.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must again call the hon. and learned Member to Order. He had already reminded the hon. and learned Member that he was entering into the discussion of another Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he had been simply following the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, that these gentlemen had the confidence of Parliament; but he would not pursue the matter further. He accepted, with some slight reservation, the statement of the Government that in principle hon. Members in that quarter of the House were not keenly opposed to the Bill. He was, no doubt, anxious to see a peasant proprietary established in Ireland; but when the right hon. Gentleman said the Irish Members were not averse to the principle of the Bill, but were really anxious for some measure of the kind, how was it he charged them, in the same breath, with opposing it, because if it were passed their occupation would be gone? He would say this—that if the Government would accept the Amendment he would withdraw his opposition to the Bill. It was not an unreasonable thing to get a certain amount of money, but he was opposed to giving a blank cheque to Lord Salisbury until the great scheme of the Government was prepared. They were told that the Government would be unable to present their Irish Land Bill next year on account of the pressure of Scotch and English Business. The right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked them to abstain from opposition because next year they were to have Local Government on the lines of simultaneity and similarity with England. But next year the right hon. Gentleman might have gone, and it might be that when the £5,000,000 were out the right hon. Gentleman might be out too. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) was therefore asked to support the Bill upon grounds which, as far as he was concerned, he was unable to accept. If the Government only meant, so to speak, to apply oil to the existing machinery, he was willing to vote a further sum of money; but he was not willing to give the Government money under circumstances which he considered to be objectionable. He would ask the Government whether it was, or was not, true that the Bill had been brought in owing to the pressure of the great families? The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works retorted upon the right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division by saying that the late Government brought in a Bill for £20,000,000 themselves. When that Bill was introduced, not only was the charge to be placed upon Ireland, but the Liberal Party were not hand and glove with the great Tory landlords in Ireland as the present Government were. Where was the demand of the tenants for the Bill? He knew the Government said they were promoting it out of sympathy for the tenants. But this Bill was to be passed on the demands of the landlords of Ireland, and the tenants might ask on their knees to all eternity for such a Bill without getting it. Members from Ireland asked that some specific statement should be made at once on the point of difficulty which occurred to their minds. It was not enough to say that the Irish Members passed the Bill of 1885, and that, therefore, there should be no opposition now. At that time there was a treaty between the Irish Members and the Tory Party, and he confessed that at the time they did not scrutinize the scheme as rigidly as they ought to have done. He was always willing to shut one eye when the friends of the Irish Party were in Office, as they were when the former Bill was passed, and he would be sorry to have taxed his financial conscience with any great amount of criticism—to use the words of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). He had, at the time, entrusted his financial conscience to the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). But the Irish Members now placed before the House a moderate demand with regard to a Bill of this kind. They were not in principle keenly opposed to the Government measure,

but they wanted some assured guarantee that the money would be fairly applied. The intention of the Government was simply this—they were going to do in Ireland exactly what they had done in Egypt—namely, to advance £5,000,000 and then £10,000,000, and to say that all this was necessary for the pacification and development of the country; then they would turn round and say—"Englishmen, are you going to release your hold on Ireland, where the money of the taxpayers has been advanced?" and then it would be absolutely impossible for them to accept the principle of Home Rule without having the money back. "Working men of Great Britain," they would ask, "will you not insist upon the Imperial Government of England being maintained, so that these £10,000,000 may be assured to you?" He declined, in the interest of a Government, to put the future in pawn, which was what they were now asked to do. The Government were anxious to spend this money in order to give themselves a little ease at the present time, but they were banking up a reservoir which would have disastrous consequences for their successors. Irish Members charged that this money was going towards the payment of arrears; that it was not for purchase, but for rack rents. The Government would not answer their moderate demand that the money should be fairly allocated; and, that being so, he said that the country would not regard as of much value their protestations of virtue when compared with the solid cash which would, in the meanwhile, be dissipated among the Hamiltons and Londonderrys.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, the hon. and learned Member for Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) contended that the object of the Bill, although he was not unfavourable to its principle, was so to enslave the tenants of Ireland as to create an argument against any separation between the two countries. He could not imagine that the hon. Member, if he had considered a little, would have used that argument, because it implied that he and his hon. Friends would oppose not only this, but every Bill which pledged the taxes of this country for the purposes of Ireland. Questions had been asked of the Government as to the status of the Commissioners and the persons to whom the £5,000,000 were really to go. He did not know whether he should be in Order in replying to the question as to the status of the Commissioners; but, in reply to the challenge made, he might briefly state that the Government did not think it necessary, in order to insure the impartiality of those tried men who had already discharged their duty to the satisfaction of Ireland generally, to bribe them into further impartiality by giving them a seven years' tenure of office, which, as suggested by hon. Gentlemen opposite, was the only condition on which they were likely to administer the Act honestly. The demand was that the Government should insure the Commissioners a continuance of office long beyond the time necessary for the expenditure of this £5,000,000, otherwise they would be suspected of favouring certain persons in Ireland. If it were supposed that this was necessary to secure confidence in gentlemen who were to act in the capacity of Judges, he was sure that the Government would decline to put such a slur upon them. The hon. and learned Member for Longford had in this made a most extraordinary proposition; he had also suggested that there should be no unnecessary heat introduced into the discussion. That was after the extremely exciting speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan); and the calm temperament of Irish Members who had listened to the right hon. Gentleman's insinuations seemed to expect that hon. Gentlemen on those Benches should feel no spark of indignation at the unworthy charges he had made. If his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) had spoken with some warmth, he thought the right hon. Gentleman himself must have perceived that his warmth was shared by every man sitting on that side of the House—a warmth which would have been felt if such insinuations had been made in any quarter of the House, but which, when they came from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow, was peculiarly natural and well-justified. How did the right hon. Gentleman think he could escape from the argu-

ment of the First Commissioner of Works, who suggested that under his own scheme the Dukes and others, to use a phrase which those opposite wished to make current, "might have walked off with the swag?" Had the present ally and friend of Irish Members, whom they had been able to conquer and seduce—did their present champion, who had turned his back on all his previous declarations, represent the case fairly even from his own point of view? The right hon. Gentleman had risen with some excitement, and said—"Look at the difference in my Bill; there Irish credit was to be the security." As his right hon. Friend the Member for the Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) had observed, in a case where you are walking off with money to which you are not fairly entitled, whether it comes from Irish or from British credit seems to make very little difference. But did the right hon. Gentleman base his proposals on Irish credit? Yes; there was a proposal that Irish credit should be interposed, but there was an alternative. British credit was to be used supposing that only three-fourths of the purchase money were to be advanced, and in that case the Dukes of Ireland were to be enabled to walk off with the £20,000,000 without any such interposition as the right hon. Gentleman suggested when he referred to the county guarantee. He (Mr. Goschen) attached importance to that point, because, as the Committee would see, it was the avowed intention of hon. Gentlemen opposite to represent to the people of the country that the object of the measure was to favour a certain number of families in Ireland. Was the Bill of 1884 intended to have that object? If not, why did the right hon. Gentleman think that the present Government were legislating in favour of families while he legislated for the tenants of Ireland? What right had the right hon. Gentleman to suppose that the Government, who were advancing £5,000,000, were animated by any different sentiments whatever from those which animated him when he proposed a much larger advance? Were they to forget that the right hon. Gentleman's present Leader, the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), offered to every landlord in Ireland the temptation to walk off with the property of the taxpayers? They could not forget that there was a proposal made—he would not say in the coarsest manner—to the landlords of Ireland that if only they would not allow the hour glass to run down and would join the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in a measure which they believed to be detrimental to their country, they might walk off not with £5,000,000, but £50,000,000 or £100,000,000 and every Duke in Ireland would have a share of the swag. An hon. Gentleman had said yesterday—"Let us clear our minds of this cant." Yes; let hon. Members clear their minds of the cant that this measure was for any other object than what had been the continuous object of successive Governments—namely, to multiply the number of tenants who would become the owners of the soil. And if there were large owners owning large properties where there were a large number of tenants, why should the fact that those tenants bought from the large owners make any difference whatever in the general theory that they should establish peasant proprietors according to the desire and intention of Parliament during these latter years? It was asked whether any particular landlords would benefit under the Bill. To that the Government replied that the applications would be taken in order, and that they did not intend to deny to the tenants of any particular landlord privileges which were given to the remaining tenants. Were the Government to lay down the principle that if a man happened to be the tenant of a large landlord, he was not to be admitted to the benefit of the Act—that only the tenants of the smaller landlords were thus to be benefited? They did not intend to classify landlords or tenants. £5,000,000 were offered to the tenants of Ireland for the purchase of their holdings, and they would be dealt with in the order of their applications, without favour; and the Government must repudiate with warmth, since they saw it was the intention to cast a slur on the whole administration of the Act, the insinuation that it was intended for the benefit of any particular families. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow asked whether

the Government would defend the measure on any platform in England. They would defend it on every platform. [Mr. J. E. ELLIS: Give us the chance.] As usual, when he was answering successfully a point put to him, another issue was raised. He repeated that the Government would defend the measure on every platform as establishing a once favourite principle of the advanced Liberal Party—that of multiplying the number of owners of the soil; and on every platform they would have a word to say as to the tactics and insinuations by which it had been attempted to misrepresent to thwart the honest effort which the Government were making in that direction.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN said, he had too much sense of the fairness of debate to have risen again, and would not have done so, had the right hon. Gentleman confined himself to a repudiation of the charges brought against the Government. But the right hon. Gentleman and the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) had brought against him very serious charges indeed. His charge against the Government was that having risked £5,000,000 they were prepared to risk £5,000,000 more on a Bill which was financially unsound. That was the worst charge. There was a suspicion, even on their own Benches, that the Bill was financially unsound, and he charged that the measure was by no means proposed in the interest of the tenants, but in that of the landlords. This, he repeated, was the worst charge—[*Cries of* "No!" *and* "Certain landlords."]—that certain families connected with Cabinet Ministers, were first down for purchase, were going to get the benefit of £5,000,000 more, under a Bill that was financially unsound; and in addition to that he had said that he did not think that families connected with Cabinet Ministers, or the Lord Lieutenant, should get the benefit. He did not know whether this had happened, because they had been deprived of the Return which had been twice asked for by Members on that Bench in the course of the evening without any reply being given. But what was the counter-charge brought against him by the two right hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Bench? They stated that he had proposed a Bill by which the sum of £20,000,000 sterling was to go to the landlords, under very much the same circumstances as those existing in the present case. Now, he would not characterize that charge at all, but would refer to one or two short passages in the speech in which he had explained his Bill, and from them the Committee would see whether or not the charge against him was just. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman opposite said that he had proposed to let the landlords walk off with £20,000,000 with no Irish guarantee, by means of a loan of three-fourths to the tenants.

MR. GOSCHEN: I did not say that. The right hon. Gentleman does not appear to have understood my charge. I read, not from the right hon. Gentleman's speech, but from the Bill, and under it the £20,000,000 might have been applied for entirely under the system of advancing three-fourths without guarantee; so that, if the guarantee had broken down, the £20,000,000 might have been lost.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN said, that in the year 1881 the Land Act was passed, under which the tenants were allowed to borrow if they put down one-fourth of the money; between 1881 and 1884 there were 400 tenants who accepted that offer, and he thought it might be fairly said that it was impossible that £20,000,000 or £1,000,000 could have gone under the circumstances of the three-fourths guarantee. But if it had done so, it would have gone into the pockets of careful and thrifty tenants, who had proved, by putting down one-fourth of the money, that they were to be trusted as debtors to the State. But they had now come to the much more important proposal of lending the whole of the money. On moving his Bill he said—

"It is impossible to ask the taxpayers of the United Kingdom to show such confidence in the farmers of Ireland, unless the taxpayers of Ireland evince that confidence themselves; and the liability of the tenants who have borrowed the whole sum from the State will have to be strengthened by a local guarantee, which will not be required in the case of those who have borrowed only three-fourths. It is proposed . . . . to make the county cess responsible for the deficiency in the payments of the purchasers."—(3 *Hansard*, [288] 1520.)

And, further on, he had said—

"Again, it would be unjust that a district should be burdened with a liability which it had no voice in accepting, and consequently each purchase scheme, after being approved by

the Land Commission, would be submitted for approval or rejection, and only for approval or rejection outright, to a local body,"

And, again, earlier in the speech, obviously referring to the two proposals, he said—

"And therefore the Government, in the measure which I beg leave to introduce, have gone to the utmost limits which the welfare of the State and the security of the Exchequer will permit."

Now, in the first place, the British taxpayer was not in danger, because he had the Irish county cess as his guarantee; but, in the second place, the Government of that day did not commit the great injustice to Ireland of taxing the county cesspayers for the purpose of clearing the estates of Irish landlords without giving them the opportunity of saying whether the applications for loans should be accepted or not. For the argument he had used, therefore, he was not sorry, although he regretted to have shown some heat in speaking of a Bill against which he had certainly a strong feeling. He maintained that the charge of inconsistency brought against him by right hon. Gentlemen opposite was unfounded—namely, that although having introduced the Bill of 1884 he had opposed the present measure; and it was an extraordinary thing that right hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Benches had not brought against him this charge of inconsistency when he was opposing the Purchase Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it as well to point out that the discussion is travelling rather wide of the Amendment before the Committee, which is to reduce the £10,000,000 sterling to £6,500,000 sterling.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) said, that in rising to continue the debate for a few moments he should accept the advice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and endeavour to purge his mind from cant as far as he was able to do so. But he would not import into the debate the warmth of feeling displayed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; indeed, he should be a remarkable man could he do so, for he considered—and he was satisfied most hon. Gentlemen would agree with him—that an air of unreality had hung over the whole discussion. It had been like a sword and bayonet combat at a transpontine theatre—one, two, three, and up; two, three, one, and down—very good care being taken that no one engaged should be hurt, and the money returned at the doors if the spectators were not satisfied. He thought it had been too readily assumed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they were all in favour of creating a peasant proprietorship in Ireland. There was nothing further from his (Mr. Cunninghame Graham's) wishes than to create a peasant proprietorship in Ireland. Whilst voting, as he held it was his bounden duty to vote, with the Representatives of the Irish nation sitting on the Opposition Benches, he reserved to himself the right to explain the reasons that had caused him to reject *in toto* the arguments advanced on both sides of the House. He objected to spending £5,000,000 sterling in buying out Irish landlords, but he equally objected to spending £5,000,000 or £1,000,000 sterling upon the Irish tenants. He did not wish to hand over the whole soil of Ireland to the cultivators who at present cultivated it. If they turned to history they would find the mistake committed by the French Convention in the last century in raising the cry of "The land for the cultivators!" and not "The land for the whole people!" He asked hon. Gentlemen why the present cultivators of the land of Ireland should be entitled——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not speaking to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM said, he would endeavour to confine himself to the Amendment, which he understood was to reduce the amount of the Government proposal from £10,000,000 to £6,500,000. He rose to advocate the nationalization of the land of Ireland, and having accomplished his purpose he would sit down.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) said, he did not think the views of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) would find much favour in the House; indeed, the hon. Gentleman had admitted he was not in sympathy on this question with any Party in the House; he might, therefore, be left to himself. He (Mr. Lea) agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) that

it was not advisable that any superfluous heat should be thrown into the debate, and he only rose for one purpose—namely, to controvert one of the arguments used against the Bill. It had been said over and over again—and the charge had been made that evening by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan), in a speech which he (Mr. Lea) greatly regretted to hear—that this Bill was to benefit the landlords of Ireland. A more unfounded misrepresentation of any measure was never made in the House. The tenants of Ireland regarded this Bill as one of very great value. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He begged hon. Members to listen to a Resolution which had been passed by an Association of tenant farmers in County Antrim.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question before the Committee is whether £10,000,000 or £6,500,000 stand part of the clause?

MR. LEA said, he was merely replying to an allegation which was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan). If he understood——

THE CHAIRMAN: I have already pointed out that the discussion has wandered very far from the main issue. I desire to confine the debate to the real issue.

MR. LEA asked to be permitted to read a Resolution that had been passed to-day by the North Antrim Liberal Association with regard to the sum named in the Bill. At a meeting to-day of the North Antrim Liberal Association, a Resolution was passed which entirely condemned the Amendment, for it was as follows:—

> "That they urge upon the Government to grant the additional sum of £5,000,000, believing that in proportion as peasant proprietorship is extended will peace and prosperity and contentment prevail."

That was an Association which contained nothing but Liberals, and he believed scarcely anyone but tenant farmers. It contained, he believed, a certain number of Gladstonian Liberals, but if it did not, a similar Resolution to the one he had read was passed to-day by the Tenant Farmers' Defence Association, and a telegram had been sent to an hon. Friend of his urging him to support the Bill. The telegram was signed by the Gladstonian Home Rule candidate at the last election in County Antrim. He had given the opinion of tenant farmers in the North of Ireland; he had given the opinion of tenant farmers who held Gladstonian Home Rule principles, but let him also give the opinion of an hon. Gentleman who sat below the Gangway. When the Ashbourne Act was introduced three years ago, and a grant of £5,000,000 sterling was proposed, the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) proposed that £20,000,000 sterling should be granted. He held the same opinion as the hon. Member, and, if it were not contrary to the Standing Orders of the House, he should certainly move to increase the £5,000,000 to £15,000,000. On behalf of the tenant farmers in Ireland he strongly condemned the present attempt to defeat peasant proprietorship, which was the object of the Bill.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, that the House of Commons should not forget that they were at this moment in Committee, and engaged upon the not very agreeable task of laying new burdens upon the shoulders of the taxpayers. They were asked to continue an experiment—an experiment about which, unfortunately, the House of Commons knew very little or nothing. They were asked to take the success of the expenditure of the first £5,000,000 entirely upon the representations of the Government. Now, when the Committee of the House of Commons was engaged, under ordinary circumstances, in dealing with the Estimates, there were to be found in the hands of Members all the details of the previous year's expenditure. So far as his recollection went, there had never before been a case in which the Committee of the House of Commons had been asked to vote repeated large sums of money in such a slipshod fashion as they were now asked to vote £5,000,000 sterling; the Government generally paid the House of Commons the compliment of placing in their hands information as to the expenditure of the sums granted previously. He did not hesitate to say that there had been on the part of the Government, if not criminal neglect, at any rate culpable neglect, in not putting in the hands of Members the information which the Land Commissioners

could have given. But the question whether £5,000,000 or £1,500,000 might be necessary, depended altogether upon the faith they had in the representations that had been made by the Government. The Government had avowed that they had no expectation of coming to Parliament for any further sum under this Bill or under this scheme; they only wished for £5,000,000 sterling, and why? In reality, there could not be much benefit given to the tenant farmers of Ireland, because the amount was so small. So far as the expenditure had gone, not 2 per cent of the tenant farmers of Ireland had been benefited, and with the further sum of £5,000,000, not 4 per cent of the tenants of Ireland would be beneficially affected. What was it they heard from the Treasury Bench? This sum was required to keep going certain machinery in Ireland. A more extravagant and more dangerous proposal was never submitted to the guardians of the British taxpayers than that, for the sake of keeping going certain machinery in Ireland, they should sanction the expenditure of £5,000,000 sterling, an expenditure which, it was acknowledged, was not likely to be very serviceable to the Irish tenants. He wished to see this scheme brought to a speedy termination —the sooner the better; and he believed that the less permanent discredit would be done to the British House of Commons if the amount granted was £1,500,000 instead of £5,000,000. They had witnessed to-night several flights of fancy as to the benefits which had accrued to the tenants by this scheme. There was no doubt about it that relieving Irish tenants in any way from the burden of excessive rents would be temporarily agreeable to those tenants; but the view taken by the Government as to the value of this scheme was worth nothing to the House of Commons. They had had too much experience to be deluded by proposals of this kind. However, they were called upon to see what immediate and present use was being made of the money, and no one would deny that at present the Irish landlord was benefiting by the expenditure. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite professed to be very indignant that such a suggestion should be made. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) had come out to-night in his old character. He remembered the time when the right hon. Gentleman sat upon the Front Opposition Bench, side by side with his Colleague, now Lord Ashbourne. The heat the right hon. Gentleman had displayed to-night was nothing to the frenzy he and his Colleague used to get in when the landlords' interests were assailed. The right hon. Gentleman had come out in his old character; and he (Mr. Illingworth) congratulated the right hon. Gentleman upon having intervened in this debate with something like his old zeal and warmth. The right hon. Gentleman's old friends, the Irish landlords, had come under criticism, and he was anxious to show himself in the debate in their defence. If anybody knew what the real meaning of this scheme was it was surely the right hon. Gentleman. When it was thought the Government were hesitating as to whether they would trouble Parliament with this Bill this Session, there appeared in *The Dublin Gazette* a reminder of this sort, "Whenever the landlords' interests are at stake the Government seem to be indifferent and lukewarm." He thought that very shortly the eyes of the British taxpayers would be open to the reality of this scheme. In his judgment the scheme was primarily introduced in the interest of the landlords of Ireland. It had been said it was immaterial whether large or small landlords received the money if the transaction was fair. Why were they going out of their way to spend the money of the British taxpayers upon schemes which were admittedly dangerous, and only to be resorted to under extremity? It could not be denied, even by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Lea), or by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, that at any rate the bulk of this money had gone into the Province where they had always avowed that the agrarian difficulty was not acute. Unfortunately a large amount of money had gone, and if they granted another £5,000,000 he, at any rate, had no confidence that it would not go into corresponding pockets. £1,500,000 was certainly as much as was necessary to draw to a close the present scheme of the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared that this scheme was not suited to the congested districts of Ireland. Over and over again that

had been stated on the Treasury Bench. Then what was the use of enlarging the scheme if it was not immediately and largely to benefit those in Ireland who were the supporters of the Government? He understood that the reason why they were called upon to entertain proposals of this kind was that there was a large part of the tenants in Ireland in such a distressed condition that something must be done in their interest. But what had happened? Why, that more than half of the money already contributed had gone into that Province of Ireland where the difficulty had not been severe, where tenant-right had been respected for ages, and where the question of arrears of rent had not come in to complicate the situation. The Government would do well not to press for this additional sum of £5,000,000, for there never had been a scheme, so far as he could remember, which had at the very outset proved so abortive.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) said, that as reference had been made to the feeling of the tenant farmers of Ulster, it was as well he should point out that the Tenant Farmers' Defence Association had resolved that the arrears question should be dealt with in conjunction with this scheme, that there should be a system of compulsory purchase, but that no tenant should purchase his holding unless he obtained 50 per cent reduction upon the judicial rents.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said, his hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) had spoken of the British public. The Government might feel assured that whether their proposal were good or bad, if the object was the creation of peasant proprietorship, the British public would welcome it, and readily assent to the expenditure of the sum proposed for the purpose. If, during the last 20 years, the British public had been worried and excited any way more than another by hon. Members sitting on the Opposition Benches, it had been by having placed before them Returns showing the enormous estates which existed in the United Kingdom, and the absolute necessity of breaking those estates up. The principle of peasant proprietorship was adopted by the Government and hon. Members opposite, and hon. Members upon the Opposition Benches had absolutely changed their opinions. Having failed in defeating an attempt to create that which up to the present time they had advocated, hon. Members were now engaged in endeavouring to minimize the attempt to the utmost possible extent. He thought the British public would understand what the exigencies of the political situation had reduced hon. Members on this side to. They would understand why hon. Gentlemen appeared in the new character of opponents of the principle of peasant proprietary.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, his hon. Friend had completely misrepresented him; he never said one syllable against the principle of peasant proprietary.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) had stated that they who sat upon the Opposition Benches were opposed to the creation of peasant proprietary in Ireland. The only answer to that was that it was a statement which had not the slightest foundation in fact. Every man who had spoken from the Opposition side of the House had expressed approval of the principle of the Bill. They had heard a good deal of the marked indignation exhibited by the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket). He must confess that the marked indignation of another man on the Treasury Bench always seemed more impressive. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was much more frequently indignantly virtuous, and seemed to put on the appearance of virtue much more successfully. This was the right hon. Gentleman who some time ago declared at Hastings that he had kept for 14 years out of Office for the sake of principle, and thought that long enough.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the Committee is whethe £10,000,000 or £6,500,000 stand par of the clause?

MR. CLANCY said, he was just coming to that question. He did not intend to trespass very long on the time of the Committee, but he should be obliged to do so if he was not allowed to proceed without there being exhibitions of impatience on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said to-night, and the First Commissioner of Works also said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the

Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) had not directly charged but insinuated that the Government were in league with the landlords of Ireland in this matter. If the right hon. Gentleman (Sir George Trevelyan) did not make that charge in plain terms, he (Mr. Clancy) and his hon. Friends did, and in face of the facts that had already occurred he was astonished at the audacity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in saying anything that seemed to give countenance to the opposite assertion. What were the figures given last night by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham (Mr. J. E. Ellis), figures which had not been contradicted? The London Companies had got £400,000; Lord Normanton, £50,000; Lord Bath, £170,000; the Duke of Leinster, £260,000; the Duke of Abercorn, a brother of the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton), had pocketted £267,000 of the "swag." In all £747,000 had already been distributed between the London Companies and four Peers connected with the land in Ireland. And in addition to that, the statement was made last night by the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham, that Lord Lurgan and Lord Londonderry, if the agreements with their tenants were carried out, would pocket additional "swag" to the amount of £400,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow said last night he hoped it was a calumny that the Lord Lieutenant was looking for this money. Let him assure the right hon. Gentleman that, whether it was a calumny or not, it was true. The right hon. Gentleman himself understood that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had caused to be issued to his tenants a Circular in which he had, on the express ground that he would not in future be able to give the reductions he had been giving in the past, asked them and pressed them to buy at 20 years' purchase of the present rents. In other words, Lord Londonderry, not being able to give in the future the 20 per cent recent reductions which he had given in the past, would try and compel the Government to get the British taxpayer to give it for him; and at this moment he was confident that, if they were permitted access to the official correspondence in the office in Dublin, they would find that the agent of the Lord Lieutenant and the agent of Lord Normanton and the agents of other Lords and big landlords in Ireland were sending letters day after day to the Land Commissioners, wanting to know when their bargains would be closed and their money handed over. He assured the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, if English Members did not try to make plain to the British public that the object of this Bill was to fill the empty pockets of certain big landlords in Ireland, the Irish Members would endeavour to do so. He was greatly mistaken if the people of Holborn, where an election was about to take place, would not be informed of the fact that hundreds of thousands of pounds had gone into the pockets of four landlords in Ireland, and that two of these landlords were at present connected with the Government. One of the most scandalous things he had ever heard of, read of, or observed, was the fact that this Bill had been championed in the House of Commons by near relatives of the persons who were to pocket this money. Who were they? The First Lord of the Admiralty was a brother of the Duke of Abercorn, who, as already shown, had got £267,000. It was, after all, not very strange that the noble Lord of the Admiralty should champion this Bill because the name by which the Hamilton family went by in Ireland was "the hungry Hamiltons."

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Gentleman once more of the very limited question before the Committee.

MR. CLANCY said, he was trying to give the reasons why they should reduce the amount, not to £1,500,000, but to nothing.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is precisely the reason why the hon. Member is out of Order.

MR. CLANCY said, he would only add that he was sorry the Bill had not been championed by persons who came into the House with cleaner hands. The persons who had championed this measure were the last persons in the House who ought to have done so. He maintained they were connected with the persons who had pocketed the "swag," and he invited the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make a second dis-

play of his virtuous indignation by repelling the denunciation.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding) said, he was extremely —[*Continued cries of* "Divide!"] He should move to report Progress unless he received a hearing. Hon. Members opposite were not facilitating the progress of the Bill by attempting to prevent him from answering their arguments. He was extremely reluctant to interfere at this stage of the debate, and had no intention of occupying so much time as had been demanded from the House by the interruptions he had received; but there was a charge made against the Liberal Party by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) which had not been referred to, and to which he thought he was entitled to make a reply, according to the ordinary courtesies of the House. The difference between the peasant farm-system advocated by the Liberal Party and the peasant proprietary under the Bill was that while they—the Liberal Party—safeguarded the taxpayers' rights, the Government now proposed to lend £5,000,000 of money of the British taxpayers on terms so easy that it was equal to a gift of £2,000,000 to the Irish landlords—or Irish tenants whichever they liked. This money, or the equivalent of it in our National credit, was found by the whole ratepaying and taxpaying population of the Kingdom, and yet there was no provision in the Bill that any part of it should come back to those who pledged their credit and found the money. That was why he should support the Amendment. He was in favour of bringing back the peasant to cultivate the soil, and of cutting up large estates, and he protested against the charge made by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham, especially when it was made against the Opposition by a supporter of the Government sitting on the Opposition Benches.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 212; Noes 154: Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 303.)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) said, he begged to move an Amendment he had handed in to the Chair to give the Government an opportunity of justifying or making effectual some of the pledges they had given to the Committee and to the House. They had heard, if once, a dozen times in the course of these debates, from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other Ministers of the Crown, that the money proposed to be granted by this Bill would be equally distributed over the whole of Ireland. Well, he proposed to add at the end of Section 1 these words—

"Provided that not more than a quarter of the said sum of £10,000,000 will be applied in any one of the four Provinces of Ireland."

How had the £5,000,000 been applied under Lord Ashbourne's Act? Well, their information on the subject was very meagre. It was contained in one sentence of the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland, and from that sentence it appeared that more than half the total number of applications had been received and dealt with from the Province of Ulster. But this Bill, they had been told, was a measure of pacification. Did Ulster need to be pacified? Ulster, they were told, was loyal, and loyalty was the fountain of contentment! Ulster, being loyal, was contented. Ulster was made of the wealth and all the intelligence of Ireland. He saw opposite his Colleague the Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), and he was sure the imputation that Ulster was disloyal, or even discontented, or that it in any way required to be pacified, was an imputation the hon. Member would resent with disdain. The opinion of the hon. Member would be of value, because he knew every ditch in the Province of Ulster—indeed, he had threatened, not very long ago, to lie, if necessary, in every ditch in Ulster against the forces of the Crown.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Against Home Rule.

MR. SEXTON said, he had thought the hon. member had said against the forces of the Crown. Why was Ulster credited with so large a share of the spending of this money? Was it because the Tory landlords, who were in the inner circle of official confederacy, by reason of being connections and relatives of Members of the Government, were more numerous in that Province than elsewhere? He could answer this question for himself, without troubling the House, if he were in possession of the Blue Book which it was the constitutional

right of every Member of the House to have in his possession. Ministers of the Crown had been studying that Blue Book "with nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles," since the beginning of the week. Why had it been kept from private Members? They had always been under what now turned out to be the delusive impression that Blue Books were printed for the information of the House. The Government had reversed the ordinary view because they were keeping back the Blue Book on the Bill until the Committee on the Bill was over; they were reserving the information until it could no longer be of any use. With regard to facts which were essential for the due consideration of this Bill the Representatives of the people on this Bill were groping in the dark, by reason of the conspiracy and silence and suppression of information by the Government. Hon. Members belonging to the Irish Party could answer other questions if they had the Blue Book. An incident occurred a little time ago which might have been determined if they could have had a sight of this Blue Book—they might have been able to tell whether or not a brother of a Cabinet Minister had appropriated £250,000 under the Ashbourne Act. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) might have spared his suspicious heat. It would have been more to the point if he had answered the accusations made rather than merely declaimed against them. The Blue Book would have told them what the Duke of Abercorn had or had not received, and he submitted that the House ought to have this information. Perhaps the Blue Book might tell the House, by reason of the information in the hands of the Commissioners, whether or not a person who was something more than a relative of a Member of the Government, a person who was a Member of the Government himself, was about to receive another £250,000. This was a Bill of pacification! Pacification of whom? Was it a Bill for the pacification of the suffering and struggling tenants of the West, who were driven to desperation and often to crime, or was it for the pacification of the voracious landlords who crowded the antechambers of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and din their impudent tales into the right hon. Gentleman's tired and weary ear? If this were a Bill of pacification, why was its operation needed in Ireland? It could not be said that it was for Ulster. The counties in Ireland, of which they heard so much in the debates in this House, whose proceedings were being inquired into by three Members of the British judicature sitting on a Royal Commission—Kerry, Mayo, Clare, Galway, and Cork—where were they in this matter? How much of this £5,000,000 was about to be spent on them? If they had the Blue Book they could tell. When would the Government describe this cryptic Blue Book? When these £5,000,000 were spent? The Solicitor General for Ireland had said that 3,000 applications had been dealt with in the Provinces of Munster and Connaught, but how many even of these 3,000 applications from Munster and Connaught were out of these five counties? It was something worse than ridiculous, it was an absolute farce, to pretend that this was a measure of pacification, or that for a single moment it had been applied in that direction. As he had said, the Government had repeatedly told them that they intended this money to be equally distributed over the whole of Ireland. If there was any sincerity in the pretence that this was a Bill of pacification the Government should rise up and say that they intended to devote the whole of this £5,000,000 to these five struggling counties. The tenants would pay on fair terms, but would they be allowed to have fair terms? He heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket), in his mock heroics, declaim in deep tones affected indignation against the right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) because that right hon. Gentleman dared even to hint the truth, and he (Mr. Plunket) asked where was the scandal and where was the shame of allowing great proprietors to walk off with £250,000. He (Mr. Sexton) would tell the right hon. Gentleman where was the scandal and the shame. It was in the Government first passing a Coercion Act to enable the great landlords to terrorize their friends into accepting fraudulent contracts, and then allowing these great landlords—their brothers and cousins, the instruments and con-

federates of Ministers of the Crown—to walk off with quarters of a million and hundreds of thousands of public money, getting rid of their responsibility in the country that they had robbed and ruined, and leaving, to the certainty of severe suffering, the tenants they had coerced, and leaving to the certainty of loss the State which they had betrayed. He thought he could put forward a strong and conclusive claim that the whole of this second instalment of £5,000,000 should be spent in these disturbed countries. He brought forward this Amendment as a test of the sincerity of Ministers in their contention that this was a measure of pacification. He desired to go no farther than the pledge of the Government themselves, therefore he moved that not more than one-fourth of this money should be spent in any one Province of Ireland.

Amendment proposed,

To add at the end of the Clause, "Provided that not more than one-fourth of the said sum shall be applied in any one of the our Provinces of Ireland."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, he did not think it necessary to notice the remarks of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down with reference to himself; nor was it necessary to go fully into the question of the Amendment, as he did not think it was seriously meant. He rather thought the hon. Member had moved it as a peg on which to hang some of the observations he had made in the course of his speech. The classification the hon. Member proposed in his Amendment was a thoroughly imaginary one—a classification which had no relation to the population of the various Provinces, to the distress in the various Provinces, or anything else. Why, if the people of Ulster were anxious to avail themselves of this Bill, should they not be able to do so. Why should they have to wait until the tenants in other Provinces had made up their minds whether or not they would avail themselves of the Bill. Eight hundred, or thereabouts, was the number of loans that had been applied for, and Kerry stood third in the list of counties as regards the number of applications.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: How many have been settled?

MR. PLUNKET said, he could not tell exactly, but the Commissioners had dealt with 465 cases, representing £252,227. The suggestion that they were selecting certain persons to whom they wished to give the money was absolutely unfounded. There was no reason, with regard to the future, why those who first came forward should not get their proportion of the money available for the purchase of their holdings, and he could not see any logic in proposing that a man in one Province should not get as much as he desired of the money, because men in another Province were unwilling to come forward and ask for it. For these reasons, he submitted to the Committee that the Amendment was not one which could be accepted.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, that the information in the Blue Book was such that it ought to have been in the hands of hon. Members for a week at least. The only statement made in the course of the debate in justification of the Bill was that it was a great measure for pacifying the disturbed districts in Ireland, but they had listened in vain for a single argument in support of that view. The County of Mayo was one of the districts in which, of any others, one would desire to see money given in pacification of the people and the tenants; but in that county there was only 268 applications and the total purchase-money agreed upon was £125,000. This was a mere drop in the ocean. In the case of one estate alone in the North of Ireland £267,000 of the taxpayers' money had gone to a Duke, while in the entire County of Mayo only £125,000 had been applied for, and no more than £70,000 or £80,000 paid out of the fund. Again, although the right hon. Gentleman had pointed out that Kerry stood third in the list for the amount of money paid, he would draw attention to the fact that the entire sum paid in that unfortunate county was not equal to the sum which had passed into the pocket of the Duke of Abercorn. He had reason to know that Kerry absorbed so little of the money, because after the passing of the Act a system of terrorism unparalleled in any other county in Ireland was pursued against the tenants there, and he believed the first breakdown of this Act would be in that county, where there

would be found a number of bankrupt tenants unable to repay the money advanced by the State. With regard to the other disturbed counties, Mayo, as he had shown, had taken a very small sum; Galway applied for only £129,000, half of which went to the Duke of Abercorn; in Clare, one of the most disturbed and distressed counties, on which the Coercion Act had fallen with crushing and terrific force, and which more than all the other counties together had given trouble to the Executive Government, there were 63 applications for £27,000; in other words, the Duke of Abercorn had pocketed ten times the amount of money which had gone to the County of Clare. Was it not, then, a public scandal that it should be sought to drive this Bill through the House and Committee while not one man in ten outside the Government Bench was aware of the simple facts which he had been able to get at? The reason why they had been unable to get the Blue Book was because otherwise the facts would have been known to Members of the Committee, and it would have been impossible for Gentlemen opposite to defend the Bill as a pacifying measure for the disturbed counties. The right hon. and learned Gentleman asked, why should not the people of the North be able to get the money if the people of the South and West did not make application? There was a great difference between the North and the South of Ireland. In the North-East of Ireland, to use the words of a County Down land agent examined before the Devon Commission 40 years ago, "If the same practices were resorted to in Down as in Tipperary, the blood of the landlords would have been shed there in the same way as in Tipperary." In the North, the tenants, owing to the tenant right which prevailed, had attained to a degree of prosperity and an accumulation of property which had not been the lot of those in the West and South of Ireland, and the former could, in consequence, deal with the landlords on equal terms, whereas the tenants in the South and West were in a state of comparative slavery, and not in a position to avail themselves of the Act. That was the reason why the Irish Members claimed that they should be made free to do so. But if the Government refused to deal with arrears, how much stronger became their position, that this money should not be spent in districts where, according to the statement of the Government themselves, the people were already contented, loyal, prosperous, and happy, and who would therefore have no claim on the taxpayers to enable them to become owners of their farms. Unless some alteration was made in the Bill, this £5,000,000 would be absorbed in the most peaceable part of the country, where the landlords and tenants could come together and make their bargains in the absence of strained relations, without having the slightest influence in the general pacification of Ireland. Mayo, Kerry, and Cork would remain in the same state of disorder as now, and when the money was gone a Return would be presented showing that nothing in the nature of pacification with regard to them had been effected. He had sat in that House for two or three years as the Representative of Mayo, and every year he had stood up and raised the question of the condition of the district which he represented—one of the most disturbed, and teeming with a dense and poor population. He recollected, on two occasions, having brought the circumstances in full detail under the notice of the House, and on each occasion the present Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had admitted that his case was unanswerable, that the condition of the population was a matter of the most urgent interest to anyone responsible for the government of Ireland; and that he felt the responsibility to the fullest degree. But what had been done? Absolutely nothing; and he was assured by experts that the machinery provided by the Act was such that at present it was practically impossible to bring any relief to the small tenants of the Western districts, and that not only was it the case that the money by some natural pressure gravitated towards the peaceable and wealthy districts, but in the Western districts, where the differences between the landlords and tenants were composed, the costs were such as to deny to the unfortunate people the benefit of the Act. On what ground of justice or expediency were the Government pushing this Bill through the House without laying any proposal before it which would afford the hope that at least a share or portion of this great benevolence would find its way into dis-

tricts such as he represented? Knowing that the comparatively rich and prosperous tenants of Lurgan and Londonderry were waiting to dip their hands into this fund, he asked on what principle money was to pass into these districts, which, as they were repeatedly told, was intended to promote law and order in Ireland? And why was the machinery of the Act so arranged that the poor starving people such as he represented were denied the benefit of the measure? He thought it the duty and right of the Committee to insist upon having some assurance that a fair proportion of the grant should find its way into such disturbed and poverty-stricken districts as those of Mayo.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing) said, he thought it must be difficult for anyone to believe that the speeches just delivered by Members below the Gangway opposite had been made in earnest. For two nights there had been constantly poured into the ears of the House of Commons statements by hon. Gentlemen who were supposed to possess special knowledge of Ireland, the upshot of which was that the landlords were terrorizing their tenants in order to force them to enter into transactions which the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) had characterized as fraudulent. That had been the sense of the speeches made by hon. Gentlemen, and now they turned round and said that their complaint was that those parts of Ireland under their protection had not had a sufficient number of terrorizing and fraudulent acts forced upon them. He could tell hon. Gentlemen why it was that there were not so many applications from parts of Ireland with which they were associated, as from Ulster. It was because the whole of their influence had been used to prevent persons from applying. [Mr. PARNELL: Quote.] He might deal with that presently. Certain allusions had been made to the fact that the Duke of Abercorn had sold a considerable portion of one of his estates in the North of Ireland. He knew nothing whatever of the transaction, but he had noticed that Mr. Davitt, who he understood was a member of the National League, had been in that part of the country making violent speeches. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: In what county?] In Tyrone. Meeting a friend of his own he had asked, "What is Mr. Davitt doing in that part of the country?" and the reply was, "Oh, don't you know? He has gone to stop, if he can, a number of transactions into which your brother has entered with his tenants." But he had failed, because they were not persons who paid very much attention to Mr. Davitt's advice. Their object and desire was to secure their ownership in land and multiply the number of owners; Mr. Davitt's object was to destroy all ownership in land, and, therefore, one could understand how it was that the number of applications where the tenants were allowed to make their own arrangements were larger than in those parts where they were not allowed to do so. But even as it was, if the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) looked at the Return he would see that the amount of money applied for in Munster was very little short of that applied for in Ulster, and that, taking the ratio of population, it was very much the same. He thought it would be advisable that more applications should come from other parts of Ireland, and he hoped that the hon. Gentleman would use his influence for the purpose of inducing persons to apply. [Mr. DILLON: Wherever they get a fair price.] The hon. Gentleman seemed to be a judge of fair prices. Of course, if he were going to take upon himself in every instance to regulate the price of land, many transactions would be interfered with before they went to the Land Commissioners. The hon. Gentleman had talked of the Duke of Abercorn as walking off with the taxpayers' money. But did the hon. Gentleman seriously use that argument? He undertook to say that, so far as the taxpayers were concerned, they would not be one farthing out of pocket. He did not know why the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) should be so indignant, because he remembered that when the former Act was passed he was in favour of it, and wanted to quadruple the amount asked for.

MR. SEXTON said, that when he moved an Amendment to the Bill he did so because, not only did the Government give Irish Members reason to believe that they were in favour of Home Rule, but also because they had abandoned coercion, and declared that it would not be again applied; and also

because he saw a prospect of a state of things in which he believed the tenants would be able to make fair and free bargains.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, all that the State proposed to do was to facilitate transactions between individuals, and to see that the security was sufficient for the advance made. [Sir GEORGE TREVELYAN: Whose money is it?] The money did not come out of the taxpayers' pockets. [*Laughter.*] He had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman who laughed was as ready to repudiate every sound financial proposal as he was willing to repudiate everything else. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Withdraw!"]

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, whether it was in Order for the noble Lord to state that an hon. Member was ready to repudiate every sound financial proposal just as he was ready to repudiate everything else?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think there are many historical warrants for it.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked, how the money could be the taxpayers' money if it was not raised by means of taxes? Did hon. Gentlemen really imagine that a landlord improved his income by sales under this Act? If anyone would reduce the matter to figures he would see that in this case, as in other cases, a considerable reduction of income must ensue. The hon. Member for East Mayo accused the Government of deliberately keeping back the Return. [Mr. DILLON: Yes.] Did the hon. Gentleman look at the date of the Return? [Mr. DILLON: I could not get the Return.] He was sorry that should be so, because it was very desirable that in the case of the discussion of a Bill of this kind the fullest information should be given. The Return was not finished till the 25th of October, and the Government regretted that, owing to some delay in the printing, for which they were not responsible, the Return had not been supplied to Members. He wished that everyone had had a copy, because there were a great many instructive inferences to be drawn from the figures. The hon. Member for East Mayo then gave a further reason why he wished to support the Amendment now before the Committee. He said he represented a part of Ireland where there was a great deal of distress, and he thought a large portion of this money ought to be spent in those parts of the country which were known as congested districts. Congested districts were, in certain cases, disturbed districts, and if applications were made from such districts and the securities were good, he had no doubt the Commissioners would pass the transactions. But the hon. Gentleman must know that one great objection to applying any large system of land purchase to congested districts was the poor nature of the security. While he thought the principle of purchase was in itself beneficial, he did not think it would be wise to insist upon a large portion of the money being spent in districts where it was a matter of absolute certainty the security was worth nothing. Then the hon. Gentleman asked how it was that the applications from the North of Ireland were granted first? For the very simple reason that they were made first. Throughout the Commissioners adopted the principle of taking the applications in the order in which they were made to them. That appeared to him to be a sound and proper principle to adopt. If the Commissioners had adopted any other they would have justly laid themselves open to the charge of partiality. He had now answered all the questions put to him. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] He had answered all the questions put to him for the purpose of being answered, and he thought he had shown that it would not be wise for the Committee to assent to such an allocation of the money as was suggested. If they wanted to promote the system of purchase it would be most absurd to lay down the rule that certain sums of money must necessarily be spent in certain localities whether the security was good or not.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said, they had been told several times from the Treasury Bench that the expenditure of this £5,000,000 sterling was an experiment. Surely the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) would acknowledge that if it was to be an experiment the expenditure ought to be spread over the different districts of Ireland and not confined to one particular part of the country? He thought the proposal made by his hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) was somewhat crude in its nature, and,

therefore, he asked the Government whether they could not see their way, between now and Monday, to draw up some Amendment which would not exactly distinguish between Ulster and the other parts of the country, but prevent—what he feared would happen if nothing was done—namely, the prosperous tenants in Ulster rushing in first and securing the allocation of the greater part of the £5,000,000 to Ulster? Hon. Members did not desire to say that each district should have a certain amount, but they did desire that Ulster should not have all the money. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) had just said it was a very great pity that Members had not got the Blue Book in their hands when discussing this question. It was very evident that the noble Lord ought to have followed up his speech by moving to report Progress, as it was impossible for them to discuss this very important Amendment without having the Blue Book in their possession, and in order to give the Government time to consider whether they could not draw up some Amendment tending in the direction he had endeavoured to indicate; and also, because he thought it was now quite time they should go, he begged to move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), said he hoped that the Committee would not report Progress without disposing of the Amendment under consideration. The Government would be prepared, if the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) would either withdraw his Amendment or allow it to be negatived, to report Progress. The Amendment was one which could not be accepted; indeed, the speech of the hon. Member for Poplar (Mr. S. Buxton) must satisfy hon. Members that the Amendment was one which the Committee could not accept. The Government had every desire that the money should be fairly distributed throughout Ireland, and every effort which could be made in that direction would be made. They could not, however, hamper the discretion of the Commissioners by the adoption of such an Amendment as the present.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, he was afraid that he could not support the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast; but that, however, was not for the moment the question. It seemed to be admitted by the right hon. Gentleman that by Monday the Blue Book as to which so much had been said would be in the hands of Members. If that were so, then considering that they had been more than 10 hours at work—he himself had been at work more than nine hours—it was very fair they should leave the subject for the present. He thought his hon. Friend would not find any very great support for his Amendment on the Opposition side of the House; and, therefore, the hon. Gentleman might very well consent either to divide the Committee, or to withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that on Monday the Government would provide them with those Papers of which hitherto they had been so deplorably wanting.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Government had made every effort to obtain the Blue Book in question; but, unfortunately, it was printed in Ireland, and, therefore, not so easily procurable. They would telegraph to Ireland, and they had every hope they would be able to comply with the wishes of hon. Gentlemen.

MR. SEXTON said, that the principle of his Amendment appeared to meet with universal acceptance. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] At any rate the First Lord of the Treasury had said it was the desire of the Government to spend the money equally throughout Ireland, and the desire expressed by the right hon. Gentleman was also the principle of the Amendment. He admitted that the terms of his Amendment were hastily drawn, but everything in connection with the Bill had been hastily done. He had no objection to accept the suggestion of his right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and withdraw the Amendment, if the Government would consent to bring up on Monday some words to make good their intention.

MR. W. H. SMITH wished to be clearly understood by hon. Gentlemen opposite. He had said it was the desire of the Government that the money should be fairly distributed throughout

Ireland. He had also said they desired to respect the complete independence of the Commissioners, and that he could not see his way to give directions to the Commissioners which would hinder or fetter their judgment. He would consider between this and Monday whether consistently with that statement it was possible for them to make their wishes more clear. He did not wish hon. Gentlemen to be under the impression that he said the money would be equally distributed throughout Ireland; that would be absolutely impossible.

MR. SEXTON said, he would say no more than that he withdrew the Amendment.

MR. PARNELL (Cork) asked, if it would be possible to give the House on Monday a list of the names of the landowners. There were 1,000 estates included in the Return, and it appeared to him it would afford very useful information as to the class of estates which were being sold, or were proposed to be sold, if the names of the landowners were given?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was afraid it would be impossible to give the names of the landlords. They could not do more than use their best exertions to circulate the Report which had been prepared. To ask for a list of the landowners which was not in the Report was more than he could undertake.

MR. PARNELL said, it surely would not be a great undertaking to ask for the list.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. T. M. HEALY asked whether the Government could not see their way to make some proposal on Monday, whereby, instead of adopting the unsatisfactory principle of first come first served, which really might mean first come worst served, the Land Commissioners should be able to have in view the entire number of applicants before they made any further allocation of the money? He respectfully put it to the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he could not devise some scheme whereby the Land Commissioners should make no allocation—say for three or four months—and that then they should have before them all the applications made in the meantime? It appeared to him the First Lord of the Treasury was anxious to pass the Bill without the change of a comma, and thus avoid the Report stage. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would not come down to the House on Monday with the intention of refusing all Amendments. The quickest way to get a Bill through was, on matters which did not affect principles, to make concessions to their opponents.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was anxious to consider, on behalf of the Government, every recommendation, with the most earnest desire to deal with it. They would consider all that had transpired in the debate to-night.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) said, that the first point in the Return ordered by the House earlier in the evening was a list of the names of the landowners. He respectfully suggested to the First Lord of the Treasury that a telegram should be sent to Dublin to-morrow morning, so that by Monday the list of the names might be furnished to Members.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT (1887) AMENDMENT (LEASEHOLDERS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. M'Cartan, Bill to amend "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887," in regard to Leaseholders, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Clancy, and Mr. Pinkerton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 388.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."

MR. J. E. ELLIS asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, whether a telegram could not be sent to Dublin early to-morrow morning, so that by Monday hon. Members might be in possession of a list of the names of the landowners in respect to the sale of whose estates applications had been made.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, he would communicate the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman to the Land Commissioners, and see what could be done.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 26th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Parliamentary Papers Distribution, *appointed* and *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — Land Purchase (Ireland) [385]—R.P.

Withdrawn—Court of Session and Bill Chamber (Scotland) Clerks * [269]; Presumption of Life (Scotland) * [326].

QUESTIONS.

—o—

A PUBLIC TRUSTEE—LEGISLATION.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If the promised Government Bill for the constitution of a Public Trustee is in preparation; and if, having regard to the urgent need in the public interest for the formation of such a self-supporting office, hope may be entertained that it will be assigned a favourable position in the legislative programme for next Session?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): No, Sir. No such Bill is at present in preparation; and in view of the great body of legislative work before the Government I cannot promise that such a measure will be brought forward next Session. Personally, I am very favourably disposed to the suggestion of the hon. Member, and I do not wish to say anything to discourage his idea. But I can give no pledge on behalf of the Government.

WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF DOMINICA—EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC WORKS.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Who is responsible for the proper application of the sum of £20,000 recently raised to improve the means of communication of the Island of Dominica; if there is any truth in the statement that the money is being wasted; if it is a fact that a Mr. Robins, recently sent to Dominica as an engineer, is paid £500 a-year, instead of £350 a-year paid his predecessor; and, if so, what is the reason for this increase of salary; what Mr. Robins' qualifications are; and whether he has as yet submitted any plans or specifications for roads or bridges; if it is also a fact that, in addition to this engineer, a Mr. Rankin has been appointed clerk of works at a salary of £150 a-year; and, if so, what his exact occupation is; if it is true that these two gentlemen are in the habit of ordering most expensive stores, which are put down to extras, and charged to the Public Works Account; and whether there is any, and, if so, what, check upon their expenditure under this head; and, if it is also true that the Government quarters at Mona Bruce are being repaired, rebuilt, and redecorated for Mr. Robins and his family; that a Government store has been opened, and a storekeeper appointed, in a building rented by Mr. Robins' directions; and that large orders for materials and supplies have been made out by him; and, if so, who is responsible for this expenditure, and out of what fund is it to be met?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Governor of the Leeward Islands, the President of Dominica, and the engineer in charge of the works are responsible for the application of the £20,000 raised for the improvement of the means of communication in Dominica, and the Secretary of State has no reason to believe that the money is being wasted. Mr. Robins' engagement is a special and temporary one at £500 a-year; and he has had no predecessor. He is an experienced engineer, who has been employed by the Governments of various Colonies; and, doubtless, his plans and specifications have been submitted to the Colonial Government. He is provided with a house. The requisite stores have been ordered by the Colonial Government, and are, doubtless, charged to the Island Public Works account. The expenditure must be authorized by the Governor or the President of the Island. Orders have been made out by Mr. Robins and approved by the Governor. The Governor is responsible for the expenditure, which is to be met out of the proposed loan.

WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF ST. LUCIA—SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is true that in the Island of St. Lucia there is only school

accommodation for 6½ per cent of the population, and that the teaching staff is utterly inadequate to the requirements of the public; if it is also true that the inhabitants of St. Lucia have repeatedly asked for more schools and more teaching, and that they have offered voluntarily to tax themselves to provide education for their children; and, if so, why the Government have not acceded to their repeated requests; and, whether there is any likelihood of their doing so?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): It appears to be substantially true that there is school accommodation in St. Lucia for only about 7 per cent of the population, and that the staff is inadequate for the teaching of all the children of school age. The Secretary of State is not aware that the inhabitants have repeatedly asked for more schools, or have offered to tax themselves to provide education for their children. The question of making better provision for elementary education in St. Lucia is under the consideration of the Governor of the Windward Islands, and he will be asked for an early Report.

IRELAND—QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY—PROFESSOR PYE.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the trial of a Petition of Right in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland on the 14th and 19th of November, where it was found by the Court that the petitioner, Professor Pye, of Queen's College, Galway, had by the dissolution of the Queen's University, in which he had held an office, lost certain fees to the extent of £300 a-year, being nearly one-half his total income; whether he has considered the statement of Baron Dowse, in giving judgment for the Crown, that the Act dissolving the University should have contained provisions dealing with this loss; and, whether, as the Act was passed by the Legislature on the understanding that no financial injury should be inflicted on any office-holder by its operation, Government will propose legislation or submit an Estimate with a view to carry out the suggestion of the learned Judge?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The attention of the Irish Government has been called to the trial alluded to; also to the representations of Professor Pye as to the extent of his losses, and the statement of Baron Dowse in giving judgment. No application has since been made by Professor Pye; but on its receipt the matter will be carefully considered.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES—THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FISHERIES TREATY.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When Her Majesty's Government intend placing upon the Table of the House all Correspondence relative to the Anglo-American Fisheries Treaty, recently arranged by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain); whether, seeing that the United States Senate has rejected the Treaty, it is the intention of the Government to negotiate for a new Commission, and, in the meantime, owing to the divergence of legal opinion relative to the meaning of the Treaty of 1818, it is intended to suspend enforcing its provisions, as interpreted by the Government of Canada; and, whether he considers that the *modus vivendi* under the Treaty is still in force?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government do not propose to publish the Papers, or to make any statement on the subject at present. The *modus vivendi* is still in operation.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—"CRIME SPECIAL BRANCH"—SERGEANT JOHN O'BRIEN.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Sergeant John O'Brien, of Cappamore, has been appointed a Special Sergeant "Crime Special Branch," County Limerick; what extra pay and allowances will he receive; has any examination into his fitness been held, and by whom; why has he been appointed, without competition, over the heads of 100 sergeants in Limerick City and County, many of whom possess superior qualifications;

and, is this the same Sergeant John O'Brien who, while stationed at Glin in 1886, was guilty of a serious violation of Police Regulations, for which he was reprimanded and removed from his station; and, if so, was this promotion made with the sanction of the Chief Secretary.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Constabulary authorities report that it is the case that Sergeant John O'Brien has been assigned the duties mentioned in the Question. He receives 1*s.* 6*d.* per day extra pay; no allowance attaches to the appointment. He had not to undergo a special examination, nor is there a competitive examination for an appointment of this nature. This sergeant was transferred from Glin some two years ago for a breach of the Regulations of the Force. His appointment did not come before the Chief Secretary for sanction, inasmuch as his sanction was not required. Sergeant O'Brien has always borne an excellent character; and his officers, who have a high opinion of him, consider him well qualified to carry out the duties now assigned to him.

MR. W. ABRAHAM asked, whether it would tend to maintain the discipline in the Force if a man who had been reprimanded for a breach of the Regulations should afterwards be promoted over the heads of other men?

MR. MADDEN said, he did not think that a slight breach of discipline should for ever debar a deserving officer from promotion.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—RIVER BANN TRUSTEES.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention was directed to a meeting of the Bann Drainage Trustees, held on Friday, November 9, in the Imperial Hotel, Belfast, where, after the routine business was disposed of, the Engineer submitted his Report and Estimate for maintenance of works in 1889, and the Board directed an assessment for a rate of £1,000; is he aware how many of the above Board are agents, and do not pay any of this assessment; how much of this assessment will be expended to pay officials, and how much for the maintenance of the works; and, what amount has been assessed for the last five years on the owners and occupiers of lands from the weir at Movanagher to the Cutts at Coleraine?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am not aware of any official records which would furnish a reply to the Question. If, however, the hon. Member desires to repeat it, and will be so good as to give some five or six days' notice, I shall make further inquiry; and, if necessary, cause a copy of the Question to be sent to the Secretary of the Bann Drainage Trustees, inviting them to make any observations they may wish in to regard to it.

LAND COMMISSION (IRELAND)—FAIR RENTS—NEW RULE RESPECTING MAPS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware of the new Rule of the Land Commission, whereby every tenant applying to have a fair rent fixed, and the Poor Law valuation of whose farm is upwards of £5, is obliged to lodge with the Sub-Commission an ordnance map of his farm with the farm coloured thereon; whether directions have been given to the Sub-Commissioners to dismiss every fair rent application made by such a tenant where the map has not been lodged prior to the hearing; whether, for the last seven years, such an obligation was only imposed where the valuation exceeded £30; whether he knows of the general dissatisfaction which the extension of this rule has caused among the small farmers who are unable to bear this additional expense in making their applications; and, if he will suggest to the Land Commission the desirability of withdrawing this rule, which presses so severely on poor farmers?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that their present Rule requires the ordnance map showing the boundaries of the holding to be lodged in every case of an originating notice where the valuation is £5 or upwards, and that the former limit was £30. They state, however,

that it is not the fact that, in the absence of a map, the case is ever dismissed. It is only adjourned. The Commissioners are aware that there is some dissatisfaction with the Rule, as it at present exists, and they are considering how its provisions can be in some degree modified.

In reply to a further question by Mr. M'CARTAN,

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware of the details in regard to the cost to which tenants were put in procuring these maps.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES —EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Estimates upon which Supply is voted by the House of Commons accurately represent the actual staff and expenses of the various Public Departments; whether there has been a material reduction under Vote 3, Class III., since the Estimates for 1888-9 were laid upon the Table; whether the number of Masters of the Supreme Court has been reduced during the past 12 months, and whether all the Masters have been in daily attendance throughout that period; whether the number of clerks in the Central Office of the Supreme Court is 77, and not 84, as shown in the Estimates, and whether it is true that the scale of salaries for all these clerks is from £100 to £600 a-year; whether the office of Pursebearer to the Lord Chancellor has been abolished, or is merely being carried on under another name with the same salary; and why, if material changes have been made in the Vote, the House was not informed of the fact when the amount was asked for on the 13th instant?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The Estimate upon which Supply is voted represents accurately the staff and costs of a Department up to the middle of January, when the Estimate goes to the printer. It is, of course, impossible to foresee what retirements may take place during the course of the following year. The alterations in the staff of the Supreme Court since the Estimate was laid on the Table in March last have not been so material as to call for a departure from the usual practice. In the Central Office the number of Masters has recently been reduced by retirement from 16 to 15, and the number of clerks from 84 to 77. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, 1887, the vacancies thus caused and the three next which may occur among the clerks will not be filled up. The scale of salary for the clerks is that recommended by the Committee—namely, from £100 to £600 a-year; but there are three clerks in receipt of £700, in consequence of rights acquired before the Committee's inquiry and Report. The attendance of the Masters during the full office hours is at present the subject of inquiry by the Lord Chancellor. There is no separate office of Pursebearer. The duties have been assigned without an increase of salary to the office of the Lord Chancellor's Clerk of the Chamber, an office declared to be necessary by the Royal Commission of 1874. The economy effected will be apparent by comparing the Estimates of 1884-5 with those of the following year, when the change was made:—1884-5, Gentleman of the Chamber, £400, with an allowance for discharging duties of Pursebearer £100, and Sealer, £50—total, £550; 1885-6, Pursebearer and Clerk of the Chamber, £400. Full particulars of the changes and economies effected in the Lord Chancellor's Department by the re-organization which then took place will appear in the Correspondence between the Lord Chancellor and the Treasury, which has been moved for by the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers).

MR. JENNINGS asked when the alterations were made; and whether it was not a fact that on the day the House voted £400 under the head of Pursebearer to the Lord Chancellor the office had been abolished?

MR. JACKSON: I do not admit it is the fact that the House voted £400 under the name of Pursebearer; because, if you will look at the Estimates, you will see it is for the Pursebearer and for the Clerk to the Chamber. If I might venture to criticize the wording of it, I think, when the change was made, it would have been better if the duties of Clerk to the Chamber had been put first. Putting the office of Pursebearer first has given rather undue prominence to it.

MR. JENNINGS: When were these changes made? When was the number of clerks reduced?

MR. JACKSON: I cannot give the precise dates; but I may remind the House that when this Vote was under discussion I stated that redundant clerks had been called upon to retire; I was not aware at that moment, but I believed, that four of them had actually retired. Of course, I cannot know what changes take place in various Departments from day to day; but I meant to convey to the Committee that the Government intended to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee, and I stated distinctly that as vacancies occurred they would not be filled up.

ARMY—RIFLE RANGE AT CASTLECOMER, CO. KILKENNY.

MR. MARUM (Kilkenny, N.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Her Majesty's Government has yet decided upon taking the rifle range at Castlecomer, in the County of Kilkenny, for military practice; whether the Military Authorities, upon examination, have fully approved of the projected range; and, whether the Local Committee have in every way facilitated the acquisition of the same, and further have expressed themselves as prepared to remove the difficulties, if any, that may present themselves to the Authorities; and, if so, what is the cause of the delay in carrying out the project?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: The range at Castlecomer offers many advantages over the ranges now available, and the War Department would be glad to acquire it. But, notwithstanding the help afforded by some gentlemen of the locality, it has been found impracticable to come to terms with several of the occupiers whose land would be required or rights interfered with.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DISCHARGE OF A WARDER FROM KILKENNY PRISON.

MR. MARUM (Kilkenny, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to certain proceedings of the General Prisons' Board, Dublin Castle, in relation to the threatened dismissal of Thomas Nolan, Warder, from his service in Her Majesty's Prison, Kilkenny; what is the charge, or breach of discipline, proved against the warder; whether he is aware that the Board's Minute of November 13, based upon a Report of Captain Hill, calling for the warder's resignation, is not regarded as satisfactory in the interests of justice by the local Visiting Justices of Kilkenny; and, whether, in view of the same, and having regard to the good character of the warder, and the difficulty, under present circumstances, of his being able to procure employment from the public upon dismissal, he will direct a further and independent inquiry to be instituted by the local Justices, or otherwise, as to the facts and circumstances of the case?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The warder referred to was called on to resign, owing to a gross breach of discipline in removing a prisoner from his proper class, and for making a mis-statement of facts. These circumstances, taken with his previous unsatisfactory record, rendered his further retention in the Public Service undesirable, and he was accordingly given the option of resignation or dismissal. The Government see no ground for calling for further inquiry into the matter.

MR. MARUM stated, that in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of this answer, he would call attention to the matter on the discussion of the Estimates.

VALUATION OFFICE (IRELAND)—STAFF AND ACCOUNTS.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a separate account is kept at the Valuation Office of every sum received for (a) certificates of valuation, (b) ordnance maps, and (c) colouring and marking farms on such maps; whether any, and what, allowances, over and above their regular salaries, are made to clerks in the Office in respect of (a) or (b); and, whether any persons are, or have been, employed in addition to the staff in respect of these matters, and on what terms?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin Uni-

versity) (who replied) said: The Commissioner of Valuation reports that the reply to the inquiry in the first paragraph is in the affirmative. No allowances over and above their regular salaries are allowed to the clerks in the Office for these duties. Up to the present no addition has been made to the staff in respect of the recent increase of work for the Land Commission Department; but an application for additional assistance is now before the Treasury.

NAVY—ENGINEER DEPARTMENT OF THE ROYAL NAVY.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether, as owing to the large use of steam power and machinery on board ship the duties and responsibilities of the Engineer Department of the Royal Navy have of late years enormously increased, and as the officers of this Department are still far behind every other class of commissioned officers (except accountants) in the matter of rank, and behind every other class in the matter of pay, he will take steps to remedy this grievance, and to place these officers on an equal footing in these respects to those of any other branch of the Navy?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The question of the pay and position of the officers of the Engineer Branch of the Navy has, from time to time, received the careful consideration of the Admiralty; and so late as in February, 1886, an Order in Council was obtained defining and re-adjusting the relative ranks of the officers of Her Majesty's Service, based on the recommendation of a Committee specially appointed to consider the question. I am not disposed to disturb this settlement.

NAVY—RECOVERY OF A TORPEDO—SALVAGE.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that Daniel Mahoney and two comrade fishermen did, at great personal peril, in Dunmanus Bay, County Cork, recover a torpedo, the property of Her Majesty's Government; whether they did restore same to Coastguard authorities at Schull, subject to the usual demand for salvage; whether the value of the torpedo is £500; whether the usual salvage awarded by the Court of Admiralty is sometimes one-half, and never less than one-tenth, of the value of the property saved; and, whether these men have received half or a reasonable amount of the value of the torpedo in question; and, if not, what reason can be assigned for deviating from the usual practice of awarding salvage?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The fishermen in question found the torpedo floating, and towed it about four miles to a place of safety, from whence it was handed over to the Coastguard. The torpedo not being loaded, there was no peril attaching to this service. The value of the torpedo is £340. The Admiralty Court occasionally awards salvage as high as one-half of the value of the property salved; but it is not correct to say that less than one-tenth is never awarded. The present case is, however, one of recovery of wreck and not of salvage, and is, therefore, not one for the Admiralty Court to deal with. The Admiralty, in these and similar cases, award such remuneration as the circumstances of the case justify. In this case an award of £1 per man was considered adequate.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—REDEMPTION OF TITHE RENT-CHARGE.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether an Order was made by the Irish Land Commission, under section 15, sub-section 2, of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887," reducing the terms payable by landowners for redemption of tithe rent-charge from 22½ years, as fixed by "The Irish Church Act, 1869," to 20 years' purchase; whether the Commissioners of the Treasury have assented to such an order; by what sum would the Irish Church surplus be reduced under such an arrangement on transactions already entered into; and, what is the estimated reduction of the surplus if sales of land representing the £5,000,000 contemplated by the Land Purchase Bill now before the House should be carried out?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The Land Commissioners report that no Order has been made

reducing the terms of redemption of tithe rent-charge; but that they applied to the Treasury in November, 1887, for the requisite consent that on sales under Lord Ashbourne's Act of land liable to tithe rent-charge, payable to the Land Commissioners and ordered to be redeemed, such redemption might be carried out at 20 years' purchase of the charge, less such sum in the pound as the payer of such tithe rent-charge was entitled to deduct for poor rate on an average of five years prior to December, 1887. If this suggestion were carried out it is estimated that £11,445 would be the total loss up to the present time. It is not possible to calculate the prospective loss to the Church Surplus as estimated in 1869 on the assumption that the redemption price of tithe rent-charge was reduced by two-and-a-half years' purchase in the case of lands which may be hereafter sold under Lord Ashbourne's Act, inasmuch as it cannot be told what lands will be sold. Some lands are not now liable to tithe rent-charge; while on other lands the charge varies considerably in amount.

MR. MURPHY asked if the Treasury had consented?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; the application has been made, but no arrangement has been come to yet.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—THE IRISH DRAINAGE BILLS.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether any expenses are now being incurred in relation to the abandoned Irish Drainage Bills; and, if so, out of what Vote are they being paid; whether there has been a very general condemnation by competent authorities of the proposed method of effecting the drainage of the Barrow; and, will the Government reconsider the whole question before proceeding further with these projects?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The Government having decided to re-introduce the Irish Drainage Bills next Session, expenses continue to be incurred in relation to them, which are being met partly out of the Vote for Public Works and Industries (Ireland) (Drainage Works and Surveys) and partly out of the Vote for Law Charges (England) (Parliamentary Agency). It is not the fact that there has been a general condemnation by competent authorities of the proposed method of effecting the drainage of the Barrow. The Government do not see any ground to reconsider their decision to bring again before Parliament for its consideration the proposals already made by them in the matter.

CYPRUS (FINANCE, &c.)—REDUCTION OF ESTIMATES.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Elective Council of Cyprus, after duly considering the Estimates presented to them by the Government, have reduced the same by several thousands of pounds; and, whether the votes of the Elective Council have been overruled by Her Majesty's Orders in Council?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Estimates were so reduced by £7,962. As these reductions could not be carried out summarily without injury to the Island and its credit, and breach of faith to some public servants, the greater part of the amount has been sanctioned by Order in Council under the powers reserved to the Crown by the Constitution Order in Council. And it is hoped that a corresponding reduction may be effected in a less objectionable way, as explained in pages 174 to 180 of Blue Book C, 5,523.

CYPRUS (FINANCE, &c.) — ADMINISTRATIVE DIFFICULTIES.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true that the administration of Cyprus is a matter of increasing difficulty, owing to the financial condition of the Island and the heavy tribute payable to the Porte; and, whether any steps have been taken either to commute the Turkish tribute, or to relieve Cyprus of a burden from which she derives no benefit?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): My answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question is, Yes. But the hon. Member will bear in mind that the tribute payable

to the Porte results from an International agreement, and is not in our power to alter. In stating this I also answer the second part of the hon. Member's Question as to relieving Cyprus from the burden of the tribute. The annual sum of £92,000 must be paid to the Porte. Whether it may be possible to arrive at a financial arrangement for the commutation of the tribute is a question with regard to which I am not able at present to give a definite answer.

LAW AND JUSTICE—PENTON STREET BOARD SCHOOL—ASSAULT ON THE SCHOOLMISTRESS.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a case, heard before Mr. Lushington, at the Clerkenwell Police Court, on the 15th instant, in which it was proved that the head mistress of the Penton Street Board School, Pentonville, had, in the discharge of her duty, kept a child in school, and that an elder sister of this child, who had been sent to bring her little sister home, had knocked the mistress down, when the latter had ordered the child to go back to the corner into which she had been sent, and in which case Mr. Lushington, though informed that, by the Rules of the School Board, the mistress could only have punished the child by keeping her in, gave it as his opinion that the mistress had no right to detain the child when the mother had sent for it, and that the mistress had not been so grievously assaulted as she had sworn to have been the case, and had decided to do no more in the case than require the defendant's mother to become surety in £5 for the defendant's keeping the peace for six months; whether he is aware that such is not the first case in which Mr. Lushington has treated complaints of a similar character by board school teachers; and, whether he can give the House any assurance that he will at an early date introduce some measure for the better protection of all Government certificated and fully qualified teachers in public elementary schools?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have received a Report from Mr. Lushington on the case from the Penton Street School, in which he informs me that, in his opinion, it was at least doubtful whether the schoolmistress was within her legal rights in insisting that the child should not be taken home upon the mother's order. The defendant was 14 years of age, but did not look so old; and the magistrate felt a difficulty in deciding what punishment would be suitable for so young a female culprit. He considered, on the whole, that the mother's recognizance for her good behaviour would be the most appropriate determination of the matter. I have no reason to believe that the law presses hardly on school teachers, and I think it can be left to the discretion of the magistrates to protect them in the exercise of their duty; but I shall be happy to consider any suggestions of my hon. Friend.

MR. KELLY asked whether the defendant did not knock the schoolmistress down?

MR. MATTHEWS said, that he was not informed on that point, but would inquire.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—PERMANENT OFFICIALS HOLDING PLACES OF PROFIT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has taken, or proposes to take, steps to deal with the question of allowing permanent Civil Servants, entitled to pensions, to hold places of profit outside the Government service, in the direction recommended by the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments, Second Report, paragraphs 98 and 100; whether, meantime, anything has been done to abate abuses of this kind, in contravention of previous rulings of the Treasury, when the holders of important offices are Directors of many Companies which hold meetings in the day time, and when Directorships are held by higher officers whose example may guide their juniors; whether the Comptroller of the Treasury and the Receiver General of Inland Revenue still hold the Directorships attributed to them in the Directory of Directors—namely Sir Rivers Wilson, Director of the Alliance Assurance Company; Sir Alfred Slade, Director of the Union Steamship Company and Director of the Cadogan Estate Company; whether the opinion of the latter case

expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year was brought to Sir Alfred Slade's notice, and whether it had any effect; whether the Treasury has yet solved the question raised by their letter to the Home Office, of April 6, 1878, quoted by the Royal Commissioners, as follows:—

"The mention of the whole time, however' involves a definition of office hours, which, of course, this extra sort of service tends to limit to the extremest point;"

and, whether the practice enforced by Her Majesty's present Government is that a permanent Civil Servant is bound to give his whole available time to the State whenever required, or is only bound to render a certain number of hours' service and entitled to make money in other ways in all the rest of his time?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in reply, said, that the Government had not yet had time to come to any Cabinet decision on the very important recommendation of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments with regard to the question of allowing permanent Civil Servants, entitled to pensions, to hold places of profit outside the Government service; but, in the meantime, the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were about to issue a Circular to Heads of Departments begging them to intimate to those serving under them that, pending the final decision on this matter by Her Majesty's Government, they should not accept any public Directorships. It was true that, as stated in the Question, the Comptroller of the National Debt Office and the Receiver General of the Inland Revenue still held the Directorships attributed to them—namely, Sir Rivers Wilson in the Alliance Assurance Company, and Sir Alfred Slade in the Union Steamship Company and in the Cadogan Estate Company—but he must demur to any two members of the Civil Service being specially selected for mention in this way while others were in precisely the same position. The reference to Sir Rivers Wilson was peculiarly unfair, as he consulted the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day nine years ago, and obtained his sanction to accepting this Directorship. With regard to the general question, he was still of opinion that it was undesirable that gentlemen high in the Civil Service should hold these Directorships; but it ought to be borne in mind that the case with regard to all members of the Civil Service was not the same. There was a class whose regular hours were from 10 to 4 o'clock or 5 o'clock; and it would clearly be wrong to prohibit members of this class from devoting their evenings to other work which would not prejudice the service of the State. Other members of the Civil Service who filled responsible positions did not consider themselves bound to any particular number of hours, and when it was necessary they worked till 7 or 8 o'clock. It was, therefore, difficult to lay down any absolute rule on this point.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL further asked if it was not the fact that the existing Rules of the Civil Service demanded from officials entitled to a pension their whole time; and whether the gentlemen he had referred to could be, therefore, entitled to pensions?

MR. GOSCHEN said, the answer to that Question would necessitate a definition of what "whole time" was. That was very difficult. In the case of the two responsible officials named, their attendance, as Directors, twice a week, might well be set off against the large number of additional hours they gave at other times. Still, he must repeat that his own opinion was distinctly in the direction of prohibiting members of the Civil Service, especially those in responsible positions, from accepting Directorships in Public Companies.

BANK OF ENGLAND—LOCAL LOANS STOCK.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What is the amount of the Local Loan Stock held by the Bank of England?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I am not aware of the amount of the different kinds of securities held by the Bank of England; nor if I were aware should I think that it was open to me to make the information public.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Is any excessive amount held by the Bank of England?

MR. GOSCHEN: I presume not in the opinion of the Directors of the Bank.

INLAND REVENUE — STAMP DUTY ON BILLS, POSTERS, &c.

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the propriety and expediency of levying a Stamp Duty upon bills, posters, placards, and such like mural advertisements; and, whether he will consider the desirability of substituting such an impost for the proposed tax upon wheels?

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven) also asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman will consider the expediency of levying a small tax upon advertisement posters, according to a principle which has been in force in several Foreign States for many years past?

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): Before the Chancellor of the Exchequer answers that Question, may I ask whether it is in the knowledge of the Government that the Conservative candidate for Holborn has pledged himself to vote against the Van and Wheel Tax?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The latter Question is rather an improper one. In reply to the Questions which are on the Paper, I may say that numerous suggestions have been made to me to impose such a tax as that which is suggested by the hon. Member; and I do not say there are not arguments to be used in favour of such a tax: but I must frankly add that the difficulties of persuading the public to accept new taxation are such as not to encourage me to adopt any of those suggestions.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—GREYSTONES HARBOUR.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that the Harbour at Greystones is being filled up with shingle so rapidly that there is every prospect of its being filled up completely in a short time; whether it is a fact that many unavailing attempts have been made to get a groin built to the north, to stop the travel of the shingle; whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Royal Commissioners in 1887, in which the harbour, as designed, is described as a "trap to catch the shingle;" and, what steps the Government propose to take under the circumstances?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, he was informed that a great increase in the accumulation of shingle at Greystones Harbour had recently taken place; but that it was not so great as to threaten to completely fill up the harbour in a very short time. He understood that the Board of Works was about to submit some proposals to the Treasury for remedying this state of things.

MAURITIUS—ACTION AGAINST MR. PICKERSGILL, H.M. CONSUL AT MADAGASCAR.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether an action was recently pending in the Supreme Court of Mauritius by Thomas Wilkinson against Mr. Pickersgill, Her Majesty's Consul at Madagascar, for acts alleged to have been done in his Consular capacity; what has been the result of that action; whether, under the judgment of the Supreme Court or otherwise, any and what moneys have been paid by the Acting Consul at Tamatave to the solicitor of Thomas Wilkinson; whether such payments will be included in a Supplementary Estimate; and, whether the Government will lay upon the Table the Papers relating to this case?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The action in question was tried before the Supreme Court of Mauritius in 1885. It was brought against Her Majesty's Consul for acts done in his judicial capacity. The Supreme Court decided that, on technical grounds, the plaintiff was entitled to judgment, and awarded nominal damages with costs. These costs amounted to about £250, which was paid, and is provided for in the Accounts of 1887-8. No Supplementary Vote will be required on account of it. It is considered unnecessary to lay upon the Table Papers relating to this case.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is yet in a position to inform the House what decision has been come to regarding the appointment of Sir Henry Blake as Governor of Queensland; whether he has received particulars of the Resolutions unanimously passed by the Parliament of New South Wales on the question of the appointment of Colonial Governors; and, if he will communicate to the House a copy of the Resolutions moved by Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister, and of any telegraphic despatch on the subject received from Lord Carrington, Governor of New South Wales?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I regret that I am not in a position to make any further statement at present with regard to the Governorship of Queensland. Her Majesty's Government have received by telegram the copy of an Address to Her Majesty from the Legislative Assembly, not the Parliament, of New South Wales. I think it is hardly convenient to communicate to the House the telegraphic Correspondence on this subject as it is received; but I hope it may be possible soon to present Papers to the House.

GERMAN EMPIRE—GREAT INCREASE OF THE NAVY.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can inform the House if the Government have received information, corresponding with that given in *The Times* of November 23, as to the intention of the German Government to increase their maritime defence by building 28 men-of-war at a cost of about £6,000,000, 13 of which vessels are to be iron-clad battle-ships?

THE UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No, Sir; we have received no official information on the subject. I have, however, seen a fuller report of the proposals in the Imperial Budget, which says that the expenditure in question is to be spread over a period of 10 years, and the construction to be gradual.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE—THE NEW WINE DUTIES.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the arrangements for levying the new duty on sparkling wine are working in a satisfactory manner?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): From the Revenue point of view, the working of the Act is completely satisfactory. Taking the first four months after the modification of the extra duty, by which it was restricted to sparkling wines, I find that the yield of the extra duty was £47,700. At this rate the yield for the whole year would be £143,000, as against my estimate of £125,000. There has, of course, been a certain amount of friction in the working of the Act, and some complaints about the manner in which it has been administered by the Customs authorities, though, considering the difficult task intrusted to them, I consider that those authorities have discharged their duty in a manner which does them credit. I may give, as an instance of the kind of friction which arises, that a firm which advertised a certain wine at 80*s.* a-dozen, and described it as "the highest class champagne shipped, the best *cuvées* of the best vintages only," yet claimed to pay the lower rate of duty, on the ground that they bought the wine for less than 30*s.* a-dozen. Without disputing the accuracy of their statement, the Customs were of opinion that this was not the kind of wine for which the lower rate of duty conceded to cheap wines was intended. I think the House will agree with me that the firm in question may well pay 5*s.* tax out of the 50*s.* a dozen profit which, on their own showing, they make. Speaking generally, I may say that, though numerous disputes have arisen, they affect only a small proportion of the sparkling wines imported; and that the friction is not greater than was to be expected before the trade became familiar with the principle of the new duty. Nothing which has yet occurred leads me to think that it will necessary to withdraw the concession by which sparkling wines of under 30*s.*

a dozen are admitted at the lower rate of duty.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer kindly give the name of the firm to which he has referred?

MR. GOSCHEN: No; I am afraid that to do so would increase the friction.

JAMAICA—IMPORTATION OF COOLIES.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any applications are now being made for the sanction of Her Majesty's Government to a renewal of the importation of coolies into the Island of Jamaica; and, if so, whether it is proposed that a portion of the cost of such an importation shall be defrayed from the general taxation of the Island?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The question of the resumption of the importation of coolies into Jamaica has been considered by the Legislative Council of the Colony; and a Resolution has been passed in favour of allowing it to be resumed, on condition that the whole expense is borne by the employers to whom the immigrants are indentured.

SUGAR BOUNTIES (INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE).

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Sugar Bounties Convention has any binding effect whatever previous to the exchange of ratifications, which is fixed by Article XI. for "the 1st August, 1890, or sooner if possible;" whether there is any probability of the latter alternative (of an earlier ratification) being realized; and, whether, meanwhile, each of the Powers represented by the signatories is free, both in honour and in International Law, to withdraw from the Convention?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Sugar Bounties Convention has no binding effect whatever without ratification. As regards the second inquiry, no opinion can at present be expressed. As regards the third, unless special circumstances intervene, contracting States ought to proceed to ratification; but there are many instances in which Treaties have been signed but not ratified. In the present case legislation will be necessary in order to give effect to the Convention; and, therefore, when a measure is submitted to Parliament for that purpose, an opportunity will be afforded for discussion.

PROCLAIMED MEETINGS (IRELAND)—KILKENNY, NEW ROSS, &c.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why public meetings announced to be held on Friday last in Kilkenny, New Ross, and other places in Ireland, were prohibited by Proclamation; why, although the meetings had been announced for weeks, and extensive preparations were made in many districts, the Proclamations were not promulgated until the date of meeting; whether meetings for the same purpose have been held annually in many places in Ireland during the last 20 years without any incident prejudicial to public peace and order, and without interference by the Government; and, why the course of repression has now been adopted?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: In answer to the Questions of the hon. Member, I have to say that the Proclamations referred to in the first and second paragraphs of the Question were issued in each case as soon as possible after the Government had received definite information that the meeting would be held. As regards the action of Government during the last 20 years with regard to such meetings, I have to say that there does not appear to have been any uniform line of action adopted by the present Government or by its Predecessors in Office, who sometimes allowed the demonstrations to take place and sometimes prohibited them. The meetings referred to in the Question were prohibited because the Government were advised that they were illegal in their character, and because they believed that it was for the public benefit that they should not be held.

MR. SEXTON said, he should like to press the Government on this point. These meetings had been held every year since 1867, and had never resulted in any breach of the peace. Under

what law did the Government prohibit them on this occasion?

MR. MADDEN: I endeavoured to convey in my answer the fact that they were prohibited because they were illegal under the Common Law.

MR. SEXTON: In what sense illegal? I shall have to ask leave to move the Adjournment unless I receive a proper answer.

MR. MADDEN: They were illegal because held for an illegal purpose.

MR. SEXTON: What is that purpose?

MR. MADDEN: That purpose, Sir, was to commemorate, or to celebrate and recommend to the public, the action of certain persons who had suffered for an offence against the law of the land. A public demonstration of such a character is an illegal meeting at Common Law.

MR. SEXTON: If it is illegal now, why did Conservative and Liberal Governments, for the last 20 years, allow it to take place in Ireland without even a word of opposition?

MR. MADDEN: These meetings have been, from time to time, forbidden by both Conservative and Liberal Governments.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked whether a similar meeting in this country would be illegal at Common Law; whether they had not frequently been held, and had never been put down?

MR. MADDEN: It is not my duty to answer for this country; but this I may say—that the Common Law is the same in both countries.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) inquired whether an exactly similar meeting had not been allowed to take place in Dublin yesterday, although, according to the statement of the Solicitor General, it was illegal?

MR. MADDEN: The hon. Member must give Notice of Question as to any particular meeting.

MR. SEXTON: If some were permitted and others prohibited, is it because there is one Common Law in Dublin and another everywhere else?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Solicitor General whether these meetings were not intended to celebrate the murder of a policeman at Manchester?

MR. MADDEN: Yes, Sir.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. W. S. BIRD, J.P., CO. CORK.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, At what Petty Sessions district Mr. William S. Bird, a Justice of the Peace for the County of Cork, elected to attend when he was appointed to the Commission of the Peace?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that it appears from the Papers in the Lord Chancellor's Secretary's Office that Mr. Bird's customary or appointed Petty Sessions districts are Bantry, Carrickbue, and Reenmeen.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BALLYCOTTON PIER.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will give instructions to Mr. J. Wolfe Barry to report to the Treasury upon the present condition of Ballycotton Pier, and specifically whether the original plan and specifications adopted by the Board of Works, and contracted for by the Messrs. Martin, were adhered to in the construction of the pier; and, if not, whether the alterations made are, in his opinion, better calculated to secure the stability of the structure; whether the samples of the stuff used in the hearting of the pier, which have been sent him from the holes made in the pier, are the same materials specified in the original contract; and, is the concrete, which has now split in the pavement, face, and north side of the pier head (specimens of which have been sent him by his representative), the concrete ordered by original specifications?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, that the form of reference to Mr. W. Barry would not preclude him from dealing with any point he might think important as regarded the construction and condition of Ballycotton Pier; and he (Mr. Jackson) did not wish to fetter his discretion by suggesting to him points to be dealt with in, or omitted from, his Report. He might say, however, that the Board of Works were instructed to furnish all and every information which might be necessary for Mr. Barry to possess, and that that had been done.

MR. LANE asked, whether the hon. Gentleman would take steps to have the Report ready before the Irish Estimates came on?

MR. JACKSON said, it would be impossible to undertake to do anything of the kind.

MR. LANE said, he would then have to ask that the Vote for the Irish Board of Works be postponed until the Irish Members saw Mr. Barry's Report.

MR. JACKSON said, he hoped it would not be necessary to do anything of the kind.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF MR. SHEEHAN, M.P.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether

"The offence of using threatening and abusive language to District Inspector Rodgers, Royal Irish Constabulary, while in the discharge of his duty,"

for which Mr. Cecil Roche, R.M., on the 16th instant, reported to Mr. Speaker he had ordered Mr. Sheehan, a Member of this House, to be imprisoned for one calendar month, consisted solely, as alleged in the report of an appeal to the Dublin Exchequer Division on the case in *The Times* of the 20th instant, in Mr. Sheehan's having used to the Inspector, who was searching his house, the words "Oh, you wretched!" and then shouted "Boo for Balfour"?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The hon. Member for East Kerry was convicted under the ordinary law by a full Bench of Magistrates, consisting of two Resident Magistrates and four local Justices of the Peace, all of whom were unanimous in their decision. This decision was affirmed on appeal before the Exchequer Division of the High Court of Justice. The words addressed by him to the District Inspector are not accurately represented in the Question. The streets were full of numbers of people, it being a fair night; some of them were more or less under the influence of drink, and the crowd, which had hitherto been peaceable, became excited and turbulent through the hon. Member's action. The order of the magistrates was that he should find bail for his good behaviour. This he refused to do, electing the alternative of one month's imprisonment.

DR. CAMERON pointed out that the words, "Oh, you wretched!" printed in the Question, should have been "Oh, you wretch!" Was this the inaccuracy to which the hon. and learned Gentleman referred?

Mr. MADDEN said, there were additional words used by Mr. Sheehan. He had told the police officer that "he might fare worse."

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, he had been present in Court at the trial, and he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman was not the expression used by Mr. Sheehan, "You may go farther and fare worse"; and whether two witnesses swore that he did not use the expression, "Oh, you wretch!" He also asked whether Mr. Sheehan had not been summarily arrested and taken to Tralee Gaol, bail being refused pending the trial?

MR. MADDEN asked for Notice of the Question.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked whether the expression for using which Mr. Sheehan had been convicted—namely, "Boo for Balfour!"—was held to be threatening and abusive in respect of Rodgers?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; but that is only a portion of the language which he used.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Under what Statute is it laid down that the expression, "You may go farther and fare worse," is illegal?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

INLAND REVENUE—PRODUCTION OF THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) (for Mr. MACLURE) (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can give an estimate of the amount which would be produced by the Van and Wheel Tax in England, and also state how much will be received by the various county boroughs, and how much by each of the separate counties independently of the county boroughs?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The estimate of the produce of the Van Tax, after the exemptions which have been made, is

£180,000 a-year for England and Wales. I cannot give the exact distribution, but without pledging myself to an exact estimate the figures may be given approximately as follows:—London, £37,400; the county boroughs, £60,000; the counties in England and Wales, £82,600.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSION AT WATERFORD.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, considering the great number of applications to have fair rents fixed made by farmers in the Waterford Union, When a Sub-Commission will visit Waterford?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that a Sub-Commission will sit in County Waterford early in the ensuing year.

LAW AND POLICE—NOMINAL ENTRIES IN THE "POLICE GAZETTE."

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is aware that the original organ of the Criminal Investigation Department (*The Police Gazette*) appears to be sometimes used as a means of depriving the relations of those who have been convicted of offences of employment by referring to them by name; and, if he will order this practice to be discontinued?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have made inquiry, and the Commissioner of Police informs me that he is not aware that such use is ever made of *The Police Gazette* as the Question assumes. Were any instance of its being used in such a manner brought to his notice he would order a strict investigation. *The Gazette* is a confidential document, intended for circulation exclusively among the police; and its purpose is not to give information concerning convicted offenders or their relations, but to furnish such information respecting fugitives from justice as will lead to their apprehension.

METROPOLITAN POLICE (SIR CHARLES WARREN).

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state why the Police Rules of Wednesday night last were signed by Sir Charles Warren, seeing that he is no longer Commissioner? The hon. Gentleman also asked, whether it was true that Mr. Monro had been appointed Commissioner of Police?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Although Sir Charles Warren has sent in his resignation of the office of Commissioner of Police, he has not yet been relieved from the responsibility of the office; and, therefore, properly continues to discharge its functions. No successor has yet been appointed to Sir Charles Warren?

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BANN.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee, at the earliest possible time next Session, to inquire into the question of the Bann Drainage, and the best means of meeting the difficulty?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I apprehend the course will be that the Bill will be introduced next Session; and when read a second time it will, in the ordinary course, be referred to a Select Committee as a Hybrid Bill.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked, would there be any opportunity afforded to Irish Members to express any opinion during the second reading of that Bill?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, would the Representatives of the British taxpayer be afforded a similar opportunity without being closured?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked whether, between then and the introduction of the Bill, the Government would take steps to ascertain the local feeling, and also the feeling of Irish Members generally, on this Bill; and whether they would also see if some better system of voting on the question could be devised than the property tax?

MR. MADDEN said, the Government would gladly receive any suggestions from any quarter with the view to the

possible improvement and development of the scheme.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885 — ADVANCES AND APPLICATIONS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state what has been the number of advances to tenants for the purchase of their holdings under the Land Purchase Act, in sums of £100 and under; of from £100 to £200; £200 to £500; £500 to £1,000; and £1,000 to £2,000 respectively?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, that the time since the Question was placed on the Paper had been too short to enable him to obtain the necessary information, and he was not, therefore, in a position to answer it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Will the information be here by to-morrow?

MR. MADDEN: I hope so.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — THE CODE OF 1889—THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether he can give an assurance that the Education Code of 1889 will carry out the unanimous recommendations of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education in England and Wales; that in Wales permission should be given to take up the Welsh language as a specific subject; to adopt an optional scheme to take the place of English as a class subject, founded on the principle of substituting a graduated system of translation from Welsh to English for the present requirements in English grammar; to teach Welsh along with English as a class subject; and to include Welsh among the languages in which candidates for Queen's Scholarships and for certificates of merit may be examined?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): Welsh has been accepted as a specific subject for the last two years, with the result that in 1887 192 scholars in 12 schools were examined, and in the year just passed 369 scholars in 16 schools. The other points to which the hon. Member refers will receive most careful attention in connection with any changes made in the Code.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — TRAINING OF TEACHERS, WALES—COLLEGES OF ABERYSTWITH, CARDIFF, AND BANGOR.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether the recommendation unanimously made by all the Members of the Royal Commission on Education, that the State-aided University Colleges of Aberystwith, Cardiff, and Bangor, should be utilized for the training of teachers, can be adopted at an early date; and whether he will enter into communication with the Councils of the three Colleges as to their readiness to form educational faculties, and make other arrangements necessary for the effective carrying out of the recommendation of the Commissioners?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): The recommendations of the Royal Commission on this head are under consideration; and though disposed to view with favour some experiment in the direction indicated, there are many difficulties, financial and otherwise, that have to be approached, and the Department have not yet had time to deal with them.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PAYMENT OF ARREARS — EXTENT OF TERMS.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he will afford any information to the House, by a Return or otherwise, as to the number of cases tried at the late sittings of the County Courts in Ireland, in which the presiding Judges availed themselves of the power vested in them by Section 30 of the Land Act of 1887, to extend the period of payment of arrears of rent and costs over one year from the date of decree, in conformity with the following decision of the Superior Courts, delivered previous to the sitting by Mr. Justice Morris, and concurred in by Mr. Justice O'Brien and Mr. Justice Gibson, in a case stated from the Assizes of the County of Londonderry by Mr. Justice Andrews:—

"The Court has the power to extend time of payment beyond one year from date of decree and to stay execution in meantime, and that if default is made in complying with the order for payment the decree may be executed in the prescribed form. He thought such was the translation of section 30 of the Land Act of 1887. It was admitted that the Superior Courts had power to extend payments over 20 years if necessary and reasonable. He thought it most unreasonable if this were not to apply to Civil Bill Courts, because in 99 cases out of 100 ejectments are brought in Civil Bill Courts" (*Law Times* Report, 3rd November, 1888).

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I find that there will be no difficulty in giving a Return of the nature in question if the hon. Member desires to move for it. I would suggest, however, that it should date from the commencement of the Act.

POST OFFICE—CONTRACT FOR POST-CARDS.

MR. R. POWER (Waterford) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will lay upon the Table the Correspondence which contains the offer of Messrs. De la Rue, in connection with their proposal for an extension of their contract, leading up to a reduction in the price of postcards, in order that the House may be in a position to form an opinion as to whether there are exceptional reasons for accepting that offer which may outweigh the advantages likely to arise from competition and from short contracts; whether there is any truth in the rumour that the reduced prices offered by Messrs. De la Rue practically correspond with those which Mr. Purcell, the Controller of Stamps, indicated in his evidence before the Select Committee on Revenue Estimates would be fair and reasonable; whether it is a fact that, at the present moment, post cards are being turned out at Somerset House which, as retailed by stationers at 6½*d.* and 7*d.* per dozen, compete with practically similar postcards for which, owing to the Inland Revenue contract, the Postmaster General is compelled to charge as much as 8*d.* per dozen; and, whether he will consider the advisability of putting an end to this arrangement?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): My answer to the hon. Member's first Question is in the affirmative. With regard to his second Question, I am not aware whether the reduced prices of Messrs. De la Rue correspond with those indicated by Mr. Purcell. I have not compared the two, nor would it be easy to do so, as Mr. Purcell's calculations were based on the cost of existing materials; whereas Messrs. De la Rue's offer includes a change in the material of the stout postcard. The answer to the third Question is in the affirmative. As to the fourth, I have not yet had time to confer with the Postmaster General on the subject.

LAW AND JUSTICE—APPOINTMENT OF A COUNTY COURT JUDGE (MR. MACONOCHIE).

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether a Mr. Maconochie has just been appointed a County Court Judge by the Lord Chancellor; whether the gentleman is either nearly or quite 70 years old; and, whether he has practised before any Court during the last 20 years; and, if so, when?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. The Lord Chancellor believes that Mr. Maconochie's age is 65. As to the third paragraph, the Lord Chancellor has no information on the point, Mr. Maconochie not being personally known to him. He was appointed on the testimony which was borne to his fitness for the office by the highest judicial and professional authorities. Mr. Maconochie has been for many years Recorder of Winchester, and for the last 12 years has frequently sat as Deputy County Court Judge.

THE CIVIL SERVICE — PERMANENT OFFICIALS HOLDING PLACES OF PROFIT—MR. H. G. CAMPBELL.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is aware that the Taxing Master, H. G. Campbell, is Chairman of the Bahia and San Francisco Railway Company, and Director of the Law Fire and Law Life Insurance Companies, of the Trust and Agency Company of Australia, and of the Trust and Loan Company of Canada; whether other Taxing Masters

are Directors of various Companies; what are the official hours of attendance of these gentlemen as Taxing Masters; and, whether, during these hours of attendance, they attend the Boards of the various Companies of which they are Directors?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I am informed by Mr. Campbell that he is not a Taxing Master. He held the office of Associate to the Lord Chief Justice of England; and by the Act of 1879, on the abolition of that office, Mr. Campbell became a Master—but not a Taxing Master—of the Supreme Court under special provisions as to the performance of certain duties. Mr. Campbell informs me that he is a Director of the Companies named by the hon. Member; but that he has never allowed his position as Director in any way to interfere with the due and complete discharge of his official duties. It has not been possible for me, in the time which has elapsed since the Question first appeared upon the Paper, to obtain the necessary information in relation to the other parts of the Question, as there are between 30 and 40 officials from whom information has to be obtained. I am, however, informed that before the Question appeared upon the Paper the Lord Chancellor directed an inquiry to be made as to whether there were any instances of any of the Masters attending Board meetings during the hours of attendance. As soon as I have obtained complete information I will communicate with the hon. Member.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the hon. and learned Gentleman to ascertain Master Campbell's official hours, and whether any of the Companies met during those official hours?

[No reply.]

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS OF ENGLAND — THE SUPPLEMENTAL CHARTER.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will lay upon the Table a copy of the statements made by the deputation of the Members of the Royal College of Surgeons of England to the Lord President of the Council on November 11, 1887, upon the subject of the Supplemental Charter since granted to the said College, and of all documents and correspondence relating thereto lodged in the Privy Council Office, including the Petition to Her Majesty signed by 4,665 members of the College?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, that if his noble Friend would move for the document in question the Government would be glad to give it.

UNITED STATES — APPOINTMENT OF A NEW MINISTER TO WASHINGTON.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government intend appointing a new Minister to the Government of the United States at Washington on the departure of Lord Sackville, or not until the President Elect enters upon the duties of his office?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government are unable at present to make any statement as to the appointment of a new Minister to the United States.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS — SECOND REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION—CLAUSE 123.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is intended to give effect to the recommendation contained in Clause 123 of the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments, in which the Commissioners expressed a hope that steps might without delay be taken to carry out the recommendation made in paragraph 31 of their First Report, and repeated in the Second, to the effect—"That the hours of service in all Offices for all classes should be fixed at 7;" and, whether there is any objection to the immediate application of the recommendation in the case of the clerks of the Lower Division, seeing that provision has already been made for the salaries of such clerks under such altered conditions by the Order in Council of 1876?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The

general approval of the Government of the seven-hour system has already been expressed, and they will give effect to the principle whenever and as opportunity occurs; but the introduction of seven hours means in most cases a corresponding reduction of staff, and, therefore, the case of each Office must be considered by itself. The Government are not aware that any of the Public Departments are suffering from a deficiency of clerks; but the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments will receive careful consideration.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—NATIONAL SCIENCE COLLECTIONS, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of his promise that the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Housing of the National Science and other Collections at South Kensington should receive the attention of the Government, and that a statement should be made to the House without unreasonable delay, he is now prepared to carry out that promise, and to make a statement on the subject?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): In answer to the hon. Member for Manchester, I have to inform him that shortly before the holidays the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I spent a morning at South Kensington, where we met the Vice President of the Council and the permanent officers of the Department, with a view to satisfy ourselves as to the necessity for further accommodation; and the conclusion we came to was to invite the assistance of some gentlemen well known in the scientific world to go through the Collections at South Kensington, with the view of ascertaining whether space may not be gained by the disposal of useless or unimportant articles or duplicates. As that Committee will be requested to meet at once, the Government propose to await its Report before arriving at any final determination as to the extension of building recommended by the Departmental Committee. I should say that the hon. Gentleman called my attention to Reports of previous Committees; but it appears that no Committee has yet sat with a view to going through the Collections for the purpose of excluding useless or duplicate specimens.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had informed himself of the fact that in 1883 and 1884 Committees of Experts examined into the whole question of the housing of the various Collections, and the sifting out of articles which were redundant or useless?

MR. W. H. SMITH: No doubt the Committees in question did report in favour of additional accommodation for South Kensington; but the Government are not satisfied that they did go through the Collections for the purpose of sifting them, and they are satisfied there are some things which could be got rid of with advantage.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—SERGEANT MEEHAN.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the evidence given on Wednesday before the Special Commission by Sergeant Meehan, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who stated on cross-examination that he had come to London without a subpœna, and in consequence of a telegram received from Mr. Rogers, his District Inspector; and, whether, in view of the declaration made by him, that the Government maintained a position of impartiality and neutrality as between the parties appearing before the Commission, this proceeding on the part of an officer of police, who is under the direct control of the Executive, has been sanctioned by the Government?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am informed that the police sergeant named was directed to proceed to London in consequence of a telegram announcing that a subpœna had been issued for his attendance before the Special Commission, and awaited his arrival. There was nothing in this proceeding which was inconsistent with the expressed views of the Government as to their attitude in the matter. Precisely the same course would be followed on a similar application on behalf of any of the other parties to the cause.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if this sergeant was directed by the telegram from his superior officer to report himself at the office of Mr. Soames; whether the office of Mr. Soames constituted a Department of the Irish Police in London; and, whether he will lay on the Table of the House a Return —in time for the Irish Estimates—of the names, rank, and pay of the public servants brought from Ireland and kept in London at the instance of *The Times*, showing the dates of their departure from Ireland and the periods of their detention?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have no information beyond that which I have given to the House; therefore, I cannot reply to the Question of the hon. Member. It is obviously impossible for us to produce a Return of the officers who acted under subpœna under formal process issued by a capable authority.

MR. SEXTON: I wish to ask, as a matter of Constabulary Rule, if the absence of every policeman—of every grade—is not reported immediately to the Inspector General, who has, therefore, in his hands material to give the Returns?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Member must be aware that I have no personal knowledge of the Rules of the Constabulary in Ireland.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly state why the subpœna was not served on the police officer in Ireland?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Gentleman must be aware that I cannot tell anything of the kind.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it would not be regular and more fitting that the subpœna should be served by the solicitor in this case, and not by officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary; and whether, as the Attorney General is counsel in this case, he would not see that such a course, which is the proper course, should be pursued?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that I have no personal knowledge on the matter. No doubt any suggestion coming from the right hon. Gentleman will he duly considered by the Attorney General.

CRIMINAL LAW — THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY.

MR. MILVAIN (Durham) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department the following Question, of which he had given private Notice: — Whether the men Egdell and Richardson, who recently confessed to the commission of the crime of burglary at Edlingham in 1879, were on Saturday convicted and sentenced; whether he would now advise Her Majesty to extend her free pardon to the men Brannaghan and Murphy, now released on licence, who were in 1879 convicted and sentenced in respect of the same offence; whether he would take into his consideration what sum of money ought to be offered to Brannaghan and Murphy by the State as some reparation for nearly 10 years' penal servitude which they had undergone for an offence which they never committed; whether he had determined to take any, and if any what, proceedings against the police upon whose testimony Brannaghan and Murphy were convicted?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I am informed that the two men who recently confessed to having committed a burglary in 1879 were on Saturday convicted and sentenced; and I shall accordingly advise Her Majesty to extend a free pardon to the men Brannaghan and Murphy, who were convicted in 1879 of this offence, and who have been released on licence. I am now considering what recommendation I shall make to the Treasury on the subject of compensation. I propose to refer the Question which my hon. Friend asks affecting the police to the Director of Public Prosecutions.

MR. MILVAIN: On this day week, I intend to ask whether a free pardon has been granted to those men, and what sum of money has been offered to them?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could inform the House why the two men had on Saturday been sentenced to only five years' penal servitude, while the men convicted in 1879 had been condemned to penal servitude for life?

MR. MATTHEWS: I gather from the reports I have seen that the men

who were sentenced on Saturday last pleaded guilty to burglary only, and not to the counts charging them with shooting with intent to murder and shooting with intent to do grievous bodily harm, of which more serious offences the two men sentenced in 1879 were found guilty. That probably accounts for the difference in the sentences.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) asked the Home Secretary whether he would consider the propriety of instituting an inquiry into the cases in which innocent men were unjustly convicted, with a view to ascertaining the causes which led to such convictions? He had had occasion of recent years to consider the matter, and he thought it desirable some such inquiry should be made.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he should be happy to consider the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman. The materials had been in a disjointed shape before him more than once.

MR. MILVAIN asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that frequent Petitions were sent to the Home Office on this matter during the time the present Opposition were in Office, and that no reply was made to them?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was not in a position to state whether that was so or not.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would consider some change in the law which would devise some other mode of releasing innocent men than by a pardon for offences they had never committed.

[No reply.]

PUBLIC MEETINGS (METROPOLIS)—THE WHITE LION STREET MEETING.

In reply to Mr. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton),

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said: The hon. Member put the Question he has just asked in my hands about five minutes ago; but this morning I received from him private Notice of another and a different Question, the answer to which I have brought with me. The hon. Member asks me whether I am aware that on Friday evening an orderly public meeting held in support of Earl Compton's candidature for the Holborn Division, at the corner of White Lion Street, was dispersed by the police; whether the ground for this dispersal was that the meeting was said to cause an obstruction; whether any complaint of obstruction has been made to the police, and, if so, by whom; whether I am aware that meetings have been previously held at the same place without interference; whether I am aware that Holborn is very badly provided with public Halls; whether I have considered the difficulties likely to arise if at the time of a contested election *bonâ fide* political meetings are interfered with by the police, acting under the direct control of the Executive Government; and whether I will instruct the police not to interfere with such meetings at such at a time, even although they do cause some obstruction of the traffic. In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that I have made inquiry, and am informed by the police that a meeting did take place in Seven Dials on the evening of the 23rd. The Inspector of Police, seeing that the whole thoroughfare was blocked and the traffic was impeded, acting on his own discretion, requested the people to leave. He was not aware that the meeting was in support of Earl Compton's candidature, and saw none of his agents there at the time. I am informed that meetings have not taken place at this particular spot, at which the crowd stood across a route of omnibus traffic; but at a point further down White Lion Street, where no appreciable obstruction has been caused, and where the meeting in question would not have been interfered with. I am informed that Holborn is badly provided with public halls; and I am aware of the difficulties that are likely to arise under these circumstances during an election. The standing instructions given to the police are not to interfere with meetings unless in cases of disorder, obstruction, or danger to the public peace; and if those who desire to hold meetings would endeavour to co-operate with the police in the performance of their difficult duties, and to select convenient places, I feel sure they will have no reason to complain of the intervention of the police.

THE INQUEST AT MITCHELSTOWN ON THE LATE MR. JOHN MANDEVILLE — MR. BALFOUR'S SPEECH AT GLASGOW.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): I do not know whether the Chief Secretary is sufficiently recovered to answer a Question; but, if so, I would like to ask him a question which has been accidentally dropped off the Paper to-day, and which appeared several days last week. The Question is, Whether, in view of the grave charges made by him at Glasgow against Members of this House, in their capacity as such Members, in connection with the inquest on the body of the late Mr. John Mandeville, he will exert his influence with the First Lord of the Treasury to obtain special facilities for the early and adequate discussion of the same?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he was not aware of the particular passages to which the hon. Member alluded; but he did criticize two hon. members in that speech, though not, so far as he was aware, in their capacity as Members of Parliament. However, he was extremely anxious that the Irish Estimates should come on at an early date; because nobody was more desirous than he was that full opportunity should be given to hon. Members to ventilate whatever views they might have on the subject of Ireland.

MR. W. O'BRIEN asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider that a discussion on the Irish Estimates, in which all sorts of topics were huddled together, did not afford a proper opportunity for such a close and consecutive treatment of the question as alone would enable the House to judge between the Chief Secretary and Irish Members.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not agree that the Irish Estimates were an inappropriate occasion for such a discussion. It was more possible to carry on a close and reasoned discussion upon the Estimates, when a Minister had more than one opportunity to speak than, perhaps, any other occasion; and it rested, after all, with hon. Members from Ireland themselves whether they would keep the discussion to one subject, or allow it to wander into all sorts of topics.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROSECUTION OF IRISH MEMBERS.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.), referring to a statement of the First Lord of the Treasury as to the course of Public Business, in which he promised to consider whether seven Irish Members should not be prevented, by reason of summonses issued or threatened against them, from the discharge of their Parliamentary duties in connection with the Irish Estimates, asked the Chief Secretary whether he was aware that summonses had been served on several already, ordering them to appear in Ireland on Monday next, the first day on which the Irish Estimates were to be discussed, and what steps he would take?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman is he aware of the fact that Mr. Cecil Roche at Tralee to-day refused any adjournment in the case of the hon. Member for Kerry (Mr. E. Harrington), and ordered a warrant to issue for his arrest?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), said, he was personally anxious that those hon. Members should be able to be present at the discussion of the Estimates, and he would see what could be done in the matter; but, of course, it was impossible to interfere beyond a certain point with the ordinary course of the administration of justice.

SCOTCH CROFTERS' EMIGRATION.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Lord Advocate, If he would state the names of the members of the Board constituted under the Government Crofter Emigration Scheme to represent the Imperial Government, the Canadian Government, the private subscribers, and the important Land Companies respectively, and the dates at which they were severally appointed?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): These appointments are not yet completed; but the names proposed are the Secretary for Scotland, to represent the Imperial Government; the High Commissioner for Canada, to represent the Canadian

Government; the Lord Provost of Glasgow, the private subscribers; and Mr. Peacock Edwards, the Land Companies. I am informed that they will be appointed under one warrant and will bear the same date.

EGYPT—REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS AT SUAKIN.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there was any truth in the report that appeared in all the newspapers this morning that it was intended to employ British troops to fight at Suakin?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): In case the officer commanding the Division at Suakin should deem it necessary that the native troops should be supported by British troops, Her Majesty's Government would certainly sanction their employment.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Am I to understand that the discretion is to be vested in an officer in the service of the Egyptian Government?

MR. E. STANHOPE: No doubt the duty of the troops will be limited to the object of the Expedition — namely, driving the rebels out of the positions they now occupy. Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the officer commanding the troops in Egypt.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, whether it was not the case that the troops to be employed were not under the officer commanding the British troops in Egypt; and whether the discretion to use them had not been vested in an officer of the Egyptian Government?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Communications are going on between Her Majesty's Government and the General Officer commanding the troops, and on the result of those communications any future action will depend.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an early part of the Session, gave a distinct pledge that no British troops should be employed at Suakin?

[No reply.]

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—OWNERS OF ESTATES.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) inquired, When the House would be in possession of the names of the gentlemen who had had money allotted to them under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act; and whether the £280,000 which had been allotted to the Duke of Abercorn was paid out of the original £5,000,000, or whether it was to be paid out of the coming £5,000,000?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) replied that the names of the owners of estates had not hitherto been given for the purposes of a Return, though he was willing to supply them if they were ordered by the House.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman tell us now whether the Duke of Abercorn has got the £280,000?

MR. MADDEN: I have no official knowledge, but I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement which has been made to the effect that the transaction is a completed one, from which it will follow that the money has been allocated out of the original fund.

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

The House *divided:* — Ayes 207; Noes 135: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 304.)

ORDER OF THE DAY.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.*)

[BILL 385.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 23rd November.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Increase of limit of advances by Irish Land Commission, and provision therefor).

MR. PARNELL (Cork), in moving to add at the end of the clause the following words—

"Provided, that no money shall be advanced for the purchase of more than one holding in the occupation of any one tenant if such holding be of the rateable value of not less than £20 per annum,"

said, the Amendment was intended to provide as much as possible for the useful distribution of the sum of money which Parliament intended to allocate under the Bill. He had always held that the necessary dimensions of the purchase question awaiting solution by Parliament were not nearly so large as was generally supposed. He considered that beyond providing the tenant with the holding upon which his house stood, and beyond making his homestead secure, it was not requisite that the State should interfere. He did not see upon what grounds they could ask the State to advance large sums of money for the purpose of enabling a tenant who had two, three, four, five, or six holdings to become the owner of those holdings to any extent. If they would look at the question of land purchase from the point of view he invited them to look at it, it became narrowed down to the necessity of securing that the holding on which the tenant lived should be his, and there was no claim and no argument in favour of extending the principle of purchase beyond the limit suggested by reasons of State. And what were those reasons? Parliament, in olden times, before there was any land agitation in Ireland, never thought of making the tenant the owner of his holding. It was one of the great misfortunes in the history of the relations between England and Ireland that the crisis following the years 1846, 1847, and 1848, which brought so many estates into the Landed Estates Court, was not utilized for the purpose of making the tenants of those estates the owners of their holdings. But agitation commenced, and now they had the Tory Party assisting the State to provide sums of money for the purpose of converting the tenants into the owners of their holdings. But the necessity did not go further, from the point of view of practical experience, than that the tenant should own the land upon which he lived; and it was not desirable to extend the principle beyond what was absolutely necessary. From the point of view of those who desired to see land purchase carried out as much as possible, it was desirable not to limit the number of owners but to go in the direction of creating a *bond fide* peasant proprietary by making the money reach as far as they possibly could. One of the objections he had heard against the Bill was that it proceeded upon a haphazard plan. It enabled money to be spent upon holdings upon which it was not necessary to spend it, and holdings where expenditure was necessary were not touched. It was for this reason, among others, that he had always advocated compulsory purchase; because, under a compulsory scheme, the State would be able to say what holdings it was desirable, from economical and political points of view, to purchase. It was not necessary to compel the State to advance money where it was not desirable that purchase should take place. When they came to a case in which it was not desirable that the holding should be purchased, it became more than ever necessary for Parliament, if it would not give the Commissioners power to decide what holdings should be purchased, to say at least that the Commissioners should have power to decide what holdings should not be purchased. It was a well known fact that the tenants of Ireland might be roughly divided into two classes—those who had far too much land, and those who had too little. The majority, of course, had too little land; and he might cite, as a proof of that, the congested districts in the West of Ireland, where disturbances had taken place during the Land agitation. He came now to the class of tenants which he desired to guard against in this Bill; and he would describe them as tenants who, to use a familiar Irish term, had "too much land under them," which they were neither fitted by capital, skill, or industry to make useful to them. Everybody practically acquainted with the rural economics of Ireland knew that many of the holdings they saw throughout the country, as they travelled through it, were holdings used by the tenants of other holdings as "draw farms." Such holdings were absolutely neglected, because the tenants had not sufficient capital to enable them to cultivate them. If they could be brought into cultivation, one of the gravest questions in dealing with

the masses in Ireland might be greatly helped. What he wished to guard against in the first place was this. He wished to provide that the money voted under this Bill should be spent, as far as possible, in the creation of a genuine *bonâ fide* peasant proprietary, and in securing that the tenant who lived on his land should have the opportunity of making it his own property. But when they came to the case of "draw farms" on which the tenant did not live—farms which he scarcely cultivated, or did not cultivate at all, but in reference to which he was perfectly well able, and would be much better able if this Bill passed, to make his own by purchase; for he was perfectly well able to make his own bargain with his landlord in nine cases out of 10. Then, he maintained, there was no occasion that the beneficence of Parliament and of the English taxpayers should step in, and no case had been made out for the expenditure of large sums of money to enable the tenants or occupiers of such farms to become their own landlords. If the Committee adopted his view in this respect, he believed they might go half as far again under the present circumstances. It might be said that it would be a hardship for the landlord to have still to collect the rent from isolated farms scattered here and there over the country, but he submitted that if that was a hardship at all it was a small one, and as Parliament was doing so much for the Irish landlords in granting these millions of money, it might be fairly called upon, where they sold at their own option, and were not obliged to sell if they did not like to do so, to face this still smaller hardship of collecting their rent from small holdings. From this point of view he thought it was right that the Amendment should be passed, and he had every confidence in commending it to the favourable consideration of the Committee.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, at the end of the Clause, to add the words, "Provided that no money shall be advanced for the purchase of more than one holding in the occupation of any one tenant if such holding be of the rateable value of not less than £20 per annum."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that the hon. Member had avowed his preference for a system of compulsory purchase, and he had stated to the Committee truly that under such a system the State would be able to effect the compulsory transfer of the fee simple from the landlord to the tenant in precisely those cases in which it would, in the opinion of the State, be most necessary to make the transfer. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) quite admitted, whatever might be said for or against compulsory purchase—and there was a great deal to be said on both sides—that it would no doubt have the advantage to which he had alluded. But the whole framework of this Bill was founded upon the voluntary plan, and because it was so founded, and because, he thought, that the Amendment would to a great extent interfere with the smooth working of any voluntary plan, he would ask the Committee not to accept the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member in a very able and moderate speech. The hon. Gentleman had told them in a large number of cases the tenants with several holdings had not sufficient capital to work them, that in consequence the holdings were neglected, and that they were not a class whom the State or the Country should specially desire to favour by lending money on favourable terms, in order to induce them to purchase. But the hon. Member had omitted to consider that many of these men—probably the larger number of them—were really among the flower of the Irish farmers; they were men who had generally succeeded in their occupation; who had accumulated money and invested it for the benefit of their children, and by the possession of those various holdings they had proved themselves to be competent, energetic, and thrifty farmers. It would, he thought, be a serious misfortune to exclude that class from the advantages of the measure. Nobody could contemplate the course of land legislation in Ireland during the last few years without seeing that some of the very gravest difficulties with which they had to contend arose from the fact that their measures left out of account some small nucleus or class of tenants who did not benefit by their proceedings, and who, for that reason, afterwards became centres of dissatisfaction and discontent. That limitation might

perhaps have been necessary in the past; but, at all events, let them not repeat it when it was unnecessary. Let them not arbitrarily introduce a limit which might excite a kind of agitation against that Bill, which he should be sorry to see spread in any part of Ireland. Another practical objection to the Amendment which he asked the Committee to consider was this, that in many cases it was an enormous convenience, not so much to landlords as to the tenants in the first instance, and to incumbrancers in the second place, if any estate could be sold as a whole. That was a cheaper and a better process, but an estate could only be bought by the Land Commission if four-fifths of the tenants in number and value combined in a request that the purchase should be effected. If, therefore, an Amendment of that kind were adopted, the power of purchasing estates *en bloc* by the Land Commission would become almost a dead letter, and one of the most useful provisions of the Act of 1885 would lose all its virtue. Under these circumstances he earnestly asked the Committee not to insert this limitation in the Bill, which would probably not have any material effect in making the £5,000,000 go any further, while it would certainly interfere with the sale of many estates which would otherwise be dealt with as a whole. Much as he desired to see this £5,000,000 used in as economical a manner as possible, he could not consent to the proposed limitation.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he was sorry in respect of this matter, as in the case of others which had arisen in the course of these debates, to complain, and complain strongly, of the insufficiency of the information which had been placed in the hands of hon. Members. Since that morning he had been afforded the opportunity of a cursory examination of the Blue Book containing the last annual Report of the Commission. But while the Blue Book gave them information as to the number of applications for purchase which had been made, and the number which had been granted, it afforded no information as to the number of individual tenants who had applied. There was no information whatever to enable them to discover how far plurality of purchase had been allowed by the Commissioners —or, in other words, how far individuals had been allowed to purchase more than one holding. He wished to know whether it was not possible to supply that information?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR was understood to say that he would make inquiry and see whether the information asked for by the hon. Member could not be supplied.

MR. SEXTON said, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman. It would be most important, if possible, to have the information. He did not think there was any force, whatever, in either of the two reasons which had been advanced by the right hon. Gentleman in opposition to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork. The right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that it would be better for a tenant to be in possession of two farms because he might thereby be able to make provision for his younger children; but surely a peasant proprietor who had only one farm was in an infinitely better position to make provision for his children than the man who was unable to purchase any farm at all. He asked the Committee to look at the inequality which the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman would establish. He would allow a man to obtain one or two or even three farms in order that he might be in a position to make provision for his younger children, while, on the other side of the road, there might be a tenant who was unable to make provision either for his elder children, his younger children, or himself, and yet he must continue to occupy the one farm alone. Therefore, public policy, even as interpreted by the right hon. Gentleman, was in favour of the Amendment. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) had taken pride to himself, in the course of the debate, for the number of small holdings which had been created, and had told them that the greater portion of the £5,000,000 already voted had been applied to the purchase of small holdings. But if they allowed a man to purchase more than one farm they would initiate a system which would tend to create a new class of small landlords. As a rule, a man who bought two or three small farms was not likely to occupy them, probably he would hold one as proprietor and let the others. The object of the proceeding in which

the Committee were now engaged was certainly not to replace the Irish landlords by smaller landlords. The smaller the landlord became, the more sordid would be the nature of his transactions and the greater the evil. Instead of replacing larger landlords by smaller ones what was wanted was that they should replace rent-receiving landlords, large or small, by cultivating proprietors. He hoped they were not prepared to ignore that principle by allowing plurality of purchase. It would almost seem that right hon. Gentlemen opposite had made up their minds that they were going out of office very soon, and that it might be a long time before they came back again, they were so anxious to do all they could to foster the principle of large landed proprietors. The second reason given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for opposing the Amendment was that unless they allowed plurality of purchase it would be impossible or difficult for the Land Commission to buy whole estates. He doubted whether the right hon. Gentleman could have inquired into the facts of the case or could have examined the Records of the Commission upon this question. How many entire estates had the Commission purchased during the last three years? The number was 12. Twelve throughout the whole of Ireland, and even those estates were very small seeing that the purchase money represented only £70,000. It was, therefore, evident that the Land Commission seldom purchased an entire estate for re-sale, and, consequently, any argument based upon the purchase of whole estates by the Land Commission was an argument of no force; and there was nothing whatever in the argument of the right hon. Gentleman that the Land Commission must not be debarred from purchasing whole estates, or otherwise the integrity of an estate might be prejudicially affected. The right hon. Gentleman said the Amendment left out the thrifty class. It did nothing of the kind. They were desirous that thrifty men should buy their farms, and thus secure an independent home of their own, as that would ensure the stability and secure the harmony and order of society, but they did not want them to add field to field and farm to farm, as that would tend to create a class of small rent-receiving landlords. There was another reason why he thought the Government, from their point of view, ought to adopt the Amendment of his hon. Friend. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland boasted that a great number of small holdings had been created under the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act. They had been told, in various forms, in the course of the debates that the Ashbourne Act was the competitor of the National League. In the language of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) the Ashbourne Act would "knock the bottom out of the National League," and it was said that most of the tenant farmers, since they became proprietors of their holdings, had given up *The Freeman's Journal*, and had ceased to subscribe to the funds of the League. Personally, he preferred that a tenant should be able to improve his position, even if, after purchasing his holding, he ceased to be a member of the National League or to take in *The Freeman's Journal*. There had never been the slightest desire to maintain the National League to the injury of the Irish tenants, and if a tenant on becoming a purchaser was willing to abandon his position in connection with the National League by all means let him do so. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Yes; certainly. He could only repeat that he should prefer to see the tenant improve his position, even if after the improvement he left the League, rather than he should remain in it and suffer in his position. What he objected to was the plurality of purchase. Instead of one man being allowed to purchase three farms, three men ought to be allowed to purchase them. He was astonished that the Government could not see the force of his argument, because if his suggestion was carried out, instead of taking away one man from the National League they would take three. He was quite willing, in that way, to lose them as members of the League. So, also, was his hon. Friend the Member for Cork, notwithstanding the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that every man who became a purchaser and left the League became a loyal supporter of the Tory Party. Surely that was no reason, even from the Government point of view, why the Amendment should be rejected.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, the Amendment only referred to the *status quo* which existed in the Act of 1885, before it was altered by the Amendment Act of 1887. He might add that the provision which effected the alteration passed through the House without amendment and without debate, and, indeed, without any notice having been taken of it. The second section of the original Act was construed to mean that a man should not be allowed to purchase a holding upon which he was non-resident. But this Government slipped into the Act of 1887, in Section 14, Subsection 3, a provision that any person in occupation of, and paying rent for, the holding, held under a contract of tenancy, should have power of redemption and purchase. It was quite evident, therefore, that the Land Commission construed the Act of 1885 to mean that only occupying tenants should become purchasers. His hon. Friend's Amendment simply proposed to revert to what was the original meaning of Lord Ashbourne's Act, and he thought it was only reasonable that the Government should accept the Amendment, and go back to the original position. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had that night made one of the most important admissions which had been extracted from him since his occupation of his present Office—namely, the admission he had made in reference to mistakes in the previous policy of the Government in excluding certain portions of the tenants from the benefits of Irish legislation. The Irish Members had always pressed the case of these tenants; but when last year they succeeded in placing them in the position of town park holders, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary refused, when his own Amendments were refused, to insist upon them. All the right hon. Gentleman was now asked to do was to revert to the original provisions of the Ashbourne Act. For his own part, he did not see that the Land Commission would be at all able to apportion and allot this money properly, unless some attention was given to the suggestion he had made at the close of the debate the other night. He thought it would be admitted that it was more desirable to make some persons tenant proprietors than others. It would be admitted, further, in the words of the Ashbourne Act itself, that occupying tenants had most claim to this £5,000,000 sterling. If, however, the Land Commissioners adopted the improper principle of "first come, first served," merely because a particular claimant put in a claim for money on a Monday, although a great deal better tenant presented himself on Tuesday, they would, in his opinion, be adopting a principle which would defeat the good intentions of Parliament. If the Ashbourne Act was to be carried out, his hon. Friend's Amendment would have considerable weight, and would prevent the Commissioners from adopting the principle of "first come, first served." He would suggest that the Commissioners, before sanctioning advances, should wait for a period of three or four months after the passing of the Bill, and, instead of adopting the "first come, first served" principle, should advance the money, on adequate security, to resident tenants—or, in the words of Lord Ashbourne's Act, to occupying tenants resident on their holdings. Before they scattered their money about, because some man happened to have got into his own hands some three or four different holdings—certainly a man who least desired State aid—they ought to be told what steps the Commissioners would take to give effect to the provision relating to occupying tenants which was contained in the Ashbourne Act of 1885, and drop the pernicious principle of "first come, first served." If the Commissioners would wait until they got in a reasonable number of applications, they would have a complete purview of the work before them, and be able to decide upon the merits of each case.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, he was anxious to say a word or two upon this Amendment from the point of view of a Scotch Representative. He believed there was not a Scotch agriculturist—and there were many of them in Aberdeenshire—who would not readily buy his holding on the terms offered under the Ashbourne Act, especially if he could obtain it for from 17 to 20 years' purchase. Scottish agriculturists, who were called upon to vote £10,000,000 to Ireland, on conditions they could not obtain for themselves, were entitled to ask that the credit of the State should not be used except on behalf of those tenants in Ireland who were in strictly

necessitous circumstances. He did not believe that the Scotch agriculturists had any jealous feeling towards the agriculturists of the Sister Island, and if strong claims were shown for the aid of the State they would not be unwilling to interpose their own position as an integral part of the United Kingdom on behalf of the Irish tenants. But he submitted that they ought not to be called upon to pledge their credit for the well-to-do tenants of Ireland, and to confer upon them privileges which were denied to themselves. Therefore they ought not to be asked to give the necessary security for this advance of £10,000,000 without being assured by Her Majesty's Government that the money would only be given to those whose necessitous circumstances entitled them to ask for such an advance. What could he say to his Aberdeenshire constituents to satisfy them that he had done right in asking them to become security for the well-to-do farmers of Ireland in obtaining advances of the public money at a low rate of interest? At any rate, the advances ought to be restricted to necessitous cases. The land was an exact quantity and ought to be distributed among as many tenants as possible. But although it might be desirable to increase the number of the holders of land, the money of the State ought not to be used in enabling tenants to buy farms of 300 or 400 acres, especially when the Scotch agriculturists, who contributed a considerable portion of the money, were unable to obtain money on any terms for the purchase of the small holdings on which they live. He claimed the support of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) on this point. He understood that the noble Lord was to be invited to contest a constituency in which he (Mr. Esslemont) was interested.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): In order to save the time of the Committee, I may tell the hon. Member that I have received no such invitation.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, he was very sorry to hear it, being prepared to give the noble Lord a hearty reception. He would, however, warn the noble Lord that if he did go down to Scotland he ought to be provided with a fair and reasonable answer to the questions which were certain to be put to him on this head —namely, whether the Scotch agriculturists were to be called upon to give security for the advance of money to Irish tenants to enable them to purchase two or three farms while they were unable to obtain money on any conditions whatever for the purchase of their own farms from the Imperial Exchequer?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that two or three matters had been brought forward in the course of the discussion upon which he should like to say a word. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had referred to a clause in the Act of 1887, which he contended amounted to a departure from the Act of 1885. The impression of the hon. and learned Gentleman was not quite correct. The Policy of Lord Ashbourne's Act was in no respect altered by the legislation of last year. The primary object of the Ashbourne Act, no doubt, was to enable the occupying tenant to become the owner of his holding, and the object of the Amendment introduced into the Act of 1887 was not to interfere with the preference given by the Act of 1885 to occupying tenants, but to enable the Land Commissioners to dispense with formal devolution of title and the tenants' interest in certain cases. That was the object of the Amendment, and that alone. It did not at all interfere with the section of the Act of 1885, to which the hon. and learned Gentleman had referred, but the occupying tenant still had the preference. He concurred that the primary object was to enable the occupying tenant to become the owner of his holding; but that object would be best carried out by not laying down a hard and fast rule, that in no circumstances should the tenant of a holding, covered by the Amendment, become the purchaser of any adjoining holding. He was informed that cases of purchase by tenants not in occupation were not numerous. There were, however, some instances in which a man was in possession of what was substantially one entire farm, but which technically consisted of several holdings, and why should he be prevented from becoming the owner of the entire farm? It must be remembered that there were very stringent provisions in

the Act of 1885 against sub-letting, by which it was impossible for a tenant purchaser to constitute himself into a landlord. That, he thought, was a complete answer to the mischief which was present to the mind of hon. Members opposite. The hon. and learned Member said that he (Mr. Madden) had asserted that the effect of Lord Ashbourne's Act had been largely to enable small tenants to become the owners of their holdings. It was true that he had said so. He had divided the holdings into various classes, small holdings which were very numerous; moderate sized holdings at a rental of from £10 to £30, of which there was a larger number; and large holdings; and he had added that the working of the Act had been in the direction of creating peasant proprietors. His right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary had pointed out that the purchase of any large estate would be seriously impeded by the adoption of the Amendment, and the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) replied to that argument that very few entire estates had been purchased by the Land Commission. That was quite true, but although that was one of the cases in which the Amendment would have a detrimental operation, it was not the only one. There were not only cases of purchase by the Land Commissioners for the purpose of re-sale to the tenants. There were, in addition, a large number of cases in which the landlord had sold, or been anxious to sell, an entire estate. It appeared to him that substantially the Act had operated in the direction the hon. Member desired, and it would be difficult to extend its operation in that direction by laying down a hard and fast line.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, the Blue Book—which had at last found its way into the hands of hon. Members—placed them for the first time in a position to examine the case presented by the Government. The Act of 1885 was regarded as an experiment, and it was the apparent intention of the Government to enlarge the scope of that experiment without supplying the House of Commons with information by which it was possible to judge whether the experiment, as far as it had gone, had been a success. The hon. Member for Cork had hit the right nail on the head when he characterized the scheme as altogether a haphazard one. He felt certain that the House of Commons would not have allowed it to have proceeded as far as it had gone unchallenged, if it had been known outside the Government that the Commissioners would have been allowed to carry out such schemes as they now found from the Blue Book had been the rule. He wished to draw the attention of the Committee to one or two considerations in regard to the number of tenancies, but not the number of tenants, which would make the case worse, because the information supplied by the Government was confined to the number of tenancies. The average area of a holding was 40 acres, and the average rental £33. He did not see why the people of this country were to be landed in an enormous loan for the scheme of this kind for Ireland alone. According to the view of his hon. Friend the Member for West Aberdeen, upon some future day they were likely to have a similar claim from the Scotch agriculturists, who would object to have the credit of the country so largely mortgaged that the chance of any other part of the kingdom obtaining aid would be very small indeed. These facts, he thought, proved the necessity for the limitation proposed by the hon. Member for Cork. If £5,000,000 had been squandered, it was very desirable that a second £5,000,000 should not be treated in the same manner. If the intention of Parliament was really to assuage the suffering and remove the disaffection and political discontent of Ireland, then the poor ought to have had the first consideration. But the very opposite had been the case. Take the case of Ulster. During last year 80,000 acres had been dealt with, and the number of tenancies were 2,300, representing an average in the case of each tenancy of nearly 40 acres. For his own part, he was more than ever convinced that what was in the mind of the Government in originating the scheme was the relief of the landlord class and not of the tenants, and, in the second place, the facts shown in the Return proved that neither the Government nor the Commission had sought to reach the lowest depth of poverty in Ireland from which the great majority of tenants was suffering. He did not know what might be in the mind of the Government now, but he trusted

that the majority of the poor tenants would be reached. Nevertheless, as far as the present scheme went, there was nothing on the face of the Return to show that any substantial good had as yet been done to the majority of the Irish tenants. His own opinion was that it was a scheme which had been manipulated in the interests of Ulster primarily, where the landlord pressure had been greatest. Now the Committee had been made acquainted with the mode in which the Act had been administered, the security asked for by the Amendment on behalf of the mass of the tenants became absolutely necessary, and it was in the highest degree desirable that the Commissioners should be prevented in future from taking the line they had hitherto taken. Unfortunately, precedents had been established which made it almost impossible to do anything like justice to other parts of Ireland, still less to give consideration to claims from other parts of the United Kingdom. For his own part, he thought that if the Committee had seen reason to limit the further progress of the experiment to a loan of another £1,500,000 the Government would have been saved from falling into a serious mistake.

Mr. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, he failed to see that either the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary or the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had given any substantial reason why the Government should resist the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork. He thought that they had carefully suppressed their real reasons for opposing the Amendment, which was that where a man was holding, perhaps, three or four farms in a certain locality, it might be necessary for the landlord to hold on to a certain portion of the estate after he had sold the rest of it, and, consequently, he would not be able to march off, as an hon. Friend near him had said, with the whole of the "swag." Personally he preferred to have large landlords to small ones, and he entirely denied that a farmer who resided on one holding and had three or four other holdings scattered about, could be any improvement on the existing class of landlords. A considerable number of men who had taken these farms did not work them themselves at all, but stocked them with cattle and let them out to dairymen, who took them at so much per cow. That was a cheap way of getting rid of all the responsibility of working the farm. But was it a system on which this country ought to expend its taxes in promoting? If the Bill was to pass, he did not see why Parliament should not provide assistance for every speculator out of the taxes, as the men against whom this Amendment was directed were mere speculators in land and not *bonâ fide* peasant occupiers. He saw but one reason for the measure—namely, that it was a scheme to enable the landlords to get out of the country, while he would prefer to see them obliged to hold on to such portions of their estates as this Amendment would exempt from the provisions of the Purchase Act, and so give them some tie to keep them in the country. It would be far better than that a new landlord owning three or four farms should be created.

Mr. LEA (Londonderry, S.) said, he could not agree with his hon. Friend the Member for West Bradford (Mr. Illingworth). The Ulster tenants had always taken advantage of Acts of Parliament intended for their benefit because of their confidence in the Imperial Parliament. The applications for fair rents under the Act of 1881 were more numerous from Ulster than from any other part of Ireland. As regarded the particular Amendment, he had some sympathy with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork, and he should be sorry to see this Grant consumed by men holding two or three farms. But he doubted the wisdom of putting a limitation into the Act, and the Amendment would have such little operation that it was hardly worth while putting it into the Bill.

Mr. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.) said, the hon. Member who had just addressed the Committee said that the Ulster tenants had always distinguished themselves by their acceptance of any legislation on the part of the House of Commons that was intended for their benefit. That was quite true, and in enormous numbers they swarmed into the Land Court the moment the Land Act was passed. They were, however, the first to discover the blunder they had made, and ever since they had been

groaning under the rents they had been in such a hurry to have fixed. From the Blue Book just printed, they would appear to have been bitten again by the purchases under the Land Purchase Act of 1885, because he found that the rate of purchase in Ulster was a decimal over 18 years, while the rate in Munster, where the tenants were not so eager to take these things at a rush, was only 16 years' purchase. It would probably turn out that, in the long run, there was some wisdom in waiting. In discussing the Amendment, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had used a very remarkable expression in the course of his speech. He had said that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork would be prejudicial to the "flower of the smaller tenantry of Ireland." He was rather afraid that the expression was only the right hon. Gentleman's picturesque way of describing what in Ireland were known as "land grabbers." He thought that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman contained an admission that the Act did operate unquestionably, to a large extent, as a bonus to land grabbers. Of the agricultural tenants, in Ulster at least one-fourth held duplicate or triplicate tenancies—that was to say, that there were two or three farms in the holding of one man, and that one man was very frequently a professional land grabber. Out of the 8,000 sales under the Act of 1885, it would be found that from 1,500 to 2,000 of the purchases were made by the holders of two, three, and four farms. And this would very naturally happen, because what the Commissioners had to look to was the security for the loan much more than the class of tenants who were to have the land, and the land grabber who had accumulated several farms in his hands, and who had acquired means by trade in neighbouring towns and not by cultivating the land, would be considered far better security than the cultivating tenant. Those were the men who obtained the loans very much in preference to the poorer tenants. But was it that class of men that this Act was intended to benefit? They might as well take a prosperous shopkeeper in one of the principal streets of London, and buy up his shop in order to present him with the fee-simple of it. As far as he could gather from the administration of the Act, there was no guarantee that the State might not be buying half-a-dozen farms for the same man. Very often this class of man had four or five different farms on the same estate, and the Land Commission had no means of ascertaining how many farms were in the occupation of a particular tenant. There was another disadvantage which this system of buying up all the land of the large farmers had—namely, that it increased the difficulty of establishing a peasant proprietary in Ireland. He believed that £50,000,000 or £60,000,000, properly expended, would buy out all the small agricultural holdings which could by possibility be called peasant properties. The remainder of the Irish tenants could fairly well take care of themselves, at all events, as to the purchase-money; but the difficulty of the system was that the Land Commissioners naturally had their eye first on the security of the British taxpayer. Consequently, the State did all it could for those who were well off already, and did nothing for those who were unable to do anything for themselves. At the last Election they were told that £200,000,000 would be necessary to buy out the Irish landlords. Why, one quarter of the money, if properly expended, would answer every good purpose. He should certainly vote for the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork, and he did not think the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had disturbed the contention of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford that the Amendment simply carried out the principle of the Act of 1885. Although he took a different view in some respects from the hon. Member for Cork as to the effects of the present system, he thought the Bill was a Bill for encouraging land grabbing.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he thought that if it was desired to arouse a strong Conservative feeling in Ireland by the creation of an Irish peasant proprietary, it would be absolutely necessary to make some such limitation of the Bill as was proposed by the Amendment.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) said, he felt unable to give a silent vote upon this Amendment. He had the honour to represent an agricultural constituency who took great interest in

these debates, and, although he intended to support the Government and vote against the Amendment, he wanted to hear something from the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland in answer to the observations of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy). Many of his friends had been much exercised by the way in which the Act had been worked for the benefit of Ulster tenants who were already prosperous and on good terms with their landlords. He agreed with the hon. Member who spoke last that the Act was introduced with the best intentions; the desire being, if possible, to assist the occupying tenants in purchasing their holdings. He did not believe it was ever intended, or indeed that it was ever thought of, that it should be a measure to apply mainly to Ulster. He said that there must be enormous difficulty in prescribing the operation of the Act and to say what portion of the fund should be spent in one part of the country and what in another. He wished to know if it was not possible that some proper instructions might be given to the Land Commissioners so that a months' delay should elapse before any scheme of purchase was sanctioned. In the meantime, advertisements for applications made might be inserted in the local papers. He knew the difficulty of laying down a hard and fast line, but precautions should be taken not to allot the money unduly to particular localities. He, therefore, though it was the duty of hon. Members on that side of the House not to sit silent but to tell the Government what their view of the matter was. The hon. and learned Solicitor General had made no reply to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford. He thought they were worthy of some reply, and he would therefore ask if it were not possible to frame some instruction of the kind he had suggested?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought a considerable part of the discussion really dealt with the Amendment disposed of on Friday night rather than the Amendment now before the Committee. With regard to what had fallen from his hon. and gallant Friend (Admiral Field) it would seem that he desired that the money should be more evenly spread over the whole of Ireland. That object was a natural and desirable one, but, unfortunately, it was impossible to provide any machinery to carry it into effect. The number of pluralists did not, he thought, exceed 100. The essence of the voluntary system was that those should come into it who desired to come—"first come, first served." No doubt, if he had the power he would allocate the money according to his views as to the necessities of the case, and he should probably spend more money in certain districts than in others—such, for instance, as grazing districts. If they had a compulsory system they could allocate the money to their own views of the public needs, but they could not have a voluntary system, and, at the same time, the advantages of a compulsory system. He had given his best consideration to the matter, and he could find no method by which the suggestion of his hon. and gallant Friend could be carried out—that was where equalization could be arrived at—consistently with the voluntary system.

Mr. SEXTON said, that some of the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Eastbourne (Admiral Field) were directed to an Amendment which had been moved on Friday night. The right hon. Gentleman in reply to the speech of the hon. and gallant Admiral had pointed out that which must be admitted, that even if the money were equally divided between the four Provinces of Ireland there would still be an inequality when they took into consideration the population. Would the right hon. Gentleman be willing to accept an Amendment by which the money should be allocated in accordance with the gross valuation of agricultural land and the population? He should be glad to know whether a proposal of that kind would receive the attention of the Government. On Friday night there were many objections heard; one was that it would be unfair to ask one Province to wait for the money if another Province was not prepared to receive it. The right hon. Gentleman had painted graphically the eagerness of the tenants to have the money, and therefore they might take the gross value of holdings in the different Provinces, and allot the money in different instalments, say one-fourth at a time.

Sir JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) rose to Order. He wished to know if it was in Order for the

hon. Member to discuss an Amendment that was disposed of on Friday night, and which was entirely different from the Amendment now before the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the discussion was certainly becoming irregular. He had been willing to allow the discussion, but it was now desirable to place some limit upon it.

MR. SEXTON said, he had been only following the course of the discussion as it had proceeded. He had handed in to the Chair an Amendment which he should personally move, and which, if adopted, would not hamper the discretion of the Commissioners, but would get rid of the vicious principle which was embodied in the clause as it stood. If they were to take each case as it came up, and deal with it at once, he was afraid that although the case might benefit one, there would be many others that would be left out. He therefore proposed to provide that the Land Commissioners, while sanctioning advances to the tenants, should have regard to expediency and to relative urgency of the particular applications.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he would not object to allow the discussion to proceed on these lines if it were considered relevant, but he wanted to know what was the result of the meditations of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, who promised on Friday night that he would consider some means of carrying out the suggestions that were made on that occasion.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would like to have some reply to the point he had raised. The principle of the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork was that preference should be given to occupying tenants; and there was a provision in Lord Ashbourne's Act which provided that the occupying tenant should have first claim. That, however, was inconsistent with the principle now urged by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. How could they give a preference to the residential tenants unless they waited to see what applications were made. He was much obliged to the hon. and gallant Admiral opposite for reinforcing the argument he had used, and he now wished to ask the Government in what way was it proposed that the Land Commission should give effect to the second section of Lord Ashbourne's Act? It would be impossible to give effect to it, unless they waited for two months or a quarter, until all the applications were sent in, and then allow the applications in accordance with the spirit of Lord Ashbourne's Act. The Land Commission had now told the Government what the principle was upon which they proceeded, and he thought the Government might find that it was becoming a very serious matter. He would give an illustration which came under his own notice that day. An advertisement had recently been issued by a firm of solicitors in Dublin, Messrs. Dudgeon and Emerson, who were the agents of the Emergency Association in Ireland, and was printed in one of the Ulster papers. He could not give the exact words of the advertisement, but they amounted to this—"Farmers wanted for Ulster; none but Protestants need apply." An hon. Friend had handed the advertisement to him, and the precise words were these—

"Vacant farms. Important to Protestant farmers and their sons. There are several vacant farms to let in the County of Louth and Meath, in close proximity to good markets. None but Protestants need apply. Signed Dudgeon and Emerson."

If anyone had read the book in Ireland published by the late A. M. Sullivan, and become aware of what happened in the fifties he would be able to guess what might happen in the present case. Mr. Sullivan showed that on Lord Lorton's estate, when a score of Protestants were imported they were shot down in the most abominable manner, and, unless the Government would tell the Committee on what principle they were going to proceed, and whether this was a Bill intended to plant resident tenants on the soil or to bring in importations from other districts, where they were already increasing in some localities, it would be impossible to know what the real object was. He complained that they were not receiving from the Government that reasonable information which they were entitled to expect. The Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork was distinctly on the lines of Lord Ashbourne's own Act, and, unless the Government were promoting the Bill from a political point of view in order to benfit land grabbers, and to benefit persons who belonged to their own Party, they would accept some such Amendmen t

as that of his hon. Friend. What was the principle on which the money was to be allocated according to Lord Ashbourne's Act? It was that preference should be given to occupying tenants. The Government were now asking for a further sum of £5,000,000, and it was essential that they should tell the Committee whether they were going to allocate it in accordance with the provisions of the Ashbourne Act or not.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.) said, that the Amendment went to the root of the chief danger arising under the Bill, which was that while removing one class of landlord they would create another and a worse class, whose influence had not been found salutary either in France or the United States. Both the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had expressed their belief that it would be desirable to guard against the danger of removing one class of landlords and creating another class in their stead, instead of creating peasant proprietors. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary opposed the Amendment chiefly on the ground that it created the principle of selection, that it gave the Land Commission power to select one particular class of tenants who were to receive the benefit of the Act. The right hon. Gentleman said that that was opposed to the voluntary principle on which Lord Ashbourne's Act was based. Now, he denied that the Act was based on a voluntary principle, because the tenant had no option in the matter. He was entirely deprived of the power of initiation; he had no initiation in the matter, but, so far as the landlord was concerned, it was voluntary, and he could avail himself of its provisions as he pleased. The tenant, on the contrary, could not stir until the landlord chose to give him leave, so that in that respect the argument of the Chief Secretary that the Bill proposed to establish voluntary purchase was perfectly absurd. But if the Bill was a voluntary Bill, whether they limited the discretion of the Land Commision or insisted on their exercising discretion, it would not at all affect the question; because, whether the system was voluntary or compulsory its object was to benefit chiefly the poorer class of tenants in Ireland; and to create a proprietary peasantry, but not a new system of landlords. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary told the Committee that plurality of purchase, even if allowed, would only affect a small portion of the Irish peasants, and the right hon. Gentleman had volunteered the information that among the purchasers under the Act there had only been 200 pluralists. He wished to know how the right hon. Gentleman knew that? The Return which had been submitted to the House gave them no information on that point, and he should like to know how the right hon. Gentleman had ascertained the fact. If the right hon. Gentleman did know it for a fact, why did he not let the House know it also? In the absence of official information upon an important point of that nature, he refused to accept the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that the great majority of purchases effected under the Act had been effected by a class of men that it was not intended to benefit at all. That was proved by the only figures which had been supplied to them to guide them as to the mode in which the money had been advanced. They were told that the average purchase-money in each case was £33, and the average acreage over 40. That pointed to holdings in Ireland far exceeding in extent those held by the tenants whom they were anxious to constitute the peasant proprietors of the country. Therefore it was evident that the statements of the right hon. Gentleman was not borne out by the facts. Both the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had stated that the adoption of the Amendment would prevent the purchase of whole estates in Ireland by the Land Commission. But it had been pointed out by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), in the very damaging commentary he had made upon that statement, that out of the whole number of purchases affected under the Act there were only 12 in which entire estates had been bought, and those only represented a total of £70,000 out of the £5,000,000 already granted by Parliament. It was, therefore, apparent that the great bulk of the properties purchased under the Act had been purchased by individuals, and not by the purchasers of entire estates. The hon. and learned Solicitor General said the Land Commission had power to prevent sub-letting, and the hon. and learned

Gentleman argued that the Act operated against anything like the creation of a petty landlord class, but he (Mr. Gill) wished to point out to the Committee that the consent of the Commission was only a temporary matter, and could only be withheld so long as the instalments of the purchase-money were unpaid. The moment the purchase was absolutely effected, the consent of the Commissioners became unnecessary, and the new proprietor could do what he pleased with the holding. He maintained that the adoption of the Amendment was essential in order to prevent the vital and sanitary principle of Lord Ashbourne's Act from being wrecked by the creation of a new class of landlords. The Amendment touched the root of the chief danger, and, as he had pointed out, the experience of other countries, such as France and the Western States of America, showed that great evils might be introduced by the creation of a class of petty landlords. In many districts of America, owing to the grant of large tracts of land, a landlord class had been rapidly springing up, and the Legislature of Illinois within the last 18 months had had to pass a most drastic Act against the system which would render null and void all contracts in future by which one man attempted to obtain possession of several holdings. He maintained that the creation of petty landlordism in Ireland was the danger they had to guard against, and, in his opinion, they could only be guarded against by some such limitation as that which was proposed in the Amendment. The Amendment, whether it was likely to be effective or ineffective, was well worthy the careful consideration of the Committee. It had not yet been shown that the adoption of the Amendment would contravene any real principle of the Bill, or that it was not in fact the best expedient they could devise at the present moment for checking these evils which would prevent the creation of a peasant proprietary. He hoped that with the view of preventing the creation of the system of petty landlords the Government and all sides of the House would devote to the Amendment a far larger amount of attention than it had yet received.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, the Amendment was evidently one of the very highest importance in the consideration of the Bill. It was perfectly plain that there was nothing in the Bill to prevent its provisions from being used for extensive land speculations. There was nothing whatever so far as he knew in the Bill to prevent a man from going on at the expense of the English taxpayer, and purchasing holdings with the intention of reselling them at a profit. He knew nothing from the operation of the Act that would prevent it from being used for extensive land speculations, or if they liked to call it so, land grabbing purposes. There was another purpose for which it might also be used, especially in the North of Ireland—namely, for dealing with land not with the knowledge of the Commissioners who did not go behind the arrangements for purchasing soil, but by making arrangements with the owner and the proposed buyer. Supposing that the landlords in the North of Ireland, with a view of getting hold of the land for their own purposes, acted on the principle of the notice which had been read by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy)—namely, that "none but Protestants need apply," the whole of the money granted under the Ashbourne Act might be used for the odious purpose of bringing about an exclusively Protestant ownership and occupation to the exclusion of Roman Catholics. Were they to write this notice over the door of the Land Commission,—"None but Protestants need apply?" They might draw some conclusions that that had been the principle upon which the Act had been worked more or less. He would not say that it was the intention of the Commissioners, but only that it was the effect of the working of the Act, because it had been shown that in Ulster the larger part of the money had been used; and it would now appear that upon one estate, the Massereene, which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had held up as a model estate in Ireland, a circular had been issued offering land for occupation with the intimation that none but Protestants need apply! If such a circular had been issued by the Irish Members they would all have been put in prison. It was boycotting and exclusive dealing with a vengeance. It was boycotting the whole Catholic population. It was the Unionist doctrine;

it was the doctrine the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) went to Belfast to preach, and Messrs. Dudgeon and Emerson—who issued the circular—were the solicitors to the Loyal and Patriotic Union. So far as the application for the £5,000,000 already advanced, the Protestants of Ulster had already got the lion's share of it. What was to prevent some large Protestant landlord from taking advantage of the new £5,000,000 and the terms now offered by the Exchequer, and then to take care that none but Protestants should take part in the arrangements. What security was there that the Orange landlords would not work the Act upon this principle? It was quite possible. They could make their own bargains; and if they brought the person with whom they make the bargain before the Commissioners, the Commissioners had no right to inquire into the facts of the case. He wished to know what security there was that Messrs. Dudgeon and Emerson would not work the fund on this principle behind the backs of the Commissioners, on the basis that no Roman Catholics need apply, and with the object of establishing a Protestant settlement in different parts of Ireland. He knew something of the nature of the transactions which were already going on in the County of Down at this moment, and the Government ought to be called upon to show what security there was to guard against contracts being made without the knowledge of the Commissioners, on the principle that none but Protestants need apply. He knew that he should not have the support of the Liberal Unionists in this matter, but in the name of what used to be the Liberal Party he felt bound to enter his protest against any such scheme which meant the re-establishment of the bitter and mischievous principles of the old ascendancy, and if attempted to be carried out would mean Civil War. Hon. Members were there to resist any such scheme, and to take security that the money of the British taxpayer, if granted at all, should be properly applied.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the right hon. Gentleman had given rein to his vivid imagination, and had indulged in a kind of nightmare. There was not the least basis for the misapprehensions of the right hon. Gentleman that the Act was to be used for the purpose of planting Protestants on the lands which were formerly held by Roman Catholics. The right hon. Gentleman complained of more money having been given to Ulster under the Ashbourne Act than to any other Province. But that fact by no means supported his suggestion; because Ulster was just that part of Ireland where the tenants were already Protestants. A wilder piece of argument than the apprehension that the money was to be spent in replacing Catholics by Protestant tenants was never put before the House of Commons. With reference to the argument of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) thought the hon. and learned Member had asked a question which it was very proper to ask. He had called attention to Subsection 2 of the original Act of 1885, which directed the Commissioners to give a preference to the applications for the purchase of holdings to tenants who were resident upon their holdings. That Sub-section was still in force, and was not repealed by the amended Act of last year. The Land Commissioners were still directed to give a preference to those tenants who were resident on their holdings. As a matter of fact there had never been a case yet where a tenant who was resident upon the holding, had been deprived of the advantages of Lord Ashbourne's Act because the money had been advanced to a tenant who was not resident. The Commissioners had kept this Subsection in view, and had never refused the application of a tenant in *bonâ fide* occupation of a farm in order to give the money to a tenant who was not in *bonâ fide* occupation of it. What they had done in the past he had no doubt they would do in the future. He would inform the Committee, if they were unaware of the fact, and he did not think they knew it, that in the directions given by the Land Commissioners to their valuers was one directing them to find out this very fact:—Whether the tenant who wished to purchase was a tenant in occupation of the holding? He trusted that the Committee would not accept the Amendment, and thereby lay down a hard and fast rule which might prevent, and certainly would prevent,

the sale of an estate *en bloc*. He was quite ready to communicate with the Commissioners with the view not to give money to pluralist tenants except in a case where the refusal would prevent the sale of an estate *en bloc*. He thought if the Commissioners carried out this view the general feeling of the Committee would be satisfied, and in a far more satisfactory way than by laying down a rule which might impair the working of the scheme.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the right hon. Gentleman had told them he would communicate with the Commissioners; by what right had the right hon. Gentleman to give the Commissioners any directions?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the phrase was an unfortunate one; he simply meant that he would call the attention of the Commissioners to what had taken place in the House that evening with regard to the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the right hon. Gentleman had blurted out what would happen—namely, that the Commissioners would be directed to give persons in certain cases a preference. It was for this reason that hon. Members on that side of the House had asked that the Commissioners should be made perfectly independent of the Government. How could full effect be given to Lord Ashbourne's Act unless some months were allowed to elapse before some money was advanced. The Land Commissioners had no means of inquiring into these matters. All they had to do was to send down a valuator and direct him to make a report, and the valuator's report must be before the Commissioners before they were able to judge whether the tenant resident on the holding was in the holding or not. The right hon. Gentleman now told them that he intended to enter into communication with the Commissioners, which might influence their decisions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, it was exactly the reverse. What he said was that he had no power whatever of influencing the Commissioners.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the right hon. Gentleman had intimated that he would call the attention of the Commissioners to what had taken place in that House. Now, the Commissioners had to give a legal construction to the words of an Act of Parliament, and it was a most un-Constitutional doctrine that any statement was to be read by the light of a debate of Parliament. An Act of Parliament must be read strictly in accordance with its letter, and there was no other rule of construction whatever. They were told now that the right hon. Gentleman would call the attention of the Commissioners to the discussion that had taken place in that House. He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it was his (Mr. T. M. Healy's) speech he would call attention to, or that of the hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Admiral Field), or those of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) and the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson). Any more gross departure from constitutional principles had never been suggested than that in regard to two gentlemen who were absolutely at the mercy of the Treasury, and who might be dismissed the moment their term of office expired, and who, in the Bill that was brought in last Session, were described as "those persons." Mr. Lynch and Mr. John George M'Carthy should be communicated with before giving their decisions to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. No doubt the Commissioners would read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman and understand what his desire was; but he hoped they would act by the written law, not by the private instructions of the right hon. Gentleman. Would the communication of the right hon. Gentleman to those gentlemen be published, or would it be in the nature of a private letter? Was it intended that a *billet doux* should be sent in regard to the Duke of Abercorn's purchase, and were his wishes to be preferred over those of any other person because he happened to be the brother of a Cabinet Minister? Were the Government in the habit of making private communications of this nature to independent Departments? Unless the Commissioners were prepared to wait for a certain period of time and then act upon defined and definite principles, what security would there be that they would be able to judge properly of applications that were sent in, and to consider which ought to be granted? The House was entitled to know upon what principle this money was to be allocated.

If it was to be on the principle of first come first served, great injustice would be done. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to what he termed the nightmare conjured up by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), but he (Mr. T. M. Healy) had received the best information from Ireland that landlords were attempting to set up bogus tenancies on vacant evicted farms, and endeavouring to sell under this scheme.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): On what estate?

MR. T. M. HEALY: On Lord Lansdowne's estate, and on the Coolgreany estate. Unless the Amendment were accepted, there would be no security that some great scheme might be carried out for placing Protestant tenantry on vacant farms. They were laying up a reservoir filled with combustibles.

AN HON. MEMBER: How can a reservoir be filled with combustibles?

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he maintained that his expression was perfectly sound and correct. They were laying up for themselves, and they reminded him very much of the anecdote of Sheridan, who, whenever he signed a bill for six months, in order to stave off the payment of a debt, always said, "Thank God, that is done with." That was exactly what Her Majesty's Government were doing; the Land Commission were not to act even in accordance with the original provisions of Lord Ashbourne's Act, but they were to be guided by the private instructions of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He should be glad to have from the Government some distinct declaration as to the manner in which these applications were to be dealt with by the Commissioners.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.) said, it was most unsatisfactory that further information had not been given to the House of Commons in reference to this important Bill. It was only at the last moment that a Return had been placed in their hands, and on examining it he found that it was the most unsatisfactory one that could have been possibly produced. He was afraid that unless the Amendment were adopted the Bill would have the effect of introducing into Ireland the worst class of landlords they could possibly have. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) had said that there was a Sub-section in Lord Ashbourne's Act which made that impossible because no sub-letting could take place. In a purely agricultural country like Ireland it would be very difficult to prevent sub-letting, and reasons had already been placed before the Committee which explained how it was that Lord Ashbourne's Act in all cases failed to operate. There was a large class of farms that were filled by men who were non-residents. They were well to do, but would not take the trouble to farm the land, but let it out to tenants as dairy farms at so much per cow. The men so accepted as tenants were the most undesirable class of tenants that any country could have. They did little or nothing for the land. They lived as a rule in towns, and they let out the holdings of which they had acquired possession on certain terms to dairymen. He ventured to say that any man, no matter what his political views were, who went to Ireland and passed through the Midland Counties, would find that all the good grazing land there was held by non-resident farmers. There were immense tracts of country giving no employment whatever; only a single herdsman was employed here and there, and they were the most undesirable class of men any country could wish to have. Yet within half a mile of them would be found many roofless houses that once formed the happy homes of the people, while in the immediate vicinity of the land might be discovered the rotten mud cabins into which the poor tenants had been driven. Those pluralist tenants gave no employment whatever, they were indifferent to the interests of the country, and even from an economical point of view it would be found in most cases they are not solvent. Was it the wish of the Committee that these men should avail themselves of the money proposed to be advanced by the State with a view of creating a peasant proprietary, or did they wish the real tillers of the soil to be converted into peasant proprietors? He maintained that, unless the Amendment of his hon. Friend, or some other Amendment like it, were adopted, the Bill would have the directly opposite effect to that which was intended. Men of the class he had described would obtain advances in preference to those persons

whom it was desirable to have upon the land, and they would be no nearer arriving at the solution of the Land Question than they were at present. Unless some Amendment on the lines of that of his hon. Friend were adopted, they would be creating a separate class of landlords worse than those who now existed, and would be excluding from the operation of the Act that class of the Irish people whom they wished to see in possession of the land.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had laid so much stress on the word preference that he was afraid the expression would imply that the Emergency men who had been put in upon evicted farms, such as those at Coolgreaney and on the Vandeleur and Massereene Estates, should be able to obtain possession of the farms upon which they were acting as Emergency men. He would like to give an illustration to the Committee. He happened to be in Ireland when Lord Guillamore made an effort to sell his estates in Kerry and Limerick early in the year.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he wished to point out that the kind of argument the hon. Member was entering into was quite foreign to the Amendment.

MR. SHEEHY said, he thought he should be able to show how his argument came in.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that so far as the argument itself was concerned he quite understood it.

MR. SHEEHY said, he only wished to show how a man, holding one farm already and having the occupation of another as caretaker, might purchase that other holding. The case he had in his mind was that of a man named Darcy, who was in occupation of two farms on Lord Guillamore's estate and also in occupation of another under the Earl of Devon. An application was made to sell those estates, and it was desired that the person in occupation should take the place of the evicted tenant. The sale, however, fell through, and Darcy was not able to continue the occupation.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member had evidently misunderstood his ruling. The hon. Member was altogether travelling beyond the Amendment.

MR. SHEEHY said, he took it that the Amendment was proposed in order to give instructions as to the purchase of land, and his impression was that what had occurred in the County of Limerick might occur elsewhere. A man, in order to take advantage of the Act, might become Emergency man for a particular landlord and then the purchaser of a holding. He contended that that would be over-riding the real spirit of the Act, and if the Bill passed without the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork, it would be quite possible for an Emergency man to buy a holding, to go then to another holding as Emergency man and buy that, and so on indefinitely. He had heard the noble Lord the Member for the South Molton Division of Devon (Viscount Lymington) on Friday night declare himself in favour of colonizing the estates of tenants who had been evicted by Emergency men. He (Mr. Sheehy) thought that must be the object which induced the Government, at the present moment, to resist so strongly the Amendment of his hon. Friend, because if the Amendment were adopted it was only *bonâ fide* tenants resident on the holding that would be accepted as purchasers. He should, therefore, support the Amendment, and he believed that in so doing he was only consulting the original purpose of the Act, and preventing Emergency men from supplanting genuine tenants.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to give an explanation of the fact that the holdings purchased in the Province of Ulster averaged 60 acres, whereas in other parts of Ireland the average was under 40 acres. Those figures would be found at page 46 of the Blue Book. He attached great importance to the question of rental and area. Taking this large average of 60 acres, with an average rental of 10*s.* an acre, it certainly seemed strange that the public money should be asked for and granted for such exceptional purposes as to enable persons holding on the average 60 acres of land—if the average was 60 acres there would probably be some even holding 100 acres—to enable persons with such extensive holdings to purchase the property. He maintained that that was not the purpose of Parliament in sanctioning this legislation. If between 50,000 and 60,000 of the tenants of the smallest

class had been put in a position to become the owners of their holdings, they would then have made a serious attempt to grapple with the lowest class of tenants in Ireland; but it would appear, from the acknowledgment of right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench opposite, that little or nothing had been done in that direction. He was afraid the country would find in the end that those £10,000,000 had been appropriated to tenants who had no pressing necessity for becoming the owners of their holdings, and not in aid of those poor miserable tenants of from £10 to £12 a-year, whom the Act was intended to benefit. He presumed that in the end the Government would deal with that class by introducing some great scheme of emigration.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the real question was whether pluralists should be allowed. He noticed from *The Times* that one man was renting farms amounting in all to over 1,000 acres. In this case the Land Commissioners had sanctioned purchase. He asked whether, in such a case, fair discretion had been exercised by the Land Commissioners; had they given a preference to resident tenants? It seemed to him that the Land Commissioners had no right to assume that more than £5,000,000 would be granted. They had received applications for more than £5,000,000, and amongst the applications was one of the character he had named. He appealed to the Government whether, in some shape or other, they could not impose some limitation in this matter. He was very much alarmed when they were told that there was the hard and fast rule of first come first served. Were the Commissioners to be bound to serve a big man who came first, although they might know that there were many smaller men who might come afterwards? Were the Commissioners to act upon the belief that the £5,000,000 sterling was final, and must be distributed to the best advantage, or were they to accept the application of great pluralists because they happened to come first?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, his objection to the Amendment was that he believed it would result in the creation of fictitious tenants. If there were two farms near one another, a man might convert his son into a tenant of one farm, and thus defeat the object of the Amendment.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, it was surprising what an amount of time was wasted in this matter through the Government not meeting the demands made on the Opposition side of the House. In the Ashbourne Act there was a section which provided that preference was to be given by the Land Commissioners to the resident tenants. That was all the Opposition wanted. What they complained of was that this preference had not been given. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary practically admitted that, for, as he said, he would meet their complaints by privately writing to the Land Commissioners and asking them to consider what had taken place in the House that night. Of course such a proceeding was utterly un-Constitutional and improper. Besides that, what would be the consequence of the right hon. Gentleman writing? He would write to the Land Commissioners—"See what happened on the 26th of November in the House of Commons." What had happened? They had protested again and again against the adoption of the system of first come first served, instead of the system laid down in the Ashbourne Act, but the Government had refused to make any alterations or to introduce any proviso in their Bill. Seeing that a Division took place in which the Government's view was adopted by the Committee, the Land Commissioners would be confirmed in their view that they ought not to give this preference, but that they ought to continue to act on the principle of first come first served, which they would make out was the desire of the right hon. Gentleman and of the House. It had been suggested again and again, during the discussion on this Amendment, that the poorer tenants were intended to be benefited. As a matter of fact it was impossible that the poorer tenants could be benefited by the Act, because the Land Commissioners were to look into the security, and the Committee had it from Mr. Caird and others that the vast majority of the small tenants in Ireland had got absolutely no economic value in their tenancies. How was it possible, then, that preference should be given to the smaller tenants? This was an Act intended for the benefit of the landlords; for the

benefit of Protestants; for the benefit of large farmers, who were not worse off, but very much better off, than the large farmers in England. This money was going to be divided in some mysterious way between the large tenants and the great landlords.

PRIVILEGE.

—o—

SERVICE OF A SUMMONS IN THE OUTER LOBBY ON MR. SHEEHY, M.P.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): I wish, with the permission of the Chair, to call attention to a matter of Privilege. As I was leaving the House a moment ago, one of the attendants brought me a card from a person apparently in the Lobby, and when I went out, a police constable from Ireland asked me to take a summons from him. I asked him if he had the audacity to attempt to serve a summons inside the precincts of the House, and the man said he did not think it would be out of order if I would take it from him, and he did not think he was inside the precincts of the House, being in the Lobby. I beg to move that Progress be reported, so that this grave breach of privilege can be considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress." —(*Mr. Sheehy.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I think, after the intimations we had from the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House, and from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that at any rate some influence should be used so that the summonses against the seven Members of Parliament should not be heard during the time of the discussion of the Estimates, it is really too much that the service of this summons should have been attempted in this way, and I desire, in supporting the Motion to report Progress, to record my protest against what does seem a most shabby proceeding.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): I thoroughly endorse what has been said by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Bradlaugh). I do not in the least know who is to blame; whether it be the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, or whoever it may be. I say publicly, it is a scandal, it is a deliberate insult to the House of Commons, and especially after the promise made by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, it is a monstrous thing that Members of this House should have summonses served upon them within the very precincts of the House itself. I say, and I speak not only for myself but for other Conservative Members of the House who feel as strongly as I do, that it is the duty of Conservatives and Liberals alike to resent this gross outrage. I hope that unless some decided and satisfactory answer is given from the Front Bench, we will take such steps and support such resolutions in the House as will at once and for ever put an end to such proceedings.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I think my hon. Friend has spoken with a little unnecessary heat. As far as I am concerned, I never heard of the occurrence until this moment. When the hon. Member came in a moment ago and said that he had something to tell the Committee connected with an incident which had occurred in the Lobby, I confess I sat in my seat prepared to listen to one of those episodes which, unfortunately, on one or two occasions in the course of last Session, occurred between Members of the House. I had not the slightest idea that the hon. Member was served with a summons. I asked my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) whether he knew anything about it, and he informed me he knew nothing about it. Therefore, I am afraid, as far as information is required from Members of this Bench, no information can be given, because no information is possessed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I rise to Order, Mr. Chairman. I beg to ask you whether the question before the Committee is that you should report Progress?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know whether we are strictly in Order in discussing this matter; but I understand that Progress was moved so that we might discuss it. Now, I have said that both my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary and myself had no idea that anything of the kind was taking place. The hon. Gentleman stated, and I have no doubt stated correctly according to his belief, that the notice in question was served by a member of the Irish Constabulary.

MR. SHEEHY: He informed me that he was an Irish constable.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am surprised at that. I had thought that in these cases the more ordinary practice was that any legal documents should be placed in the hands of the Metropolitan Police, and that when any Member was to be arrested the arrest was to be made by the Metropolitan Police, and not by the Irish Constabulary. I do not know how this incident occurred at all, and my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary is also entirely ignorant in the matter. I believe I am right in saying that we have no control over this incident at all. I have not had time to inquire, and I should like some hon. Member more learned in criminal proceeding in Ireland than myself to explain to the House how far incidents of this kind are or are not under the control of the Executive with regard to the time at which they take place. I entirely concur with my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Hanbury) that it is a grievance and an unhappy thing that such an incident should occur within the precincts of the House. In my opinion, it is a matter in which, if we can interfere, we ought to interfere. In my opinion, if there is any legal power on the part of the Government, or any Member of the Government, to see that such a thing shall not occur again, that power should be exercised. More than that the Committee will hardly expect me to say; more than that I cannot say. With regard to the particular incident that has led to this debate, I can only repeat that I am totally and absolutely ignorant of anything that has happened, except so far as the hon. Gentleman has informed us.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): What I am informed is this:—The hon. Member for South Galway (Mr. Sheehy) was addressing the House upon matters deeply interesting to his constituents and other Irishmen, when there was sent into him in this House one of the ordinary cards of visitors seeking the presence of Members. The card was addressed—"David Sheehy, Esq., M.P. Jeremiah Sullivan, R.I.C., Limerick." Therefore, a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary sent in a visitor's card to a Member of this House in order that he might serve upon that Member in the Lobby a note—[An hon. MEMBER: A summons.]—a summons. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland has disavowed this proceeding as a scandal and an outrage; but I cannot understand how he can disavow his power of dealing with the matter. I know something of the position of the police—both the English police and the Irish police. Is it possible that there are to be men in London claiming to be policemen serving processes upon people for whom no one is responsible? I know perfectly well that Irish policemen have been, and probably are now, in London, but surely they are either under the authority of the English Secretary of State or under the authority of the Irish Secretary, and either or both of these authorities must be responsible for keeping the men in order and for their doing what they ought to do? The situation would otherwise be perfectly intolerable—that a man should assume the authority of a policeman, come and do what he pleases in this House, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland say that they know nothing about it—that they have no authority to deal with the matter.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said that.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman spoke of it as extremely doubtful whether he or anyone else could interfere. I cannot understand that it is possible there should be a man exercising the authority of a constable at the door of this House, and that there should be any doubt as to who was responsible for his conduct. It is perfectly plain the Executive Government is responsible, and what we want to know is what instructions have been given and what instructions are to be given in this matter? I understand that there is considerable difficulty in discussing this matter at present. We are more or less out of Order in discussing this subject on the Motion to report Progress. Indeed, the proper course to pursue would be to report Progress, so that the Speaker might attend in order that a matter deeply affecting the dignity of this House, and I will say the character of the Executive Government, can be dealt with in a

proper way. In order that the Government may give such assurances in a proper way to this House, as to how this matter should be dealt with, I support the Motion that Progress should be reported, and that the Speaker should resume the Chair.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps I did not make myself perfectly clear to the right hon. Gentleman and to the Committee; I absolutely disclaimed any sort of knowledge of this matter. I did not disclaim responsibility, nor did I claim responsibility. The Committee must be perfectly aware that it would be folly on my part, off hand, without having the slightest notice, and without having any power of consulting my legal advisers, to give the Committee an authoritative estimate of the precise responsibility in this matter which rests on the Executive Government. It is a very delicate matter, on which I should certainly not like to give an opinion off hand, or without careful consultation. I do, however, emphatically give this pledge to the Committee, that if and in so far as the Executive Government for Ireland may be shown to be responsible, and if it does in any way, directly or indirectly, rest with me, I shall take care that an incident of this kind does not occur again.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.): I am very glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) has pointed out the proper way in which this question should be treated. It is quite evident that Castle rule is coming very near Home. It was predicted long ago that if we abandoned Constitutional principles and Constitutional practice in Ireland, we should soon have a taste of it on this side of the water. What has happened? A deliberate trap has been laid in order to seduce a Member from his place and his duty in this House, to get him within the reach of an Irish constable. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, at the outset, disclaimed that he had any knowledge of this proceeding. Of course, we admit that he had no knowledge of the matter, but the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman has acted all the way through these melancholy Irish proceedings was the strongest possible assurance that as he acted so would his minions act. The Irish Constabulary have been emboldened to take a step that no English constable would have ventured to take, and the sooner Progress is reported and the Speaker returns and this grave insult to the House is dealt with, the better it will be for the British people and the British House of Commons.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I rise for the purpose of saying that we, on this Bench, support the proposal that the Speaker should be called in and take the Chair in order that we may afterwards bring forward and support proposals for appointing a Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the case.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): On behalf of the Government, I at once assent to the Motion to report Progress. We are willing that Progress should be reported on the understanding that a Motion will be made to appoint a Committee. I will move a motion myself that a Committee be appointed forthwith to inquire into all the circumstances of the case, and to report to the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

MR. W. H. SMITH: Mr. Speaker, an incident has occurred which has occasioned great regret to the House and the Government, to which I desire to call your attention. An hon. Member has been served—or rather has received a message from a person who has intimated a desire to serve him with a summons in the Lobby of this House. The Government think it is desirable that a Committee should be forthwith appointed in order to inquire into the circumstances in which this attempt to serve a summons was made within the precincts of the House, and should forthwith report to the House. The terms of the Reference which I should venture to suggest are as follows:—"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the service——"

Several hon. MEMBERS: It was not served.

MR. W. H. SMITH: "The alleged attempted service ——"

MR. SEXTON: The word "alleged" is an insult.

MR. W. H. SMITH: "The attempted service of a summons upon Mr. Sheehy, Member for South Galway, made in the outer Lobby of this House;" and the names I would suggest for this Committee are—Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Solicitor General, the Solicitor General for Ireland, and Sir Matthew White Ridley.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to point out that there is a danger of narrowing the inquiry. The outrage did not consist alone in attempting to serve a summons, but also in the fact that an Irish constable had the audacity to send in a visitor's card to a Member of this House, and decoy him out into the Lobby, with the deliberate intention of serving him with a summons; and what we contend is that it departs very little in its nature from an attempt on the part of the constable to serve the summons actually in the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the alleged ——"

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The word "alleged" is an insult.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the word ought to have been struck out of the Motion.

Word *omitted.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the attempted service (together with the attendant circumstances) of a summons upon Mr. Sheehy, Member for South Galway, made in the Outer Lobby of the House."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): How soon is it intended that this Committee should sit? It is necessary that instant and unequivocal action should be taken, because the government of Ireland is now conducted by persons who delight in heaping personal indignities upon the Representatives of the people. It is not alone the hon. Member for South Galway who is concerned. I wish to point out that summonses are also pending against six other Members of this House, and I want to know what action this House is about to take this night and now to satisfy Mr. Jeremiah Sullivan and his 11,000 colleagues in the police force in Ireland that he has committed a breach of the Privileges of this House. I would remind the House that for some time past the policy pursued towards the Irish Members has been a policy of aggression. There was a time not long ago, when our conduct was impeached, when we were allowed at least to return to Ireland before being summoned. There was a time, a little later on, when we were allowed to go outside the precincts of the House before we were molested. But now it appears it is not enough that Irish Members who, by reason of their position as Irish Members, are deliberately selected and singled out for insult by every creature of the Irish Government — it is not enough that we should pass to and from our duties through groups and rings of pimps and spies, but that, in the actual moment of the discharge of our duties in this House to the people who sent us here, we must be disturbed, molested, and insulted by agents and creatures of the Government. I say the case is one that admits of no delay. If the Committee is to sit directly, I am satisfied, but without any delay I suggest that Constable Jeremiah Sullivan should be brought to the Bar and admonished.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The intention of the Government undoubtedly is that the Committee should sit forthwith. We are as fully sensible as any hon. Member can be that the question should be dealt with without any delay whatever; it is our hope that the Committee will sit to-morrow. [Irish MEMBERS: To-morrow! Why not to-night? Now!] I wish to point out that the facts of the case have to be carefully examined, for, however strong the indignation of hon. Members may be, it is most desirable we should proceed with care and that full examination of the facts which the circumstances seem to require. As to sitting to-night, that would be a course, I think, absolutely unprecedented. [Mr. DILLON: So is the offence.] I do not desire to place any obstacle whatever in the way, but I think that, consistently with the regulations of the House, the whole matter should be examined carefully, judicially, exhaustively, and, at the same time, immediately.

MR. SEXTON: Will the constable be detained?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course the constable will be before the Committee.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: There is another question I should like to ask. The Chief Secretary has six or seven other Irish Members waiting to be arrested, and I want to know whether constables are now waiting about the Lobby for them or not? I want to know whether orders have or have not been given now, at this moment—without waiting for to-morrow—to seize these men in the Lobby, or serve summonses upon them if there is opportunity, I would ask whether those orders have been given, and, if so, by whom they have been given. We should have an answer to that question—an assurance from the Irish Secretary that he has given orders that the Irish constabulary, who are under his control, shall not to-night act against the other six Members against whom proceedings are to be taken. I also venture to suggest an alteration of the Reference to the Committee. I suggest that inquiry should be made into the circumstances attending the attempt.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, certainly.

MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin): It is most desirable that this question, which is one of extreme gravity, should be approached in as judicial a manner as possible. At the same time there are circumstances that possibly ought to be inquired into without the slightest delay. There is certainly a precedent for a Committee sitting forthwith. We know it has only formal work to do of no great importance, but the Committee which is appointed to settle the address in answer to the gracious Speech from the Throne does retire immediately and reports before the sitting is over. What I would suggest as worthy of consideration is this—that the Committee which is appointed should retire forthwith, and should probably have before them the hon. Member for South Galway and the police constable, and then, after hearing the statements on both sides, it would probably be desirable they should adjourn further proceedings and consider the nature of what has been done, and what steps are proper to be taken in this House to-morrow, or at some subsequent time. But it is desirable to have the facts at once ascertained, so far as the hon. Member and the constable are concerned, and have those persons before them. For that purpose it is desirable the Committee should immediately withdraw, and then the House would probably proceed with ordinary Business, leaving the matter to be brought forward, after the facts are ascertained, in that judicial temper which is becoming in a matter of great gravity.

MR. ILLINGWORTH, who was received with cries of "Oh!" said, We are not in Ireland, and are not altogether under Castle rule yet. It would, therefore, not ill become hon. Members opposite if they did not attempt to boycott an individual Member, or to interfere indecently with the freedom of debate. I wish to remind the First Lord of the Treasury that he has given no assurance on the point put by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). Has the Chief Secretary *instanter* taken steps to prevent the repetition of this outrage? Will the right hon. Gentleman confine these proceedings to Ireland? In bygone days Irishmen had some security on this side of the water, and I want English Members to insist that there should be in England something like security from Irish methods of procedure. This is not only an insult to an individual Member, it is an insult to the dignity of this House; and I am glad the hon. Member has not lost a moment in bringing the matter before the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby have asked me to give some assurance that this scene shall not be repeated, and the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has dilated at length on the want of security which now exists, as he alleges, with regard to Irish Members—a want of security which did not exist a few years ago. I have already told the House—this whole scene has taken place within the last ten minutes—that I have not been able to inquire into the exact relation of the Executive Government to whoever administers the law in this matter. But I cannot conceive anything which would more tend exactly to produce that want of security of which the hon. Member complains than, without consideration of the proper limits of Executive authority, that I should state that such and such a thing should not occur again. I absolutely decline, without consideration and without consult-

ing those who are competent to give me advice, to make any statement in this House which should lay down categorically what are or are not my powers in this matter; for if I were to overstretch the limits of my powers, or were to exercise powers which it should turn out I do not possess, then, indeed, there would be that interference with private liberty of which hon. Members complain.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton): I think that this affair has a slightly broader aspect. This police constable appears to have done a very crude and very brutal act, which shocks the House, and will shock everyone who reads about it. But I conceive that that is not the important question which underlies it. The important question which underlies it is whether Members of this House shall be able to go about their Parliamentary work with the security that they will not be arrested in a manner equally dangerous to their independence as Members and outrageous to the dignity of this House. Now, I cannot see any difference whatever with regard to either of those two considerations between the actual arrest of a Member within the precincts of the House and his arrest by men waiting outside the House for him the moment he leaves the doors. I think that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or some Member of the Government, ought to reply to the appeal made from this side and from behind the Front Opposition Bench in a more full manner than the Chief Secretary for Ireland has hitherto done. This House ought not to delay this question until we have taken advantage of this great abuse of authority on the part of a subordinate—an abuse of authority, I am convinced, that was suggested to his mind by the fact that virtually the same thing was done in the earlier part of the present year, when two hon. Members were arrested at the doors of the House—this House, I say, ought not to leave this question until we have got a promise, which, I firmly believe, men on the Treasury Bench—perhaps most men on that Bench—would be only too glad to hear, that this odious question of the arrest of Members going to and from their Parliamentary duties should be put at rest for once and for ever by a declaration from the Government of this country that it ought not to occur and shall not occur again.

MR. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Isle of Thanet): It seems to me that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary has given the House every reasonable assurance in this matter. ["Oh, oh!" *and Cheers.*] What do I understand the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) asks the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to do? I understand the right hon. Gentleman to ask the Government to give an undertaking that they—the Executive Government—will step in and interfere with the action of the Courts of Law. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary has assured the House that he would carefully inquire as to what his responsibilities are in this matter, and what action it is in the power of the Government to take to prevent a repetition of what we all admit to be a public scandal. What more, I venture to think, can Her Majesty's Government be asked to do? If we are to set up the authority of Parliament as against the authority of the Courts of Law, the House does not require to be reminded we should be threshing out again the old question "Stockdale *v.* Hansard," and raising again any number of constitutional points. I hope the Government will not do any more than support the reference of this matter to a Select Committee.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The argument of the right hon. Gentleman would be perfectly sound but for the fact that a summons cannot be taken out except on the initiative of the Attorney General for Ireland and of the Executive Government. The House had nothing to do with a Court of Law, but with the action of the Attorney General.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I understand this action was taken under the authority of a Court of Law.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I am surprised at the ignorance of the right hon. Gentleman, whose career in Ireland should have left historic memories. The right hon. Gentleman, who once held the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, is so ignorant of this proceeding as not to know that the act in question is an Executive act, and had nothing to do

with the Courts of Law, unless, indeed, the Chief Secretary for Ireland meant us to understand that an act of the Executive and an act of a Court of Law is one and the same thing. I wish to call the attention of the House to another occurrence which has taken place this evening. The hon. Gentleman the Member for East Limerick (Mr. Finucane) was that evening, when about to enter Palace Yard, served with a summons—[An hon. MEMBER: Six summonses]—by a constable acting under the authority of the Attorney General for Ireland. We might have allowed this proceeding to pass if it had been a novel occurrence; but it is a repetition of the scandalous proceedings which took place some time ago. Irish Members, when coming down to the House, or when leaving it, were, some months ago, actually arrested. I must say that the Chief Secretary is finding that this kind of thing can go a little too far, and the sooner he gives his subordinates instructions not to outrage the dignity and privileges of this House the better it will be for him.

MR. DILLON was astounded when he heard it stated that the proceedings of which they complained were carried out under the authority of a Court of Law. The matter had nothing whatever to do with a Court of Law; it was an Executive proceeding with which they were well acquainted in Ireland. It was not at all an uncommon thing for the police in Ireland to hold in their hands warrants for the arrest of Irish Members for days together, and not to execute them until they were directed to do so by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. Notwithstanding this, the right hon. Gentleman now stated that he did not know whether he could control the action of the police constable in this matter or not. It was a thing which he did every day in Ireland, and if it was now stated that the matter had passed out of his hands and into the hands of the Home Secretary, he would like to point out that the right hon. Gentleman had the Home Secretary sitting next to him to consult. He thought that right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary ought, before the debate closed and before the Committee retired, to state to the House, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow, that the Irish Members should not be insulted by the service of summonses or by arrest. It was a monstrous outrage on the proceedings of that House and on the liberty of its Members that hon. Gentlemen when leaving or entering the House should be arrested by policemen, when it was a matter of notoriety that there could be but one object in view—namely, to inflict insult on Irish Members. It was perfectly easy to serve these summonses or to arrest Members when they were not entering upon or leaving their duties. But they expected, and received, nothing else but insult from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland on every occasion. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] It was a part of his policy that he should carry that insult to the very doors of the House of Commons. He would be a wiser statesman if he directed that such proceedings as these should take place when Irish Members were so far removed from the House that there would be no fear of that sense of dignity which induced the House to protect its Members being outraged. The right hon. Gentleman had done a foolish act for his Government, but he was not sorry that the right hon. Gentleman had been led to bring home to the minds of Englishmen in this striking way so brilliant an illustration of the methods and courses of government which he pursued in Ireland.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, it was possible that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was technically right when he said that he had no power to interfere, but the Attorney General for Ireland could do anything he liked in this matter, and the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Mr. Madden), who was sitting next to the Chief Secretary on the Treasury Bench, was his Parliamentary mouthpiece. Would the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Mr. Madden) give to the House that assurance which had been asked of the Chief Secretary? Another point was this. His hon. Friend (Mr. Sheehy) might be arrested on leaving the precincts of the House that night. Being arrested, they might be told that he could not appear before the Select Committee. This had been done on a former occasion. Would the Government give an assurance that his hon. Friend would not be arrested?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland made one splendid point in the course of this debate when he said he was not sure how this thing could have occurred, because in all previous arrests and services of summonses they had been effected by the Metropolitan Police. What were they coming to, then, when a standing Army which this country kept in Ireland, and which by Statute could only act in Ireland, and which could only use their revolvers, guns, and rifles there, had taken upon itself the seizin of English soil? If these officers attacked an Irish Member in England, what was there to prevent any Englishman from being served in the same way? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that he would neither acknowledge responsibility nor deny responsibility for this act, and added that he had not had time to consult his law advisers. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) thought that every Member and every Englishman was acquainted with the privileges of that House, and knew that every man in that Palace of the Queen was in the enjoyment of the Queen's peace. Every hon. Member and every Executive Member, he thought, knew that there was a right of privilege and sanctuary in that Royal Palace. It was upon that ground, and that ground alone, that this act was constituted an insult. It was upon Constitutional grounds that this was an insult to the Sovereign. It had been so regarded in times past, and yet the right hon. Gentleman now said that he did not know whether the constable was acting upon his instructions or not. Every Member was supposed to be acquainted with the doctrines and privileges upon which the whole freedom of debate in that House rested; but the right hon. Gentleman, instead of vindicating the rights of Members—because if Irish Members were attacked the turn of English Members might come next—had stated that he would consider whether this Irish policeman had his instructions before he censured him. That was not the ground to take up in that House. He rejoiced with the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) that that policeman had invaded their privileges in that way, because it showed how different was the administration on the part of those who carried out the law in England and in Ireland. Here they had a vulgar Irish policeman, coming from his Irish bog, and so little respect had he for their Parliament that he outraged that House. The poorest English constable in the New Cut had learnt something of the privileges of the House of Commons, and had imbibed something of the spirit of the Constitution; and it was only because the Irish Government preferred to use instruments of that kind, and assured them that whether they shot down people at Mitchelstown, or bayonetted them as they did at Youghal and Midleton, or committed any other act of violence they would be backed up, that an incident like the present one had occurred. Jeremiah Sullivan had earned for himself not only an historical niche, but the high approval of the Irish Secretary. Lord Rosebery had said of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that it was not a very noble thing when they had a prisoner behind bars to poke at and torture him. That policeman had succeeded in getting inside the bars to poke at and worry his victim; and no doubt his conduct met with the right hon. Gentleman's approval. They looked to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) to assert the rights and privileges of its Members. They looked to him also, as a courteous opponent, to see that a true view would be taken of circumstances affecting the rights of Members; but, above all, they held him to his promises. Those promises might not have been expressed, but they were certainly implied. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was absent at the time, or perhaps they would not have been given. But the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House said on Friday that, as far as the intended arrests of Irish Members were concerned, he was not only entirely ignorant of them, but was most anxious that no infringement should be committed which would interfere with the services of hon. Members in Parliament in regard to Irish Business. One drop of oil poured on the troubled waters would do more to smooth the course of Business than all the bitterness of the Chief Secretary. The present affair might have been settled in five minutes if the right hon. Gentleman had only said—"Whoever committed this act, we

disapprove it. The rights of all Members, whether English, Irish, Scotch, or Welsh, are equally dear to us; we deplore and condemn this act. Every Member in this Royal Palace had a right of sanctuary; we shall take steps to vindicate that right, to punish those who violate it, and to defend it to the utmost of our power." The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, however, with that lordly sneer which had done so much for the pacification of Ireland, said he really thought that what they were going to hear about was one of those *rencontres* in the Lobby which they were so accustomed to. Was not that observation unnecessary? And whatever was unnecessary was unstatesmanlike. It would have been far better if they had seen the right hon. Gentleman even erring on the side of condemnation of the act of a policeman than attempting to hold the balance in the fine way he did for the sake of his official position. A spirit of moderation and mutuality in the relations between Member and Member would do far more in conducting the Business of that House and also in the government of Ireland than the spirit of hatred, contempt, and malevolence which the right hon. Gentleman had learnt to exhibit on every occasion.

MR. SPEAKER: I hope I may interfere in the interests of the House, and with the fullest desire to preserve the privileges of Members of the House. I trust that the House will not in any way prejudge this case, but will allow the proposed Committee to inquire most fully into the circumstances, and do what, in their wisdom, they may think fit to guard the privileges of every Member of this House. The question immediately before the House is the appointment of a Select Committee and the terms of the reference to that Committee.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I have risen to enter my protest against the appeals which I have heard made to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Government for an assurance against further indignities in the precincts of this House. The House is able to take care of itself. If the House neglects to take care of itself, the people electing the House can pass judgment upon it. I think it will be understood outside now the fashion in which the Irish question is aggravated by such proceedings as we have had to-night. I was one of those who felt the kindly way in which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) expressed his opinion that nothing ought to interfere with hon. Members doing their duty while the Estimates were under discussion, and I cannot believe that the responsible Law Officer for Ireland can be utterly ignorant of what is now being done in breach of that intimation; an intimation which was expressed in so gentlemanly a fashion, and with the consideration to what is due to hon. Members—however much he might differ from them, having regard not to any lawyer's trick, but to the traditions of the House—which ought to guide one in the right hon. Gentleman's position. It cannot be believed, it will not be believed, outside, that an officer of the Royal Irish Constabulary can come over here with processes to serve except with the full knowledge and under the direction of his superiors. There are other places where a judgment may soon be given stronger than any we may express, by the people of London, which has always been famous for its protection of the liberties of this House. I have only risen to ask hon. Members on my side of the House to make no other appeal. I can understand the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division (Sir George Trevelyan)—an appeal made by a gentleman to gentlemen. That appeal has not been answered, and any further appeal would show a lack of dignity on our part.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is only by the leave of the House that I can say another word; but I have made inquiries how an Irish policeman and not an English one came to be concerned in this proceeding; and a great deal has been made of that point. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) dwelt upon it, and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) also referred to it. Now, I find that the reason was this. Unfortunately, last year it was necessary to proceed against hon. Members of this House. The proceeding was by way of warrant—namely, to arrest. It was at their request and the earnest request of the House that proceeding by warrant was given up that involves arrest, and pro-

ceeding by summons was substituted for it. Under proceeding by warrant there is a statutory method by which the warrant is served. It is served by a Metropolitan policeman. If you substitute the method by summons there is no statutory means.

MR. LEAMY: Then why did you arrest the two Redmonds by warrant?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that a summons cannot be served by the Metropolitan police, and it has to be done by the Irish police. Therefore this thing which has been made a matter of complaint by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford is really the direct consequence of a concession which we made, and gladly made, to the feelings of hon. Members. Perhaps the House will allow me, by way of personal explanation, to repudiate entirely certain observations which fell from the hon. Member for North Longford as to my conduct in this debate, although the hon. and learned Member could not have been present when I made my speech.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I have not left the House to-night since Questions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then either I am very deficient in powers of expression or he is very deficient in powers of understanding, for I appeal to every hon. Member who heard me whether I did not state that this subject had burst upon me like a thunderclap in a clear sky; and, in the first place, I uttered, and uttered as strongly as it is given me to do, my profound regret that an incident of this kind had happened; and I followed that up by a pledge as clear, as specific, and as categorical as could be made, that if the direction of such an affair does rest with the Executive, no such incident will be repeated. Many hon. Members were present when I spoke, and they will bear me out that I have not exaggerated in the least. I have not in the course of the debate moved from my original position. My words were full and complete, and such as I have just described them to the House.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Heaven preserve us from the concessions of the right hon. Gentleman, for if this goes on from concession to concession, we shall find ourselves with our heads cut off by-and-bye. Why this debate has lasted is because we could not get from the right hon. Gentleman a clear and specific assurance, not that this would not happen to-morrow or the day after to-morrow—because we will take care of that ourselves—but that similar proceedings should not happen this evening before the Committee was able to report. Well, there is an excuse for the Government. It is a dual Government. We know generally the Government cannot take any resolution without asking the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). Here sits the Great Llama. I have had my eye on him. He has remained in the House. He has not gone out to consult the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury behind the Speaker's chair. No, Sir; he has been here, and that is why we have been kept more than an hour and a-half, because the Government were not able to ask his permission even to give this simple pledge. Let this be another instance of the evils of the dual Government—not a public, open Government, but a secret Government, which at present exists with regard to Ireland and this country.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Committee do consist of the following Members:—Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Childers, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. John Morley, The Solicitor General, Sir Charles Russell, The Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Parnell, and Sir Matthew White Ridley."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I would venture to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that the strength and character and authority of the Committee would be much greater if there were two more Irish Members upon it. I beg to move that Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. Dillon be added to the Committee.

MR. W. H. SMITH: There is no indisposition on the part of the Government to accept the addition of those hon. Gentlemen if they are desirous of serving; but then it will be necessary also to strengthen the Committee by the addition of two other names.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury has mistaken altogether the object of the Motion of my right hon. Friend (Mr. John Morley). It is

to strengthen the Committee by a larger proportion of Irish Members. I hope this matter is not going to be regarded as one of a sectional or Party vote. It is very desirable it should not be. It appears to me that what is wanted is that the Irish Members should feel that they are having fair play—if possible, something more than fair play—in the consideration of this matter. We ought not to be too nice as to whether their representation on the Committee is exactly in proportion to their numbers in the House.

MR. DILLON: I think it will be very desirable to have Mr. Healy on the Committee. I have already stated on a previous occasion in this House, on a very much greater issue, that I would select, or readily allow to be selected, a Committee wholly composed of English Members, provided only that the keenest partizans of the House are excluded, and on the present occasion I am perfectly content with the Committee as it stands, and I believe it will do us justice. My suggestion, however, is that it will be desirable to have an Irish barrister acquainted with the administration of the law in Ireland added to the Committee, and from that point of view I think it desirable to have Mr. T. M. Healy appointed on the Committee.

Question proposed, "That Mr. T. M. Healy be a Member of the Committee."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. W. H. SMITH: Then as the hon. and learned Member for North Longford is to be added to the Committee, I will propose that Mr. Elton be also added to the Committee. [*Cries of* "Hanbury!"] Well, if it is wished, and as it is desirable that we should arrive at a unanimous conclusion, I have no objection to withdraw the name of Mr. Elton, and substitute that of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury).

Question proposed, "That Mr. Hanbury be a Member of the Committee."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records; that five be a quorum; to withdraw immediately."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

The following is the Entry in the Votes:—

Complaint being made to the Committee by Mr. Sheehy, Member for South Galway, that he had been served with a Summons in the Outer Lobby, the Chairman was ordered to report Progress.

PRIVILEGE,—SERVICE OF A SUMMONS IN THE OUTER LOBBY ON MR. SHEEHY, M.P.:—

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the attempted service (together with the attendant circumstances) of a Summons upon Mr. Sheehy, Member for South Galway, made in the Outer Lobby of the House;—(*Mr. William Henry Smith:*)—

Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Childers, Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Parnell, Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. Hanbury *nominated* Members of the Committee, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That five be the quorum; to withdraw immediately.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee upon the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. SEXTON entered a protest against this proceeding. They felt aggrieved——

MR. W. H. SMITH hoped there would be no opposition.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Surely the right hon. Gentleman will not go on with the Bill when he has just appointed on the Committee persons who are particularly interested in the consideration of this question. I do not think we can go on with the discussion in their absence.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman entirely misapprehended the spirit in which the Government were acting. It was of the most vital importance, at this period of the Session, that there should be no unreasonable delay. He could not believe, himself, that there was any desire on the Irish Benches to defeat the Bill.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he desired to point out that the hon. Member who moved the Amendment and the hon. Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, besides other hon. Members,

were on the Committee. If they proceeded in their absence they would be in a ridiculous position.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, this only showed how rash it was to adopt the suggestion as to the Committee meeting to-night. He doubted whether it would be possible for the Committee just appointed to make much progress that evening. In all probability the Committee would confine their labours to appointing a Chairman, arranging the course of proceedings, and adjourning until to-morrow. To ask that they should not resume the Purchase Bill was unreasonable.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) wished to point out that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) had an Amendment next on the Paper, and he, therefore, suggested that Supply should be taken.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth), as a point of Order, asked whether they could resume the Bill, having reported Progress?

MR. SPEAKER: Certainly. It would be my duty to put the Motion that the House do resolve itself into Committee.

MR. DILLON said, he thought it would be for the convenience of all parties if the House would now adjourn for an hour, instead of the usual half hour.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he thought it would meet the difficulty if it were suggested to the distinguished Chairman of Committees that he should take a little longer for his tea.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford an exceedingly valuable one. He, therefore, suggested that the House should adjourn for an hour, to half-past 9. [*Cries of* "Say 10."] Very well; 10.

The House suspended its Sitting at half-past Eight of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Ten of the clock.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee upon the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill.—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Mr. Bradlaugh

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

Bill again *considered* in Committee.

Clause 1 (Increase of limit of advances by Irish Land Commission, and provision therefor).

Amendment again proposed,

In page 1, at the end of the Clause, to add the words "Provided that no money shall be advanced for the purchase of more than one holding in the occupation of any one tenant if such holding be of the rateable value of not less than twenty pounds per annum."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, that a question had been put to the Government, and they had had a fair opportunity of replying to it, but no answer had been given. It had been pointed out in the course of the debate that the original object of the Bill was to facilitate the establishment of a large number of peasant proprietors in Ireland, more especially of that class which were most impoverished. And again, in the course of the debate on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, it had been pointed out, and admitted by the Government, that this as far as possible was their object, and it had also been shown that large farms had been turned into proprietary farms, but that the small farms had only been to a small extent affected by Lord Ashbourne's Act. The object was to distribute this money throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, and it was said that, by distributing it, it was intended to carry out the establishment of a peasant proprietorship. Now, that had not been done, and an Amendment had been introduced having that object in view—namely, to divide this £5,000,000 in something like equal proportions between the four Provinces of Ireland. That had been plainly put to the Government that evening, after the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made his speech, and he (Mr. Molloy) thought the Committee were entitled to some intimation of the intention of the Government to make something in the nature of an advance in the direction of this Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and learned Gentleman was not speaking to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. MOLLOY said, the point he was aiming at was the apportionment of the money to farms of less rateable value than £20. They had received no answer on that subject, and he said the Committee were entitled to ask the Government, who were disinclined to accept the Amendment, to point out in what manner they intended to give effect to their own intentions.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 111; Noes 154: Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 305.)

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, the Amendment of which he had given Notice approached the question from a different point of view from that which had been taken up on previous Resolutions. It had been felt, at any rate on that side of the House, to be desirable to give some indication of the mode in which this money should be spent. If the additional £5,000,000 was to obtain all that hon. Members desired from its expenditure—namely, the greatest amount of good, and the allaying as far as possible the agitation among the working peasants of Ireland, and relieving the distress existing amongst them as far as they were able, he believed that one way of effecting this would be to give preference to tenants on small estates rather than those on large ones. Hitherto, as the statistics showed, preference had been given to tenants on large estates, and a very disproportionate amount of the last £5,000,000 spent had gone to tenants on very extensive estates belonging to wealthy landowners, who, if they had been so disposed, might have treated their tenants with greater leniency, and might have prevented the irritation which at present existed. The Amendment he was about to move proceeded precisely on the lines of a certain sub-section of the Land Purchase Act (Ireland) 1885, which provided that in making advances under the Act, the Land Commissioners should prefer applications for purchase of holdings on which the tenants resided, or which were reasonable adjuncts of holdings on which such tenants resided. He had another instruction to insert, and that was that preference should be given to tenants on small rather than on large estates. He was not going to argue that the great landlords had been faultless in their treatment of their tenants. Far from it; but a speech had been delivered last week by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) in the course of which certain facts were stated with regard to the management of one very extensive set of estates in Ireland, which for his part he regarded with very great satisfaction. He thought that the public ought to be grateful to the noble Lord for the information he had given, and he was not in the least degree inclined to question the statement of facts which the noble Lord had made. Taking that statement of facts as put before the public, he found that with regard to the set of estates referred to the management had been liberal and kindly as a general rule; and the noble Lord had further shown that there was only one case in which application had been made for purchase by any of the tenants on the Duke of Devonshire's estates. This, at any rate, showed that great landlords, if they were so disposed, had the ability to make things comparatively easy for their tenants, but if they were to proceed on the lines hitherto adopted, the great landlords, who might do better for their tenants than they had done, would receive a very disproportionate amount of the money which was set aside to enable the tenants to purchase their holdings. He thought it would be found that a considerable number of the smaller landlords had purchased their estates simply for investment purposes; a considerable number of them, as he knew, had purchased under the Encumbered Estates Act, and had put their money into the land with the object of receiving from it the greatest possible revenue—that was to say, the highest amount of interest that could be got from their investment. It was not likely that these men would take the same interest in their tenants as the great hereditary landlords might be expected to do. He himself had very recently gone over certain estates in the County of Kerry, some of which had been subjected for a considerable time to the Plan of Campaign, and he found that in all of them difficulty had arisen from the fact that the landlord, being a man of comparatively small means, had bought the estate for the purpose of deriving from it an ex-

travagant revenue, and that, even if he were inclined, he was not able to do justice to tenants. Many of these smaller landlords had as much difficulty in making both ends meet as the tenants themselves, and, not to put it too strongly, they were in very great straits, and he thought the Committee ought to have regard to this fact in the application of this further amount of money which was to be advanced on the security of British credit. If the present Bill were passed without any further instruction whatever to the Commissioners, the result would be as before, that a very considerable amount of money would be devoted to the purchase of these large estates, and the small estates would not receive sufficient consideration. He thought he should be confirmed by hon. Members who had very much greater knowledge of Ireland than he could derive from occasional visits in saying that the tenants on these small estates suffered peculiarly, and were entitled to an amount of consideration which had not hitherto been given to them. Having thus briefly stated the principle of his Amendment, he might add that, if it was not expressed as accurately or definitely as some legal-minded Members might require, he was quite willing to make any improvement in the wording that would make his object clearer to the Committee. All he would insist upon was the principle that the smaller estates, where possible, should be preferred, and that landlords holding large estates should be left until such time as that House might be disposed to vote a further sum of money.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, at end of Clause, to add the words "Provided that in determining the applications to be approved the Commissioners shall give preference to tenants of landlords whose estates are valued, under the Acts relating to the valuation of property in Ireland, at not more than one thousand pounds per annum."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, he was sure the Committee would cordially agree with the hon. Member who had just sat down that the small landlords in Ireland had suffered more than any other members of the community from the difficulties attached to agriculture in Ireland. But he was not at all sure that this was the reason for the hon. Member bringing forward his Amendment. He had never regarded the Bill as one for the relief of landlords, and therefore he was not particularly disposed to look at it from the point of view of the hon. Member. The first question he would ask the hon. Gentleman was, how were the Commissioners to determine the amount of property which each landlord should have for the purpose of applying the Act? Supposing a landlord had an estate worth £500 a-year in Kerry, another worth £500 a-year in Donegal, and another worth £500 a-year in some other county; were the Commissioners to investigate the whole of his property, and because he had £500 a-year in another part of Ireland, were his tenants in Kerry and Donegal not to be entitled to the relief given by the Bill? That seemed to be one difficulty in the way of the Amendment. Then there was the question of landlords holding smaller property. For his (Mr. A. J. Balfour's) part, he had never concealed from the House his view of landlordism in Ireland; not that he wished to get rid of landlords, but he was not at all sure that the landlord of £1,000 a-year was the man he should like to see bought out. But, after all, they had chiefly to look at the position of the tenants, and he wanted to know on what principle they were to put a disqualification upon the tenants of large landlords which they were not going to put on the tenants of the smaller landlords? It would be the grossest injustice, therefore, to adopt the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, which was founded on no principle, based on no equity, and led, as far as he could see, to no useful public object whatever. Practically the tenant of a landlord worth £1,200 a-year would be, or might be, precluded from buying his farm, whereas the tenant of a landlord worth £900 a-year might be allowed to do so. Could it be pretended that under the Amendment there lay any principle whatever which the Committee would be ready to adopt? He thought not; and on the broad ground of equity he submitted that the Amendment was not one which ought to be pressed upon the attention of the Committee.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, it was all very well for the right hen. Gentleman to say he did not consider this a landlord's Bill. They did, and they had framed their Amendments upon that basis. What was the principal reason urged against the Amendment of his hon. Friend? The right hon. Gentleman asked whether the Commissioners were to inquire if the landlord had property in any other county, and in particular in the county where the sale was proposed? That objection might be easily met by his hon. Friend agreeing to the insertion of the words "in the county where the purchase is made." The right hon. Gentleman said there ought to be a regular hierarchy beginning with the peasant and going up to the noble Duke. Now, he was not in favour of these great proprietors, and he said they must look at the matter at the present moment in the Irish sense. Were the tenants of the great landlords in a better position than the tenants of the small landlords? Of course they were, and they always would be so in a country where there existed such a condition of things as in Ireland. In the first place, it was more easy for the tenants on the large estates to combine; it was much more easy on a great estate to carry out the Plan of Campaign, and therefore the tenants on such an estate were infinitely better off. It would be found to be the case always, in a country where the land was very much worked, that the small man was a harder landlord than the great man, because although the rents might be cut down, there yet remained some margin for the great landlord; whereas, where the estate was small and was spread amongst a few tenants, the landlord had to consider whether he or the tenants should live, and he naturally preferred to live himself instead of the tenants. The Devonshire estate had been cited, and he would take that as an instance of his meaning. That estate was very fairly managed; they had it stated that large voluntary remissions had been made, and that considerable amounts had been spent in charity and improvements. This was a large estate, but even with all those advantages it appeared that a farm had been sold under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Now most unquestionably there was no reason why the House of Commons should make a *quasi*-present of £5,000,000 sterling to the people of Ireland in order that this farm should be sold. The money could have been better spent in other ways. He would be glad to see the large estates in Ireland, as well as those in England, broken up; but looking at the fact that this £5,000,000 sterling was a gift on the part of the British taxpayer to free the Irish people, and that the Government said they were not going to ask for another £5,000,000, he thought the Committee should accept the Amendment of his hon. Friend, or some smaller Amendment, in order that the money might, under the circumstances, be devoted to the best possible use.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he thought every Member of the Committee would agree that some Amendment must be framed to direct the Commissioners. While he was not at all prepared to say that the Amendment of his hon. Friend was the best conceivable one to deal with the difficulty, yet he could understand the motive with which it had been brought forward. The facts which had come out solely during the course of these debates were such as he believed affected Members on that side of the House as well as upon the other. He believed there were Members of the Conservative Party who were shocked to find the money, which they believed was being used to mitigate the tension between landlords and tenants in Ireland, and to pacify that country, had, to an immense extent, found its way into the hands of the landowners, whose boast it was that there was no tension between them and their tenants. He thought the Committee would not rest content, or vote this money, until they received an assurance that quarters and perhaps halves of millions would not find their way into the hands of great Dukes and other large proprietors. The noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) had pointed out that the estate of the Duke of Devonshire in Ireland was managed on English principles and in a very generous way. He had not made any charge whatever against the management of this estate, and he always concluded that an estate in Ireland, of the management of which he knew nothing, must *primâ facie* be not badly worked, because somehow or other he always got to know something

about every badly managed estate, but the House would insist on having some security that the Act would not be used for the purposes of such an estate as he referred to. He did not think that the object of the Committee would be met if the money was used for the purchase of their farms by the tenants of the Duke of Devonshire, even if it was started on their own initiative. The estate of Earl FitzWilliam would absorb something like £400,000 of this money, and would it not be monstrous to tax the resources of this country and the patience of the Committee, if, after a month or two, they heard that the Earl had sold his estate in a district where there was no disturbance? He said that would be a mistake, and although the Amendment of the hon. Member might not be the best possible Amendment for meeting the difficulties, it was perfectly manifest that some words should be carried which would give an assurance that the money would be fairly apportioned out, and not misapplied in the manner he had suggested. His hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) had on the Paper an Amendment which would, perhaps, cover the ground proposed by his hon. Friend more completely, and possibly the best plan would be to withdraw the present Amendment and take the discussion on that of the hon. Member for West Belfast.

MR. PICTON said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland seemed to have missed his point. He was perfectly aware that they could not meet all cases that might arise, but his feeling was that in determining the question as to which class of tenants should receive relief they ought to have regard to the fact whether they were receiving relief from the landlord or not. He knew a case of the tenants of a small landlord where it was impossible that they should get such relief, and it was therefore with the object of their obtaining the benefit of the Act that he laid his Amendment before the Committee. However, after what had been said by his hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), he would not put the Committee to the trouble of further discussion, but would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said that with regard to the small estates in Ireland the difficulty was to get the landlord to sell voluntarily, and it was necessary that these small estates should be under some compulsory powers that would require encumbered landlords to part with their estates. The noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) was entitled to receive, and everyone would accord to him, absolute trust in the matter of the statement he had made with regard to the management of the Devonshire estates, but it must not be forgotten that there was a vast difference between the large and small estates in Ireland. He did not think that this Amendment would exactly carry out what the Committee wanted, and he was therefore willing that it should be withdrawn.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) said, he agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) that it was absolutely indispensable that the Committee should place in the Bill some words of direction, or at least of suggestion, to the Commissioners how they should administer the Act. He thought that it was equally clear, whether judged by the light of common sense or by the experience of the working of the Act. On Thursday night he had endeavoured to introduce some words which would give security that the object, which the Government themselves declared they had in view, should be expressed in the Bill, but the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, while he approved all the purposes which the Amendment had in view, was not able to accept the terms. He believed, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had led the Committee to believe that some words would be put on the Paper which might meet the views of hon. Members on that side, but nothing had been put on the Paper. As the Government had not placed any words upon the Paper, he found himself obliged as well as he could to endeavour to make good the default. The words he proposed to move were these—

"Provided, that the Land Commission, in sanctioning advances, shall have regard to the expediency of dealing with the cases of small tenants, and also to the interest of social order, and the relative urgency of applications received from the several provinces and counties of Ireland."

The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) had professed himself unwilling to hamper the discretion of the Commissioners, but if the right hon. Gentleman had read the principal Act—the Act of 1885—he would know as well as anyone else that that Act, which consisted of 13 pages, was chiefly composed of directions and limitations which checked the independence and fettered the discretion of the Commissioners, and he (Mr. Sexton) thought he was well within the facts when he said that when persons were appointed that act under Acts of Parliament, one function of the Act of Parliament under which they proceeded was to check the independence and limit the discretion of those persons. In the course of the debate that evening the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had expressed his willingness to fetter the discretion of the Commissioners by addressing a communication to them to which they could not be indifferent, having regard to his position and to theirs. And what the right hon. Gentleman had hinted, or rather declared his readiness to do, even he, with all his hardihood of denial, would hardly deny it was competent for the House to do. Instead of relying upon the casual action of any official, however eminent, what he (Mr. Sexton) would propose was that they should place within the Statute the directions it was thought wise and proper to give the Commissioners. Upon what principle did the Commissioners act? They acted on a principle fatal to the public policy which induced the House to pass Lord Ashbourne's Act. They considered each case by itself; they considered each case in relation only to itself, and not in conjunction with others. They had had the method of operation adopted by the Commissioners described to them by Mr. Commissioner Lynch, who had said—

> "The basis of our jurisdiction is the agreement of the parties. Our duty, if we are thoroughly satisfied with the security, and if the guarantee fund is provided, is to make the advance."

The signed agreement between the landlord and the tenant was laid before them, and all they had to inquire into was whether the holdings were, or were not, security for the money proposed to be advanced by the State? If they were, the Commissioners had no option, it seemed, but to advance the money. Would the House consider what that meant? An estate might altogether consist of large holdings, or there might not be one large holder on it. An estate might consist of grazing farms, and not of farms of tillage. An estate might be in a district which was as tranquil as it possibly could be, and there might be no necessity of social order to serve in making the advance. In fact, the affair might be a mere commercial transaction, and though it might have no effect in advancing the public good, the Commissioners not only advanced the money, but had no option but to do so. He maintained that, though such a kind of advance might with propriety be made under the Act, such an application should never be put in competition with applications in which social order was involved. If they looked into the working of the Act, what results did they find? The hon. Member for West Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) earlier in the evening told them that the farms bought in the Province of Munster under the Ashbourne Act were, on an average, of 60 acres in extent. Now he asked any hon. Member opposite who voted for Lord Ashbourne's Act three years ago, or who voted for this Bill last week—when he gave these votes for the purpose of alleviating need and tranquillizing the public mind in Ireland—had he in his mind the possibility of advances being made for the purchase of farms of 60 acres? No doubt, if the Act was applied to such farms when it ought to be applied to small farms the purpose of the measure was perverted. The average yearly value of all the farms bought all over Ireland, in virtue of this Act, had been £33. In 248 cases, individual tenants had received advances of from £2,000 to £4,000. Let them assume that the majority of these had received £3,000. Now, a farmer paying a rental of £10 at 7 years' purchase would require a loan of £170, and the inference therefore was, that for every one of these tenants who gave £3,000 each to purchase their farms, they might have created 18 small proprietors; and, of course, with the money advanced to each one of the farmers who had paid £4,000, 24 small proprietors might have been established. It seemed to him, by the policy they had allowed to grow up, the Government were creating a class of proprietors in

Ireland who could not possibly be called peasant proprietors at all. They were devoting large sums of money to individual cases, and for every man thus really in a position of great independence, whom they put into the position of a peasant proprietor, they kept out 20 or 25 men who were in the greatest need, and whose poverty and miserable condition tended to keep the districts in which they lived in a state of turmoil and disorder. It seemed to him necessary to give a direction to their Commissioners on these points. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) had conveyed, in one of his speeches the other day, that a direction of this kind would be a slur on the Judges, or that an extension of their term of office would be a slur upon them. Did an English Judge deem it a slur upon him when he was required to hold his office during life or during good behaviour? It seemed to him that they should place the Commissioners in a position of independence, so that they could not be at the mercy of the Executive. Consider the position occupied by the Commissioners? They might retire from office next year unless continued by the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. What was going to happen in the meantime? Why, the Lord Lieutenant wanted £250,000 of the money out of the sum to be provided under the present Bill. While they denied £200 to a poor man to enable him to become the owner of his farm, they allowed a small, snug, select *coterie* of Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls to absorb £250,000. The Commissioners, before they retired next year, would have to consider whether or not they should give this £250,000. The average years' purchase given under Lord Ashbourne's Act was 17·4, but what did the Lord Lieutenant—this generous head of a public-spirited Administration—ask? Why, he was taking out writs against his tenants, serving ejectments, and indulging in all the tactics of terror, to compel his tenants not to give 17½ years' purchase, but 20 years' purchase of the old unredeemed rents. Before next year Mr. Lynch would have to determine, as one of the duties of his office, whether or not they were going to allow the Chief of the Executive in Ireland, who had a controlling influence over their position, to get 20 years' purchase for his land, and to appropriate £250,000 of this money; and he (Mr. Sexton) therefore contended that it was indispensable that they should place these Commissioners out of the reach of the arm of the Lord Lieutenant—out of the reach of his revenge—or else that such directions should be given to them that it would be impossible for the Lord Lieutenant to revenge himself upon them. Then the Commissioners ought to have regard to the interests of social order in making the advances. Why was the Ashbourne Act passed at all; why was this Bill before the House at all? Was it simply because it was thought desirable to end commercial contracts between landlords and tenants? No; it was not. They had heard hundreds of times that the main purpose of the Bill was the tranquillizing of the public mind, and the consolidation of public order in Ireland. There were districts which were disturbed, and the Government professed to have before them the motive, by the expenditure of these £5,000,000, not only to promote quietness and peace and the consolidation of order in Ireland, but to see that the sufferings of the poorer class of tenant farmers were alleviated. Therefore he maintained that it was wrong in principle for the Commissioners to consider every application by itself, and that they ought to take all the applications together, and that where two applications came in, each offering the same security—of course one of the main considerations in making advances should be the security offered for repayment—where one of the applications was from a district where everything was quiet, and the relations between landlord and tenant were harmonious, and another application was from a district where there was need and disturbance and convulsion, the application from the latter district ought to be preferred. The Commissioners ought to have regard to the relative urgency of all the applications received from the several Counties and Provinces of Ireland, and by this he meant especially—and he trusted that the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would give his attention to this—that those districts in which the tenants were in manifest need of reduction of their rents, which

reduction might be obtained under the operation of this Act, ought to be preferred, in making advances, to the districts in which no such need existed. There were some districts in Ireland where the tenants were well off, and where they did not require the development of the present system either to release them from suffering, or to establish order in the locality; but there were other districts where the tenants were suffering, and where the state of social order was such as to lead to serious danger to life and to property; and if the Commissioners intelligently understood their functions, he thought they ought to address themselves to those districts which were so disturbed. He did not intend the directions contained in his Amendment to be mandatory. He intended them to be simply directions to be kept in view. He did not intend them to inexorably govern every action of the Commissioners, but he intended that the principle embodied in those directions should generally influence and guide the action of the Commissioners. He did not think that any one of the three points could be controverted by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman would controvert the advisability of having regard to the formation of small holdings. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman would controvert the desirability of the Commissioners having regard to the interests of social order, and he did not think he could controvert the necessity of looking at the relative urgency of all the applications for advances; and it certainly appeared to him (Mr. Sexton) that if the right hon. Gentleman would accept this Amendment it would have the effect of greatly facilitating the action of the Bill, and consolidating social order in Ireland.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, at end of Clause, to add the words "Provided, that the Land Commission, in sanctioning advances, shall have regard to the expediency of dealing with the cases of small tenants, and also to the interest of social order, and the relative urgency of applications received from the several provinces and counties of Ireland."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not but regret that the hon. Gentleman in moving his Amendment, which no doubt he had moved in good faith, and with an earnest desire to improve the Bill, should have thought it necessary to imply that the Land Purchase Commissioners were the servants of the Executive, and would use the power conferred on them by Parliament to benefit the particular Members of the Administration or their friends.

MR. SEXTON: I did not say so.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member had distinctly implied that the fact that the Land Commission had only been renewed for a year made them so far—he would not say the subjects, but the slaves of the Government, and that the mere fact that any Irish landlord was a Member of the Administration, or a friend of any Member of the Administration, or a friend of a friend of any Member of the Administration, was enough to make the Land Commissioners depart from their duty and give special favour to the landlord in question.

MR. SEXTON: I never said at all, nor conveyed in the remotest manner, that the Land Commissioners would depart from their duty. What I said was that the Executive would endeavour to induce them to depart from their duty, which is a very different thing.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he never should have thought of taking up the time of the Committee by repudiating the hon. Member's charge had he not thought that the hon. Member impugned the independence and honour of the Commissioners. He had felt bound to defend men who in the nature of the case were incapable of defending themselves, but he accepted in the fullest sense the explanation given by the hon. Member, which was not that the Land Commission was capable of any dishonourable action, but merely that the Executive were capable of endeavouring to incite them to a dishonourable action. He would not waste the time of the Committee by repudiating that charge—such a contention he did not mean in any way to touch upon—and he now came to the substance of the Amendment which the hon. Member had placed before the Committee. He confessed that on the first blush of the thing he felt great sympathy—as he thought he had already expressed to the Committee—with the objects which the hon. Member had in view. He should

himself desire to see the benefits which would be conferred by the Act spread as equally as possible over the whole of Ireland, so far, at all events, as the small tenants were concerned; but he saw considerable practical difficulties in the working of the suggestion which the hon. Member had made. In the first place, let them take that part of the Amendment which dealt with social order. The hon. Member said that the Commissioners were to have regard to the question of social order in distributing this money. What was that but putting a premium on disorder? What was that but to say to the tenantry—"You, who want to buy your farms, must, as a preliminary to this bargain, disturb the social order in which you live. You must repudiate your legal engagements. You must start the Plan of Campaign, and carry out all the other incidents of the present agrarian war, which is now unhappily raging over a considerable part of Ireland." That appeared to him to be a great objection to that clause in the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman which dealt with social order. But there was another objection of even a wider description. The hon. Gentleman suggested that the Land Commissioners, in sanctioning advances, were to have regard to dealing with certain cases afterwards specified. How were the Land Commissioners, however, to be able to approach those cases? The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had suggested that they should wait a few months, and at the end of a month consider all the claims which had been sent in to them, and then select the particular cases that corresponded with the category mentioned by the hon. Gentleman. But it must be clear to the Committee that that method of procedure would not suffice to fulfil the object contemplated. If the Commission were to carry out the suggestion of the hon. Member they must wait until the whole amount was applied for—it would not do to wait till the end of a month, and then select from amongst the applications given in during the course of that month, which applications should be granted; but they must wait until the whole £5,000,000 was absorbed and covered by applications, and then select the particular cases indicated in the Amendment. If they did not do that they would not carry out the intention of the hon. Member.

MR. SEXTON: Why not?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Let them suppose that the Bill began on the 1st of January. The Commissioners would refuse to entertain any applications until the 31st of that month. At the end of January they would consider all the applications which had been sent in, and would have to select certain of them for favourable treatment. But on what principle were they to select or reject? They were not to reject them on the principle that the application was one which did not give security, because they would do that in any case. They were to select from among these applications; but as the total number for January, would not in all probability, cover the whole amount of £5,000,000, it was clear that the Commissioners would not reject any of these applications.

MR. SEXTON said, the Commissioners would have regard to certain directions in selecting the applications.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Certainly; but were they to reject tenants who could give perfect security, and who came under the provisions of the Bill, and would make in all respects admirable tenants? Were they to reject applications, not because they had received other applications in January, but because they possibly might receive other applications in February, March, April, or May, which they would think preferable to those particular tenants if they had to compare them? He thought the hon. Member would see the difficulty.

MR. SEXTON said, he did not see the difficulty. He thought that after a reasonable time had elapsed, if applications possessing the features set forth in his Amendment did not come in, then he would say they should accept such applications as they had received.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that if the Purchase Commission were to have these millions applied for at once it would be perfectly simple and easy for them to choose £5,000,000 worth of applications which best corresponded with the category laid down in the Amendment of the hon. Member; but if they only waited for a month, as suggested by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, or for two months, he was utterly

unable to see how they were to make a satisfactory selection. The point was rather a difficult one to make clear, but it lay at the root of the working of the Act, and it was the absolute impossibility of selecting amongst the possible and not actual candidates which made him disinclined to accept this Amendment. If the hon. Member could point out any means by which the difficulty he had described could be met he should be glad to consider it; but at present he was utterly unable to see how it could be dealt with.

MR. DILLON said, that it seemed to him that some provision in this direction was necessary, and he thought it the duty of the Government, if they refused to accept this Amendment, to make some suggestion themselves. He did not intend to propose any Amendment to the proposition of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), but he threw out a suggestion which occurred to him in the course of this discussion, and which he thought worthy of consideration, and it was that a certain portion of this grant should be set aside throughout every county in Ireland, and that at least for a year or two, until an opportunity had been had for observing how the Act worked, certain districts and portions of Ireland should not be allowed to absorb the whole of this money to the exclusion of other districts. He might be permitted, before he addressed himself to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, to draw attention to the extraordinary way in which in different counties the Act would work. He would again point out to the Committee, and impress upon it the fact, that in advocating this measure, and in endeavouring to justify themselves in rushing it through the House in the extraordinary way they were doing, the Government had grounded their whole action on the plea that this was a great political measure, a measure which experience had proved to be the only effectual weapon with which to quell disorder and to satisfy certain agitators like himself (Mr. Dillon) in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had said, and he was cheered for it by Members of his Party, that if the Committee passed a regulation to the effect that the Commissioners were to have regard to the disturbed condition of certain districts in distributing this money, they would immediately place a premium upon disorder. If that were the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Irish Members could retort by saying that the whole measure was a premium upon disorder. Could anyone say that Lord Ashbourne's Act would have had the smallest chance of passing that House if Ireland had been peaceable? He could convict the Government of inconsistency in this matter out of the mouths of their own speakers, so many of whom had declared that this Bill was the best means of restoring order and peacefulness, and putting an end to the Land League and land agitators in Ireland. It was absurd to say that the Amendment was a premium upon disorder when applied to certain districts, when they bore in mind the fact that neither England nor Scotland, which were peaceable, had had such a Bill as this prepared for them. Therefore, he maintained that the argument that any attempt to apply it to districts which were disturbed would be a premium upon disorder was most absurd. Let them examine how the money had been distributed in the past under Lord Ashbourne's Act. By the force of nature and irresistible law the money voted under Lord Ashbourne's Act, when left to find its own level without guidance of any kind, had gravitated towards the districts where it was least needed, where peace and goodwill as a rule characterized the relations existing between landlord and tenant. Up to the present, the county which had received by far the largest share of the money was Londonderry. He wished to ask hon. Members representing Londonderry if that was a county distinguished for turbulence and disorder? Why, they had been assured over and over again by those hon. Members that there was no part of England or Scotland more loyal and peaceful than Londonderry, and yet £770,000 of the money of the taxpayers of England had been poured into the pockets of the landowners of that county. He maintained that it was a monstrous thing that such a state of affairs should prevail. That was one of the incidents of the way in which this money was expended. Take, again, the County of Kildare. The portions of Kildare to which this money had gone were rich and prosperous—at any rate, they were well-to-do—he would

not call them prosperous, because, no doubt, they had been hit by the times. The money had gone in that district to farmers who were of a class more nearly approaching to the English farmers than those in any other part of Ireland. It was a grazing county, given up to large grazing tracts, and one of the few prosperous districts in Ireland. He found that in the whole Province of Leinster, Kildare had absorbed by far the largest amount of money distributed under the Act. He found that Kildare had absorbed £310,000, although it was a small county. The average grant per man in the county had been £800, which plainly proved that not one single individual in the county of Kildare, of that small class of proprietors which the House had been deluded into the belief had been benefited under this Act, had received any assistance. He found that the average acreage of the farms bought under the Act in the County Kildare had been 70 acres, and it therefore seemed to him that it was country gentlemen, and not peasant proprietors, that the Government had been creating under this Act. It was an extraordinary system to ask hon. Gentlemen to vote the money of the British taxpayer without making them aware of these facts, and to expect that hon. Gentlemen would go home that night under the comfortable impression that they were creating peasant proprietors in Ireland. To these two counties, Londonderry and Kildare, notwithstanding that neither of them had the smallest claim upon the grant, £1,000,000 had gone. Take another illustration to show that money, left to find its own level at its own sweet will, went to the districts where there was no trouble or disorder. In the County of Galway they found that 305 men had bought their farms, but what was the acreage of those 305 farms? Why, 1,400 acres, the average acreage of each farm being 50 acres, so that it was obvious that, although Galway was a disturbed county, and although it was in the rich and undisturbed and prosperous parts that the Act had been operating, no small proprietors had been created at all. Then, again, let them go to the County of Clare, the most disturbed of all the counties of Ireland—at any rate, the most disturbed for the last year and a-half. If the contention of the Government were correct—namely, that the great argument in favour of this Bill was its efficacy in putting a stop to outrage and disorder, and putting an end to the League—there could be no county in Ireland in which it was more essential that the Act should be put into operation than Clare, as there was no county where there was more distress, and where there was more trouble and disturbance. In Clare, however, only 63 people had bought their farms, and the whole amount of the grant applied for was £31,000. He maintained that those figures utterly and absolutely condemned the Act. In the County of Leitrim, one of the poorest and most disturbed in Ireland, 168 people, most of them large farmers, had bought 4,000 acres, and £27,000 had been expended. So that the Committee would see that money, when left alone without direction, had found its way into districts where it was not needed, and, consequently, that it had not had the effect that they had heard so much about, of allaying disturbance and defeating the League. As to the people into whose pockets the money had found its way—take the Duke of Abercorn, who had managed to sell his estates in the Counties of Tyrone and Donegal, and had raised the average of purchase to an enormous extent. In the County of Donegal the average rate was 20·7 years' rent, while in Tyrone the average was 19·1 years. That was a very good bargain for the Duke of Abercorn to have made, and he (Mr. Dillon) happened to know that in the eastern part of Donegal, where the greater part of the sales had taken place, the noble Duke had compelled his tenants to pay on the old unreduced rents. Many of the purchasers were leaseholders, and were preparing to go into the Land Court, when they were induced to buy at this enormous price of 20 years' purchase of the unreduced old rentals. These were all interesting and important facts, and he had no hesitation in saying that the transaction in question had enabled the Duke to get probably £50,000 more for his land than he would have got if this Act had not been passed, and if he had been obliged to sell in the open market. Now, he (Mr. Dillon)

wished to know was this the object for which the Act had been passed? Now, however, he came to the most serious question of all—and it was one which, let hon. Members mark, would be pressed upon the attention of Parliament again and again until some assurance with regard to it was received from the Government. He wanted to ask this—whatever their views were, and let them be as strong Party men as they liked—did hon. Gentlemen opposite consider it prudent, or wise, or even decent, for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to get 20 years' purchase out of these grants? The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), speaking no longer ago than Saturday to his constituents, repudiated as a scandalous charge against him that he was personally interested in this matter, and that his father proposed to sell his estates in Ireland. The noble Marquess had said that no initiative had been taken on the Devonshire estates to sell to the tenants, and he (Mr. Dillon) was perfectly certain that neither the noble Marquess nor his father would do such a thing. He would consider it a shame to do so. In the case of the Lord Lieutenant, the Head of the Executive in Ireland, the same state of things ought to apply with ten-fold force, because the noble Marquess was not governing Ireland, but was merely an independent Member, although, no doubt, exercising a certain influence upon the decisions of the Government; but the Lord Lieutenant was the Head of the Executive, and therefore, to some extent, responsible for the granting of this money. Notwithstanding this, the Lord Lieutenant did not wait for his tenants to apply, but issued a more or less intimidating notice warning them that if they would not sign agreements for 20 years' purchase at the old unreduced rents, and abstain from going into the Land Courts, he would withdraw the reduction which he had been in the habit of allowing them. He thought that if the Head of the Executive in Ireland was a man of honour, and had a keener sense of what he owed to the Government and his Colleagues, he would not require his tenants to purchase under this Act for fear that it would be said that his hands were not clean. This nobleman, so far from waiting to be asked to sell to his tenants, absolutely intimidated them into signing agreements, and hunted him (Mr. Dillon) away with his police when he went down to advise with the tenants. Surely this was not proper conduct on the part of the Head of the Irish Executive. The Committee was entitled to an assurance from the Government that if Lord Londonderry was to get £340,000 out of this £5,000,000 he should, at all events, be compelled to wait until the tenants called upon him to buy. No one had, as yet, opposed the principle for which he (Mr. Dillon) and his hon. Friends were contending. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had admitted that the principle for which they were contending was most right and desirable, but said he could not see his way to carry it out. There was one other point upon which he wished to make a last appeal to the Government before they passed from this particular part of the Bill. Over and over again he had addressed appeals to the Irish Government on the question of the congested districts. Year after year all authorities had concurred that if there were any parts of Ireland more than others which deserved the consideration of the House they were the congested districts. In those districts the people were suffering most intensely, and less through their own fault than the people of any other part of Ireland; and yet here was a measure proposing a grant of £5,000,000 to the distressed tenantry of Ireland, but such was the arrangement of the Bill that not 1*s.* of the £5,000,000 could, by any possibility, find its way into the congested districts. He contended that it would be very easy to introduce words directing the Commissioners to apply, say, £500,000 of this money to the congested districts. Relief was more easily brought to those districts than to other districts in Ireland. It was a fact, noticed by all observers, that the poorer the soil, the greater the rack-renting. He could show hundreds of acres of land in his constituency let from 10*s.* 6*d.* to £1 per acre—land which, in this country, would be waste. By far the cruellest exhibitions of rack-renting were in the poorer districts. Why was Parliament going to vote this money? Apparently, a great deal of the money would go where it was not

wanted at all. No care was to be taken that even the smallest portion of it should find its way into the poorest districts. Any reasonable valuator would decide hat eight or ten years' purchase should be the outside limit of any of the Mayo estates. What would be the result of purchase on those terms? They would be able, without any injustice to the landlords—on the contrary, they would probably get a great deal more than the market value—to cut down one-half of the entire rent of the farms in the congested districts, and at the same time get rid of all arrears, and in that way enable these unhappy people to start again. On what ground did the Government defend their conduct in this matter? After the discussions which had taken place in the Committee, it would be very difficult to get any more millions out of the British taxpayer, and, therefore, he most earnestly urged the Government to utilize at least £500,000 of this last grant of £5,000,000 for the relief of the congested districts.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) said, that hon. Members opposite talked a great deal about their care for the pockets of the British taxpayer, and about the security on which the money should be lent, but surely this Amendment was proposed utterly regardless of the interests of the British taxpayer, and utterly regardless of the security under which the money should be advanced. [*Cries of* "Not at all."] Yes; the Amendment seemed to him to disqualify from the benefits of this Bill all those tenants who resided in the quiet and more prosperous districts of Ireland. If they disqualified the tenants in the most prosperous parts of the country from coming in at all under the Bill, and threw the whole of this money into those parts where the tenants were less prosperous, that would greatly injure the security upon which the money was advanced. He objected to the disqualification of any tenants in Ireland. He was most unwilling to disqualify even the tenants of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, about whom they had heard so much that evening. Why should those men, because they happened to be the tenants of a great nobleman like the Lord Lieutenant, be disqualified? He objected strongly to this Amendment, and hoped that the Committee would not assent to it.

MR. MOLLOY said, it was a pity hon. Gentlemen opposite did not take the trouble to study the Amendments which were proposed. He utterly failed to understand how a man of the hon. Gentleman's (Sir Roper Lethbridge's) intelligence could have listened to the speech of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), and then get up and make the speech he had just made. The hon. Gentleman spoke of giving, in certain cases, a preference to a certain class of tenants. [SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE: Hear, hear!] The hon. Gentleman picked out one little point of the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast, and thought that was sufficient ground for the rejection of the Amendment. The hon. Member for West Belfast distinctly contended that in every case the security should be the first consideration. If the security was not sufficient—if the Commissioners were not satisfied as to the security—then no preference was asked for anyone. It would be absurd and ridiculous for anyone to get up and ask that, for some outside reason, bad security should be accepted. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had a knack of assuring them that he was in entire sympathy with most of their Amendments. The right hon. Gentleman had gone further that night, for he had said that this Amendment was a very good one. The right hon. Gentleman thought the object of the Amendment was an exceedingly good one, and yet, although he was in charge of the Bill, and had all the legal staff at his disposal, he asked them to frame the Amendment in such a way that it might be accepted. Was it not time that the Government did something to put the Amendment in such legal terms that it could be accepted? It was not the business of hon. Members to construct Acts of Parliament; it was their business to criticize them. They were not the draftsmen of Amendments, or of Bills. The Government were bound to make some effort to put into such words as could be accepted the Amendment of his hon. Friend. The speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) had given double effect to the observations of the hon. Member the Mover of

the Amendment. His hon. Friend had pointed out the absolute failure of the object of this Bill. He (Mr. Molloy) went a step further, and asserted that, as the Ashbourne Act had been carried out, it was a fraud upon the English taxpayer. The Act was passed for the purpose of relieving small and impoverished and disturbed tenants in Ireland, but the money granted had gone into the pockets of the rich tenants and the rich landlords in that portion of Ireland which was not disturbed, and which did not require the money.

MR. SEXTON said, it struck him, while listening to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that the only one obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the Amendment was that if the Commissioners were considering applications on a certain date they would be obliged to put aside certain applications in the hope that some other applications would be made subsequently. He (Mr. Sexton) thought that the Commissioners might examine all the applications periodically, and be at liberty to dispose of all the applications then on hand. He thought, for instance, that the Commissioners might proceed to consider applications at the end of each period of three months after the passing of the Act.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) said, that the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) began his speech by finding great fault with the working of the Act, because so much of the money had been appropriated to the county of Londonderry. There were two points which made the County of Londonderry pre-eminently fitted for the establishment of a system of occupying proprietors. The large London Companies owned a great part of the County of Derry, and if there was any sort of landlord they wished to disestablish it was the absentee landlord. Anyone examining the Return would see that the average price that the tenant farmers paid for their holdings in Derry was £15 a-year. That, to his mind, was a sum at which an occupying proprietorship might well be established. On less than that a man could hardly live. The hon. Member for East Mayo thought Clare was the most disturbed county in Ireland, and that there the Act had been the least used. The hon. Gentleman also went on to say that in that county they were the most powerful—that was to say, the National League. He put it to the hon. Gentleman whether the reason why the Act had not worked in County Clare was that the hon. Gentleman and his Friends never advised the tenants in County Clare to buy? Reference had been made to the congested districts. They could not safely work this Act in congested districts. For instance, in West Donegal, on Captain Hill's estate, there were about 760 tenants, paying £720 a-year in the shape of rent, or less than £1 per head. Was it possible there could be any good security given by a tenant paying less than £1 a-year?

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) said, he thought that, as an English Member, he was entitled, in common with his brother English Members, to have some clear definition as to the principle on which this money was to be applied. Personally, he was absolutely opposed to the pledging of English credit for the purpose of buying out the Irish landlords. This Act of Parliament he understood was aimed at relieving the agitation and the friction which unhappily existed in Ireland between the landlords and the tenants by destroying dual ownerships. That he understood to be the scope and purpose of this Bill; but he found there were two main and radical objections against the Bill. One was that it was unfair in its application, because they had not arrived at a sound basis on which the tenants were to buy; and the other was that the Act had not been equitably administered. When he said they had not equitably administered the Act, he meant that tenants had been assisted to purchase whose position did not render it necessary that they should purchase. He had gone very carefully through the statistics, and through the evidence which had been given before the Royal Commissioners, and he found two pieces of evidence which he, with great respect, asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to explain. There was an estate in the county of Roscommon which was known as the Taaffe estate. That was a very large estate, and it was almost exclusively owned by poor tenants. He did not take the evidence from any source which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would regard as tainted. It was the evidence

of the O'Conor Don given before the Royal Commission. The O'Conor Don said—

"The landlords have, with the mortgagees, offered to sell all the holdings on the Taaffe estate for 30 years' purchase."

The Commissioners under Lord Ashbourne's Act wrote declining the advance, and the grounds of their refusal were that the bulk of the holdings were occupied by a large and poor population. A reply was sent to the Commissioners under Lord Ashbourne's Act, pointing out that if the purchase were sanctioned there would be a margin of £1,000 per annum between the judicial rent and the rent which would be fixed under the Purchase Clauses of the Act. Now, he desired to know why, under these circumstances, the purchase was not sanctioned? The second matter to which he wished to draw attention was a written Report of Mr. Adair. Mr. Adair was a gentleman who had been for many years connected with the sale of landed property in Ireland under various Acts of Parliament, and he said—

"The first year of the working of the Ashbourne Act shows that the entire number of loans over all Ireland was only 2,426, of which no less than 1,175, or nearly half, were for property in the county of Londonderry. The loans so sanctioned for application to the county of Londonderry are chiefly for the estates of the London Companies, with clear unencumbered title, managed at all times with great liberality, and the sale of which in no way affects individual receipts."

Mr. Adair observed, in conclusion—

"These estates in all Ireland less require State subvention."

He (Mr. Atherley-Jones) had endeavoured to the best of his ability to understand the basis of the principle on which this Land Act had been applied, and he was driven to the conclusion that they were relieving tenants who were on perfectly good relations with their landlords, and were doing nothing at all to mitigate the volume of agitation which existed in Ireland. From whatever side of the House any scheme of land purchase came under the sanction of English security it would meet with his opposition. At the same time, since the Government had a moribund majority which would undoubtedly carry this Bill, the Opposition must do the very best they could in order to render the Bill what it was in its principle intended to be—namely, a destruction of dual ownership in cases where tenants were suffering from the exactions of their landlords.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he did not object to dual ownership *per se*. He did not think that it was altogether a failure, any more than he thought marriage was a failure; but what was possible was, that when the parties did not get on well together it was desirable to resort to the system of purchase. If Ulster stood alone in this matter, they would not have entered upon a heroic measure giving the money of the British taxpayer in order to separate proprietors and tenants. In Ulster proprietors and tenants had got on tolerably well together. In Ulster, where they were not specially wanted, very nice small proprietors had been set up. In other parts of Ireland, wherever they had created the new ownership, most of the money went to those who were not peasant proprietors, but large farmers. That was a state of things which required some remedy. He could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, looking at this Amendment so favourably as he did, had not accepted it, or suggested something of his own in its place. It was not desired by the Amendment to tie the hands of the Commissioners. All they wanted to do was to provide that the money should be spent where there was most need of its being spent, and where it would do the most good.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, he thought that they ought to press the Front Bench a little more upon this point. An hour ago the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary expressed sympathy with the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). Surely the right hon. Gentleman could find some practical way of giving effect to that sympathy. He (Mr. Flynn) protested against the tone the right hon. Gentleman had adopted when he defended the Lord Lieutenant and the Duke of Abercorn and other large proprietors who had sold their estates, or were going to sell them. The attacks made on these gentlemen were not made because the gentlemen were Members of the Executive, or connected with the Executive, or friends of the friends of the Executive. It was abuses which were attacked, and if the very ugly cap

fitted the Lord Lieutenant and the Duke of Abercorn so much the worse for those gentlemen. The most extraordinary argument was brought forward that, because the London Companies had got on very well with their tenants in regard to prices, they were all the more entitled to the benefit of the Act. Was it a fact that the money under the former Act, which was passed by the Committee, was for the benefit of estates of that kind? The Committee would find that in Londonderry the landlords had received £740,000, whereas in Donegal, which required the benefit of the Act to a much larger extent, only £224,000, or nearly a third less, was advanced, so that not alone did this argument apply to Clare and portions of Connaught, but also to Ulster itself. His hon. Friends the Members for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) and East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) had waited in the hope that the Committee would receive an intimation from the Government that they would do something to meet the object in view; but, although they had expressed some sympathy with the object, they had given no proof of any sympathy with the Amendment. He wanted hon. Gentlemen opposite to consider that the Amendment stipulated that the Commissioners should, as the very first condition of an advance, be quite satisfied as to the security for the money. It did not mean that the money should be advanced to tenants who would be unable to repay it; it would be advanced to the tenants, but the Amendment carried with it the condition that the number of years' purchase would be considerably less, and, therefore, the amount of rent would be less than they had found it possible to pay up to the present. The condition of the tenants would be materially benefited by this, and they would be able to carry on the instalments with as much ease as tenants in any other part of the country. It was not the congested state of the districts which produced all the turmoil in Ireland. It was a fact that the landlords recognized that the land was so poor, that rents must go down to a greater extent than they had done, and that they were not anxious to adopt the initiative under the Act, because, if they did, the Land Commissioners would not sanction the transaction. If some Amendment like the present were not accepted, the Act would aggravate the existing danger in a double sense. In the first place, a large portion of the money would be spent in the purchase of estates on which there existed little or no difficulty between the landlord and the tenants, and the result would be that the Commissioners being unable to advance the money on bad security, there would be a continual temptation to the rack-renting landlords to keep on the screw as long as possible, and to refuse the benefit of the Act to the unfortunate tenants. For these reasons he repeated that, unless some such Amendment as that preposed by the hon. Member for West Belfast were accepted, the entire money would be expended with a minimum amount of good to the tenants, and of security to the British taxpayers.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, he desired to impress on the Government that they should give the Commissioners a chance of carrying out their desire of pacifying Ireland. He believed that in Kerry the Act would be largely availed of, and would be the means of introducing peace to that county; that the small proprietors would purchase under the Act, and that after a certain number of years tranquillity would prevail in the district. In Londonderry he found that the tenement valuation and the rents were on a par, and that purchases had been made at 17·5 years, and that in Kerry purchases had been made at 15·6 years. But if hon. Members looked at the adjacent column they would find that by dividing the purchase money by the valuation, 26 and 27 years' purchase had been sanctioned in the County of Kerry, and it must be remembered with regard to Kerry that the loan was to be made on improvements effected by the tenants themselves, whereas in other counties it was upon the improvements and expenditure of the landlord. It was this difficulty which the Government could remove by adopting the Amendment. Of course, it would be preposterous to argue that they should wait until a district was disturbed before the grant was made, and he was sure that the Commissioners would not be so foolish as so to interpret their powers. Hon. Members on those Benches had shown that they were sincerely desirous of doing everything which would conduce to the peace of the disturbed districts,

and the hon. Gentleman opposite had indulged in a very small point a little while ago when he said there was no security in those districts, because the prime element to be taken into account by the Commissioners was that there should be security. And, again, when it was said that there was no more reason for giving the money to the poor farmers than to the wealthy farmers, the answer to that argument was that the Bill might as well be applied to the whole of England. He believed in all sincerity that the Government, by adopting this Amendment and making this suggestion to the Commissioners, would be doing a great amount of good.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, it was of no use to cry over spilt milk; £5,000,000 had gone in an experiment which, had the House foreseen the result, he believed would not have been sanctioned. If, however, the Amendment were carried, there was some hope that, at any rate, the second experiment might be successful. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) had over and over again declared that it was the object of the Government to meet the distress or mitigate the pressure of agrarian life in Ireland, and to make the Bill in reality an antidote to the mischief occasioned by the National League in that country. If the right hon. Gentleman did not see his way that evening to adopt the Amendment, he (Mr. Illingworth) hoped that before the Bill left the Committee, the right hon. Gentleman would consider the matter, in order that the House of Commons might not be utterly deluded as to where this £5,000,000 would go.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, it seemed to him that those who were seemingly most anxious to protect the ratepayers' money were in reality anxious that it should go into districts where there was most danger of it being advanced on bad security—districts in which they maintained that the people could not live if they had the land for nothing.

MR. DILLON said, the hon. Member went down and took part with the crowbar brigade in places where the tenants would not continue to pay high rents for land which, as he said, was worth nothing. He had told the British taxpayer what he thought his security was, and he thought they were justified in taking the Government at their own word, who said they wanted the money in order to bring peace and contentment to the poverty-stricken districts of Ireland. Now they had the champion of loyal Ulster wanting to do what those loyal gentlemen had always done—nanely, to bury their arms elbow-deep in the money of the British taxpayer. [*Laughter.*] It was perfectly true that the Loyalists of Ulster were always ready to take the lion's share in what those who represented the South had run risks for and won; they ran no risk, but they came down and proclaimed loudly that the Ulster tenants must have the largest share of money voted by Parliament. He was perfectly sure that if the taxpayers had understood the use to which the money would be applied not 1*s.* would have been voted.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said, that the tenants of the districts he had lately visited were very much better off than those in many parts of Ulster, and their rents were a great deal lower.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.) said, he was a British taxpayer, and also a taxpayer in Ireland, and had certainly no desire to rob the British taxpayer. He and his hon. Friends had objected to the Vote altogether, because they knew it would be used for favouring a few Irish landlords and a few Irish tenants. In listening to the discussions of that evening he had been very much surprised by an hon. Gentleman on that side mentioning that the money now asked for was to be spent in buying land for men in Ireland who possessed more land there than he did himself. It had been stated by the hon. Gentleman that a man who would obtain an advance under the Act held about 1,000 acres, which he had purchased under Lord Ashbourne's Act. He thought he had never heard a more demoralizing speech delivered on any platform than that which the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) delivered on a recent occasion. The noble Lord said he was the trustee of the British taxpayer, but a few moments afterwards the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) came down and told the House that the money now asked

for was not the money of the British taxpayer at all. As one of the British taxpayers, all he would say, with regard to the declaration of the noble Lord who claimed to be his trustee, was that the sooner some court stepped in and discharged him from his trust the better he should like it.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must remind the hon. Gentleman that there was an Amendment before the Committee, and that the observations he had to make should be in connection with it.

DR. FITZGERALD said, he wanted to be sure that this money would go to the disturbed districts and not to the wealthy landlords and tenants in Ireland. That was the question immediately before the Committee, and he thought the noble Lord would have to account for his trust if the money now voted should be wasted in the interest of the rich landlords and not spent in improving the condition of the poorer tenants in Ireland.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) said, there appeared to be some doubt on the opposite Benches as to whether something ought not to be done by way of concession to this Amendment; but on the other hand the Government said there should be no concession. He and his hon. Colleagues simply wanted this money to be divided equally; they did not want to deprive Ulster of its fair share, but they protested against what appeared to be the offer of a bribe. If the land in Ulster was of such a class as that indicated by the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), his hon. Friends were willing that it should be relieved just as well as the congested districts in any other part of Ireland. But the experience of the hon. Gentleman extended only to evicted districts, where he said the land was as good as any in Ulster, and he did not tell the Committee that the land had been manufactured by the tenants and by them alone.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. Gentleman that he was not speaking to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. SHEEHY said, he was trying to point out that Members on those Benches wanted the money to go to the relief of the congested districts and not be squandered in places where it was not required. They contended not that Ulster should not have its fair share, but that the majority of the money should not go there. If the right hon. Gentleman objected to the Amendment only because it was not well drafted, he hoped some Member of the Government would rise and say that they would embody the principle which it contained in some other form.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) said, he rose to say a few words only, because hon. Gentlemen opposite persisted in confusing the present Bill with some general scheme for the relief of tenants in Ireland. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer last week to say that the Bill was entirely distinct from any scheme for that purpose which the Government might introduce at a future time. This was a measure for advancing money of the State on good security, and naturally those persons who were able to give such security knew that they were making a good bargain by going to their landlords and arranging to purchase their holdings. He should of course be unwilling to see any money of the State advanced on what was not good security. Hon. Members below the Gangway opposite had asked that part of this money should be given to the congested districts. Well, would that be expending the money on good security, when they had it from hon. Members themselves that any money invested in those districts would be a bad investment? They had heard the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) utter the ominous word "repudiation." The hon. Member for East Mayo had made many sinister prophecies, and had always had the advantage of being able to watch over the fulfilment of his own predictions. If money were granted to tenants in the congested districts of Ireland who had no tenant right worthy of the name, and who, if they got their land for nothing, would hardly be able to live on it, what would be the result? The hon. Member said he had told the tenants that they must either fight for their land or pay for it, but there was a more excellent way. The tenants could either come to this House from time to time to get their arrears wiped off or they could come and purchase under a Bill of this kind, and then, if they thought it inconvenient to pay

their instalments, they could repudiate their bargain. Who would buy the land of these tenants supposing they did not pay their instalments and the land was put up for sale? Why, it had been very pertinently pointed out by one of the Irish Members only recently that he should be very sorry for the man who bought under such circumstances. There would soon be another combination of the kind they had heard so much about lately established for the purpose of preventing people buying. As an English Member he was opposed to the advance of a single shilling on such security as this. Such a Bill could only properly be carried out for a purely benevolent purpose, but in the present instance the objects in view were not solely benevolent, because it was maintained that the Bill merely contemplated the advance of money upon good security. It was only by a benevolent Bill that they could hope to carry out their purpose of settling the Irish Land Question, and such a proposal was not now before the House. He doubted if there was any real economical justification for the present measure. An hon. Member below the Gangway opposite had said very fairly to-night, why should this money be advanced to the thriving and prosperous tenants in Ireland unless they were prepared to do the same in England? As a matter of fact, the Government were building up a precedent which might be used against them when they came to deal with the enfranchisement of leaseholders in England.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the hon. Gentleman was now going into a wide question, which was outside the limits of the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN said, that in deference to the Chairman's ruling, he would abstain from enlarging on the point. He would say, in conclusion, that whatever might be argued for or against a Bill of this kind, it could not be made a part of such a general project as Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite would wish to see carried out.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, the hon. Gentleman had repudiated all benevolence on the part of the Conservative Party, but he did not think that that repudiation was necessary, as it was pretty well understood now that the whole origin of this Bill was to enable London Companies and large landed proprietors to clear out of Ireland. No doubt the Bill was a good thing for the London Companies interested in land in Ireland, because formerly those Companies had to spend a great deal of money on the improvement of their properties, and were thus unable to spend so much on dinners in London, and now that they were relieved from this necessity of incurring expense on the improvement of their estates, they could devote the whole of their incomes to dinners. He did not, however, attribute any bad motives to the London Companies, because, seeing that the money was going begging, they no doubt had a perfect right to get as much of it as they could. He looked upon the way in which this Bill was being conducted through the House as a very good sample of their whole method of governing Ireland. In the days of Liberal Governments, even when those Governments contained a large number of Unionists, it was always considered to the interest of the Administration when money was about to be expended on schemes of this kind—on drainage and tramway schemes—to ask the Irish Members their opinion as to how the money should be distributed. But the present Government, with the present Bill in hand, did not think of asking the Irish Members for their opinion. The Government ought to say, "We intend to get so much money and then we will take the advice of the Irish Members how the greatest amount of good can be done with it without incurring the danger of bad security and without entailing any further expenditure." No doubt the Government could make this £5,000,000 do a great deal of good in Ireland if they properly distributed it, but he thought it would require a very powerful microscope to see the good which was being done at present by Lord Ashbourne's Act. No doubt that Act had done good to individuals, but he would defy anyone to point out a single instance where it had improved the social condition and done good to the community at large. If, however, the Government accepted the Amendment, an Instruction would be given to the Commissioners to take a little trouble in order to see that the money was expended in a way that would do some good to the localities. No one would expect

that a number of small tenants would get as good terms as one large tenant, and if the Committee did not accept this Amendment, or something like it, it would be an inducement to the Purchase Commissioners to act in regard to these purchases in the future as they had done in the past.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) said, he thought that the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Maclean) had fundamentally misapprehended the case so far as this Amendment was concerned. The matter of security was not at all in question on the Amendment. His contention was that the Commissioners would not lend one penny in any case unless the security was ample. The hon. Gentleman was unwilling to lend upon anything but a binding security, and he (Mr. Sexton) was also unwilling to do so, but he asked, not only that the Commissioners should see that the security was abundant, but that they should give preference in granting applications to those which gave promise of bringing advantage to the class of small tenants for whom that Act was intended, and to those cases where social order would be promoted and in which dangerous pressure upon the tenants would be relieved. He hoped, therefore, that the hon. Member would see that the supporters of this Amendment had no intention of risking the interest of the British or Irish taxpayer. The Chief Secretary for Ireland admitted that the object of the Amendment was good and that he wished to see it carried out, but did not see his way to effect that object himself. He (Mr. Sexton) had suggested to the right hon. Gentleman that there should be a periodical examination of the applications, but to that suggestion the right hon. Gentleman did not deign a reply, and he was afraid, having regard to the policy of the Government, which was first a policy of impotence, and secondly a policy of silence, it was no use prolonging the debate, and they might therefore come to a Division.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 118; Noes 180: Majority 62.—(Div. List, No. 306.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would now ask the Government to agree to report Progress. He appealed particularly to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon this ground. The right hon. Gentleman must know that it was an old custom in years gone by never to vote money after 12 o'clock at night. Well, they were now going to vote £5,000,000 of the money of the country at 1 o'clock in the morning. He did not at this moment say that the Government should not vote this money, but his contention was that if they did it should be done at a reasonable time. It should be remembered, also, that when the House was in the habit of meeting at 4 o'clock Members usually got very tired by midnight, but now the House commenced business at 3 o'clock, so that Members got even more tired than formerly. Besides, they had had a very exciting night, and, besides, the Members recorded on the last Division showed that the Government were utterly wearied out and could not put forward their full strength. He submitted that they should not force the Bill through at this hour and weary still further a drowsy Committee. He begged to move that the Chairman report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR wished to point out that early in the sitting they had passed a Resolution that proceedings on the Land Purchase Bill should be continued after 12 o'clock at night. He was bound to say that his experience of the way in which money was voted in the House of Commons did not agree with that of the hon. and gallant Member, because, to the best of his recollection, most of the money was always voted after 1 o'clock. He thought the Committee might proceed a little further with this Bill.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, he thought the Government might be very well allowed to finish Clause 1, and then the new Clause which he (Mr. John Morley) intended to bring forward could be disposed of and settled. He did not think it would take long to deal with his new Clause.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) hoped the Motion for reporting Progress would not be pressed. In justice, how-

ever, to the Attorney General, who had to be at an important inquiry at 10 o'clock in the morning, he trusted that they would not continue the Sitting very much longer.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that in deference to all the arguments which had been addressed to him from both sides of the House, he would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, that at this late hour (1.5) he would not detain the Committee more than a moment or two in moving the Clause which stood in his name. The Clause was in itself, as he hoped the Government were prepared to admit, a perfectly reasonable and fair one, and the only argument it was necessary to advance on its behalf was to be found in the course in which the debate had taken. The whole course of the debate had been impeded and fettered by want of information on the part of Members of the House as to the actual facts connected with the operation of the Ashbourne Act. They had had to debate the Bill on the strength of scraps of information flung across the Table from time to time by the Representatives of the Irish Government, and he thought it was felt in every part of the House that such a method of procuring information was not a proper one. Moreover, they had been told constantly by the Government that the Bill was of the nature of an experiment. The particulars he had enumerated in his new Clause were the only means, so far as he could tell, of testing the success, the value, and the bearings of this experiment. If the operation of the Bill was experimental, the House ought to have from time to time, and he thought the interval of three months was not too long, the means of judging how the Bill was working. First of all they ought to know what kind of security the Government took for its very large advances, and in the second place they ought to know what was perhaps more important —namely, what was the distribution and allocation of the funds provided by the Bill. He need not go through the particulars. The justice of the principle of the particulars was admitted by the Chief Secretary, and the right hon. Gentleman had stated that he hoped the Land Commissioners would be able, in reference to the expenditure of the first £5,000,000, to supply the House with the information. He trusted, therefore, that the Chief Secretary would see no difficulty in the way of complying with this request.

New Clause:—

(Quarterly Return.)

"The Land Commissioners shall once in every three months make a report to the Lord Lieutenant, and every such report shall be laid before Parliament, stating how many holdings within each period of three months have been purchased under the provisions of this Act of an annual valuation under ten pounds, how many over ten pounds and not exceeding thirty pounds, over thirty pounds and not exceeding fifty pounds, over fifty pounds and not exceeding one hundred pounds, and how many over one hundred pounds; also the average number of years purchase of the net rental paid under each of the above divisions; the sum advanced in each division; the sum advanced in each county; the number of cases in which the sum advanced was between two thousand pounds and four thousand pounds; the number of cases in which the advance exceeded four thousand pounds; the number of applications in which advances were refused; the names of the vendors in cases where advances were sanctioned, and the amounts of the advance; and the number of sales in the case of each such vendor."—(*Mr. John Morley,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the right hon. Gentleman had complained of the want of information. Allow him to point out that the Act had been in operation three years, and that there had been an Annual Report by the Commissioners in regard to the working of the Act. If during the three years any Member of the House had felt the want of information he had only to move for a Return in order to get the information. He presumed that the want of information had never been felt until the time came for the discussion of this Bill. There was really no reason for asking for this information, because the information had not to do with the sum now required. ["Oh, oh!"] At all events he did not wish to make that a controversial point. He did not think it was convenient; it certainly was not the usual course to introduce a Clause of this kind in a Bill. The proper and usual course was to move for a

periodical Return giving the information required. If the right hon. Gentleman chose to move for a Return he (Mr. Balfour) would certainly support him in obtaining it. He would have, however, before the right hon. Gentleman moved for the Return, to get a report from the Land Commissioners as to any clerical or other difficulties in the way. If the right hon. Gentleman thought that course unsatisfactory, if he still adhered in spite of any opposition, if there was any opposition on the part of the Committee, to the particulars in the shape he desired, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would support him in moving that those particulars should be given. He hoped this assurance, this pledge, which he gave on behalf of the Government, would suffice to meet the view of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he was very much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman, but he would like to understand whether the Chief Secretary meant that this was to be a recurrent Return which he (Mr. John Morley) or some other Member was from time to time to move for?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is my idea.

MR. JOHN MORLEY confessed that he did not think that was nearly so satisfactory as the automatic production of the Return by the Commissioners themselves. He would not press the condition that the Return should be quarterly. He did not at all mind making it half-yearly, but he thought it would be more reasonable that the Land Commissioners, without any intervention on the part of any Member, should produce the information.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, that in each of the two preceding Sessions of Parliament this suggestion had been made. In each case it was struggled against by the Government, but in each case it was carried. In the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of last year it was provided that there should be published quarterly in *The Dublin Gazette* a Return of the inquiries held during the preceding quarter and of other matters. In the Peace Preservation Act of 1886 it was provided that there should be published monthly a Return of the Counties Proclaimed and other particulars. Could anything be more absurd than the opposition of the Government to grant the Return suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle. The attempt to carry a Bill without Amendment, in order to avoid the Report stage, always produced disastrous consequences. It was always better for the Government to accept reasonable Amendments; personally he would be no party to delaying the Bill on the Report stage; indeed, if the Government would accept reasonable Amendments in Committee, he would undertake not to have any Amendment on the Report stage. He appealed to the Government to accept this proposal. It was admitted they had not sufficient information, and he blamed the Front Opposition Bench for not insisting on having the Blue Book before they considered the Bill. Why did not the Leaders of the Opposition demand the presentation of the Blue Book? In 1881, when the Irish Nationalist Party were a small party, and they did not get a Return from Mr. Forster, they kept the right hon. Gentleman up for three nights. He certainly thought they had been very generous to the Government in allowing them to have this Bill without any information. They did not know yet whether the Duke of Abercorn had got £300,000; whether he had got it under the last Act or was going to get it under this Act. He appealed to the Government to act reasonably in this matter, and give Parliament the information desired.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR thought the most convenient course would be that he should move for a quarterly Return, if it be a quarterly Return that was decided upon. He would like, however, to consult the Land Commissioners as to the form of the Return. The Return could be made a recurrent one, such as the right hon. Gentleman desired.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, it occurred to him that the carrying out of the arrangement suggested by the Chief Secretary would be a reflection on the Commissioners. It would imply a suspicion that something was going on which was not right. Many of them would not forget the House of Lords interfering with the jurisdiction of the Land Commission at a certain critical moment. It undoubtedly would be more respectful to the Land Commission that this clause should appear in the Bill. The precedents

quoted by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford ought surely to satisfy the Government as to the justice of the clause.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he did not see what difference it would make to the Commissioners whether they produced the Return of their own accord, or rather by the order of the Statute, or produced it on the Motion or by the direction of the right hon. Gentleman. So far as the Commissioners and the House of Commons were concerned, the result would be precisely the same. The Commissioners would produce the Return, and the House would have the benefit of it. Why, therefore, should it not be done in a regular and orderly way, by a direction in the Statute ordering the Commissioners to produce the Return? He failed to see what was gained by making the production of the Return dependent upon the occasional action of the Chief Secretary, instead of on the natural and spontaneous action of the Commissioners themselves.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had two reasons for preferring the course he had suggested to the right hon. Gentleman. His first reason was that his course was the more usual one. There were any number of Returns presented by the Local Government Board and other Boards—monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and annual Returns, not imposed by Statute, but granted in the manner he proposed to grant this. It was not wise to overload the Statute Book by regulations of this kind. Besides, the course he proposed possessed the additional convenience that they could alter the form of the Return without altering the Statute. His second reason was of a somewhat less general character, and it was that, before assenting to the particular form of the Return, he should be glad if both the right hon. Gentleman and he could have some opportunity of hearing what the Land Commissioners had to say upon the matter. He had distinctly committed himself that if right hon. Gentlemen offered any objection to that, he would abide by the right hon. Gentleman's Return, and would, as far as he could, overrule the Commissioners. He was persuaded the Committee would feel he had dealt in the most open manner with the right hon. Gentleman, and that there could be no valid reason for rejecting the course he had suggested.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he found it was provided by the 55th section of the Land Act of 1881, that the Land Commissioners should once in every year make a Report to the Lord Lieutenant as to their proceedings under the Act, and that every such Report should be presented to Parliament, and clearly it had been the practice to put into all these Acts stringent provisions as to the making of Reports. Information would certainly be required when Mr. Wrench was put in a position to average the price of the land. They must have some bit in the mouth of Mr. Wrench. That gentleman was boasting at the Kildare Street Club that he was going to be the boss of the Land Commissioners; he was an Englishman, and naturally he was going to set Irishmen right. The Chief Secretary proposed that he should move for the Return; but the right hon. Gentleman might be out of Office any day. He might be promoted to a higher position, and then they would have his successor to face, who, he (Mr. T. M. Healy) understood, was to be the present Naval Lord of the Admiralty. The new Chief Secretary might not feel bound by the declarations of his Predecessor, and might ask them why they did not get directions as to the Return inserted in the Act. Therefore, they might reasonably require that the Act should provide that a general Report should be presented. The form of the Report could be made matter of future arrangement.

MR. SEXTON thought it must be generally agreed that the argument of the Chief Secretary was unfounded. The right hon. Gentleman said that the course he suggested was the most usual and the most convenient. It was neither the one nor the other. Three cases had been cited in which in Acts relating to Ireland provisions had been inserted as to the making of Reports to Parliament. So far as his memory served him, whenever powers were confided to any bodies or boards, provision was put in the Act directing the persons to inform Parliament from time to time of the manner in which their powers were exercised. If the clause of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne were adopted, the Land Commissioners would be directed as to what they had to do every three months. If what the Chief Secretary ventured to call the more convenient course were

adopted, the result would be that at the end of every three months a Motion would have to be made in the House for a Return. That would be all very well for the six months when the House was sitting, but during the six months of Recess who was to move for a quarterly Return? What was the reason for delay? The right hon. Gentleman wished to consult, first the right hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and then the Land Commissioners. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne had said what he thought about the matter, and, therefore, there was no use consulting him any more about it. Then, why should the Land Commissioners be consulted? Did the House know what they wanted, or did they not? They were the Representatives of the people, and the Land Commissioners were their paid servants. The course was most unusual and inconvenient, and the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was one, in his opinion, which was neither respectful to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne nor to the House of Commons.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he had the strongest possible objection to bargains made across the Table of the House, which were not respectful to Gentlemen below the Gangway; and if there were no other objection, he should object to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, with his usual wiliness, trying to thrust this bargain on the Front Opposition Bench. If hon. Gentlemen on those Benches were to be asked, he should refuse for one moment to be bound by any such pledge as that offered by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. As to the refusal to accept the Amendment on the ground of consulting the Commissioners, these gentlemen, as the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) had said, were their paid servants, and to consult them in this matter would be similar to Mr. Speaker consulting the Clerks at the Table, which, of course, they knew he never did. He had a strong conviction that the Government, which was very squeezable, only wanted time to allow them to make this concession; and, probably, when they were able to withdraw their attention from the contest at Holborn, they would consult the wishes of the House, and accept the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He was most desirous of facilitating the measure; and, therefore, with the object of lubricating the machinery, he would move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Conybeare.*)

MR. JOHN MORLEY hoped the hon. Member would not persist with his Motion.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he did not wish, as the hon. Member had suggested, to rely upon the squeezableness of the Government; he preferred to appeal to their reasonableness. If the right hon. Gentleman could see his way to accept the clause of the Act of 1881 enjoining the Commissioners to make a Return—every six months, as he would prefer—he could not help thinking that would be the best way out of the difficulty.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the right hon. Gentleman referred to the Annual Return of the Commissioners as if they were working under the Act of 1881. He thought the Committee would feel it to be superfluous to overload the Commissioners with a power which they were already in the habit of using, and that hon. Members would see that he had offered the right hon. Gentleman everything he asked for in the form in which it was most usually granted. The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) said that because the Commissioners were the paid servants of the House—which, by the way, they were not—they should be required to make a certain Return without considering the propriety or the cost of so doing. He did not want to seem obstinate, but he thought it desirable that the Government should have an oppportunity of hearing what the Commissioners had to say on the subject.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he did not want to appear obstinate either; but, at the same time, he thought that nearly every one of the particulars he asked for had been already under the consideration of the Commissioners. Certainly to every one of them the attention of the Commissioners had been

called. He would remind the Committee that he had asked for particulars in the form of a Return the other day, and the Commissioners had reported that they could not have them ready for several weeks, on the ground, he believed, that their preparation would distract their officers from the ordinary course of their work. That being the case, he thought he had a right to be suspicious and firm in insisting that this important information should be given to Parliament and the country. If the right hon. Gentleman would accept this clause in its present form, he was sure it would be most conformable to precedent, and be the means of giving information without which the country would have no knowledge of the work done.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he had asked for a Return with regard to the Crofters' Commission, and was told that if he wanted special information he could get it in the ordinary way. He had been trying for the last 14 days to get from the Lord Advocate a Return of the number of cases heard in the last 12 months, which information could have been obtained if the Commissioners had made a quarterly Return. At the present time it was not known how many applications were waiting, they did not know what work had been done, and the Scotch Office refused to give any information. He hoped, therefore, that hon. Members would press for the Return now asked for, because when they were told that information was to be got in the ordinary way, they found, on application, that it was always refused.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman was shifting his position very uneasily, and he now pleaded that he did not want to overload the Bill—a Bill of one clause. He also quibbled on the point as to whether the Commissioners were the servants of the House; but the House paid their salaries, and they had a perfect right to dictate their course of action; and again, he asked even if it were advisable was it practicable to produce the Return, and would it be too costly? But would the right hon. Gentleman read the Amendment and say that the information required was such that the House of Commons was not entitled to ask for? This information, which the right hon. Gentleman did not venture to say was unadvisable, could be extracted by one clerk. It had been suggested that the Government were refusing all Amendments because they wished to avoid the Report stage of the Bill; but the stage was prescribed by constitutional usage, and yet, in order to avoid it, they refused Amendments which they themselves were obliged to admit were reasonable. He would add another speculation and say that he was under the impression that the confederacy of those on the Treasury Bench, and persons outside who wanted to dip their hands into the public purse, was so close that the Government were under an engagement to pass the Bill in the form in which it had been introduced.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he understood that personally the Chief Secretary for Ireland did not object to the demands made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley); on the contrary, that he was ready to back them up even in opposition to the opinion of the Commissioners. He had not objected to the Report being made quarterly, or that it should state the details mentioned in the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. His one objection appeared to be that the Commissioners might find the particular form of Return demanded inconvenient. With regard to the question of cost he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) ventured to think that this was a matter for the House and not the Commissioners to decide. On the question of form he saw no difficulty in the right hon. Gentleman communicating with the Commissioners between that and the Report stage of the Bill, and if he would undertake to accept the Amendment, putting it in such a form as his right hon. Friend and the Commissioners could agree to, he did not think his right hon. Friend would persevere with his present Motion. Hon. Members wanted to insist that this should be a statutable regulation. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had been gradually dislodged from the position he had taken up—namely, that the demand the Opposition were making was an unprecedented and unusual one. As a matter of fact, what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle demanded was that this Bill should be in consonance with all previous agrarian Bills. He (Mr. T. P.

O'Connor) thought they were not unreasonable, in the face of all the Returns which had been given to them, in demanding that this matter should be put beyond the caprice of any Chief Secretary or Commissioner, and that a distinct instruction should be contained in the Act of Parliament. He thought he had suggested a very fair compromise.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, it occurred to him that the Gentleman who proposed the 50th Section of the Act of 1881 was no less a person than Lord Ashbourne himself. ["No, no!"] Yes, he was satisfied it was moved from the Front Opposition Bench, and that it was inserted in deference to the demand of the Tories. If they were addressing an Irish Chief Secretary he did not believe that he would for a moment refuse the application made for information. The Amendment was only rejected by the right hon. Gentleman because of his entire want of sympathy with Ireland and its Representatives. It surely was not advisable to refuse information. The Government were not wise in refusing it. Why should they not take the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale into their counsel? Surely he must be most anxious that a proposal of this kind should be accepted by the Government. The Government said that if they were assured of the passage of the Bill, and after Mr. Wrench had been appointed as the President of the Triumvirate, they would give the House all the information it wanted; but the promises and the performances of the Government were very different things. But with the thing in the Statute itself, to which they could nail the Commissioners, then not even the Gentleman whom it was proposed to put in charge of the two Commissioners could evade the Statute. He thought the Opposition were asking a reasonable thing. If the Government maintained that the proposal as framed would be inconvenient then they would not insist on more than the provision contained in the Act of 1881. The Government did not want to have a quarterly Report produced, because in all probability the last day of the quarter might be the day on which such an election as that in Holborn was taking place, and then it would be seen that they were giving £250,000 to a certain Duke or to a London Company. Moreover, if the House had a forecast of the results of its action it might be reluctant to fall in with the schemes of the Government; for instance, if it had been known that as a result of the Conversion Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which had fallen four in the course of a few months, probably the measure would not have been passed as it was without opposition. If the Government rejected this proposition when Members of the Opposition made a point against them at any public meeting, and said the Government had refused to give them information, the Government would reply—"Oh, we promised them everything and have given it to them, the dispute between us being as to what we promised." They might say, "We did not promise to give the names of the owners who had sold their estates." When he (Mr. T. M. Healy) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he intended to give the names, the right hon. Gentleman replied, "No, we never have given them." Surely it was most unreasonable for the Government, when pressed for official information, to refuse to give it, although they had every opportunity of doing so. In conclusion, he would appeal to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite to support the Motion for this Return. He was sure that if they were appealed to privately they would give the Irish Members their support and sympathy.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he really thought that they had tolerated this sort of conduct on the part of the Government too long, and therefore—

Mr. Arthur Balfour rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 174; Noes 99: Majority 75.—(Div. List, No. 308.)

Question put accordingly, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 108; Noes 166: Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 309.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he gathered from certain cries that hon. Gentlemen thought the Committee should now finish its labours for the night, and he was not disposed to differ from that view. He would, however, remind the

Committee that the substance of the Bill was finished, that it was but a continuance Bill, and that the question of extending the existing Act to an extent of £5,000,000 had been very fully discussed. It should not require very much more time to dispose of the few points hon. Members might desire to raise, and with the expression of that hope he assented to Progress being reported.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

(*Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Forwood.*)

[BILL 145.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be deferred till Thursday."—(*Mr. Matthews.*)

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked if there was really an intention to consider the Bill on Thursday?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, that entirely depended upon the progress made with the Land Purchase Bill. He hoped the latter Bill would be disposed of at the next sitting.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked, was it not proposed to take the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill on the Thursday? If so, there was no hope of the Employers' Liability Bill being reached on that day. Could it not be set down for Friday or Monday?

MR. MATTHEWS said, no doubt the Excise Bill would have precedence, but the Bill had better be set down *pro formâ* for Thursday.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday.*

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS DISTRIBUTION.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to assist Mr. Speaker in superintending the form and regulating the Distribution of Parliamentary Papers:"—Mr. Walter James, Mr. Causton, Mr. Bartley, Mr. Arthur Acland, Mr. James Maclean, Mr. Arthur Elliot, Mr. Gill, and Sir Herbert Maxwell *nominated* Members of the said Committee.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes after two o'clock.

Mr. A. J. Balfour

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 27th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SAT FIRST IN PARLIAMENT—The Lord Wolverton, after the death of his brother.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Public Health Acts Amendment (Buildings in Streets) (283).

Committee—Municipal Funds (Ireland) (278-290); Sea Fisheries Regulation* (264-291).

Committee—Report—Oaths (272); Statute Law Revision (No. 2)* (258).

Third Reading—Companies Clauses Consolidation Act (1845) Amendment* (230), and *passed.*

AUSTRALIA — QUEENSLAND — APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR — SIR H. A. BLAKE.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY: I beg to ask my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Government have come to any descision as to the appointment of Sir Henry Blake as Governor of Queensland?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD): I have to inform your Lordships that Sir Henry Blake has stated to the Government that, after what has passed, it would be extremely unpleasant for him to undertake the Governorship of Queensland; and he has requested to be relieved of that appointment. Her Majestys Government, under the circumstances, have agreed to that request. On this day week I assured your Lordships that I was not unmindful of the grave responsibility attaching to the Secretary of State in selecting the Governor of a Colony, and I should like in a very few words to point out how eminently fitted Sir Henry Blake was for the Governorship of Queensland. I cannot but think that the opposition which has been raised against this appointment has proceeded from a misapprehension of the position, and from the want of knowledge of Sir Henry Blake's eminent qualifications and services. His service in Ireland was duly recognized by the appointment by the noble Earl opposite of Sir Henry, then Mr. Blake, to the Bahamas. I must add that this service in Ireland in no way rendered him unacceptable to the com-

munity and people of Newfoundland, although previously to his appointment there had been, unfortunately, serious religious and political dissensions in that Colony. In the Bahamas, which is not a Crown Colony, but which has a representative assembly in which the Government cannot command a majority, Sir Henry Blake did most excellent service. He interested himself largely in developing the industrial resources of the country; he showed great sympathy with all classes of the people; and upon his retirement general expressions of regret followed him from all sides. When he came to Newfoundland he had to administer a responsible Government, and he there showed the same conspicuous tact and judgment, and proved, moreover, that he thoroughly understood and recognized the relations which existed between the Governor and his responsible Ministers. As in the Bahamas, so in Newfoundland, he applied himself steadily to developing in every way the resources of the Colony, and to improving the condition of the working classes. As in the Bahamas, so in Newfoundland, when he departed expressions of esteem came in from all quarters. Addresses of regret at his departure were received from the Premier and ex-Premier, from the leading men of both political parties, and from the Bishop and other leading persons. I may say that his departure has been viewed with regret by all classes. I will only add that Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that, by the continued exercise of the tact and judgment which he has hitherto so conspicuously displayed, Sir Henry Blake would have amply justified the selection of Her Majesty's Government.

THE EARL OF DERBY: As I was the Minister responsible for bringing Sir Henry Blake into the Colonial Service, I feel bound to express in a few words my entire concurrence with what the noble Lord has said. Sir Henry Blake seemed to me to be one of the very ablest men I ever came across. That is the account I also heard of him from others who were officially connected with him, and in my judgment he was, and is, fully fitted for the highest posts in the Colonial Service. At the same time, I think the Secretary of State is acting quite rightly and with sound judgment in not seeking to force him as a Governor upon a Colony which, however unreasonably or from whatever cause, has taken a prejudice against him.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, it was hoped that the Irish Land Purchase Bill would come up from the Commons on a day which would permit of its being read a first time and the second reading being fixed for Tuesday next.

LORD DENMAN said, he would give his determined opposition to the measure. He had protested against the whole system of land legislation for Ireland, and more especially against Lord Ashbourne's Acts. He was satisfied that the tenants could not pay the instalments of purchase-money, and it was perfectly illusory to tempt them in the manner proposed in the Bill.

MUNICIPAL FUNDS (IRELAND) BILL.

(The Lord Privy Seal.)

(NO. 278.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 (Short Title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Interpretation of terms.)

LORD FITZGERALD, in moving in line 12, after ("districts,") to insert ("the population of which exceeds 5,000,") said, he thought it was unwise to extend the provisions of the English Borough Funds Act to all the townships of Ireland, because the municipal institutions of England were widely different in regard to size from the townships that existed in Ireland. There were about 105 townships in Ireland, and, excluding the large towns, there were very few of them between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants. Their Lordships would appreciate the importance of this matter when he stated that some of the Irish townships were so small that there were 30 of those townships whose income from rates and otherwise did not exceed £200 a-year. Some of them had an income as low as £64 a-year, and one of them, he believed, had only an income of £30 a-year. It appeared to him, therefore, that it would be highly inexpedient to entrust such townships with the power to originate

expensive litigation. He thought his proposal limitating the operation of the Bill to townships of 5,000 inhabitants was a very moderate one; but, if the noble Earl in charge of the Bill did not think so, he was willing to meet him, and make the limit 4,000.

Amendment *moved*, in page 7, line 12, after ("districts") insert ("the population of which exceeds 5,000.")—(*The Lord Fitzgerald.*)

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN) said, he should be very unwilling to reject any Amendment which commended itself to the knowledge and experience of the noble and learned Lord, but in that case he was afraid he could not accept the Amendment. The object of the Bill was to assimilate the law in Ireland in regard to the application of municipal funds to the law in England, and it appeared to him that any limitation, such as that proposed by this Amendment, would create a difference between the law of the two countries without any corresponding benefit to Ireland. The provision requiring the approbation of the Local Government Board and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to be obtained would suffice to prevent the misapplication of the funds by the local bodies. He hoped, therefore, the noble and learned Lord would not press the Amendment. He also trusted that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Arran), who intended to propose to limit the operation of the Bill to townships of 8,000 inhabitants, would accept his observations in the same sense, and not move his Amendment.

THE EARL OF ARRAN intimated that he did not intend to move his Amendment.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he would not press his amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Cost of promoting or opposing Parliamentary and other proceedings for benefit of inhabitants to be charged on borough and local funds, except in certain cases) *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (No payment to member of governing body to be so charged) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Costs of promoting or opposing Bills to require sanction of special meetings.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that as the Bill stood it required that no such expense should be charged unless it was incurred in pursuance of a resolution of an absolute majority of the whole number of the governing body. That majority, however, might be a majority of one, and he therefore proposed as an Amendment that the required majority should consist of not less than three-fourths of the governing body. If one-fourth of the whole governing body were opposed to that expenditure of the rates, it ought not, in his opinion, to be undertaken.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 13, after ("majority") insert ("consisting of not less than three-fourths.")—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

EARL CADOGAN said, he must object to the Amendment because it would impose a limitation which was not contained in the English Act, and it was desirable to adhere as strictly as they could to the words of the English Act. He hoped that the Amendment would not be pressed.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN supposed it was of no use pressing the Amendment, but, although it was desirable as far as possible to assimilate the law in Ireland and in England, he thought it was hardly a good reason for applying a faulty provision to Ireland that now existed in England.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Amendment *moved*, in line 12, after ("expense") insert ("in relation to promoting or opposing any Bill or Bills in Parliament.")—(*Viscount De Vesci.*)

EARL CADOGAN said, if the noble Lord (Viscount De Vesci) referred to the beginning of Clause 3 he would find that there were two objects proposed in this application of municipal funds. The first object was that of promoting or opposing any local and personal Bill or Bills in Parliament, and the second, or alternative, object was that of prosecuting or defending any legal proceedings necessary for the promotion or protection of the interests of the inhabitants of the district. The noble Lord would, perhaps, see that if his

Amendment were inserted in Clause 5 he would limit the effect of the Act to the case of the promoting or opposing of Bills in Parliament, and would exclude the other purposes which he had just referred to as provided for in Clause 3. The result would be that the funds might be supplied for those purposes without the control of the ratepayers or the constituencies under the Bill. He imagined that it would scarcely commend itself to the approval of the noble Lord, and he hoped he would not press his Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Viscount DE VESCI, Amendment made, in line 20, leave out from ("shall") to ("resolution") in line 27, and insert—

("Have received, in respect of matter within the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board of Ireland the approval of such Board, and in respect of other matters the approval of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Vote of the electors).

Amendment *moved,* in page 3, line 18, leave out ("any person") and insert ("ten persons present at the meeting and.")—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

LORD DE VESCI said, he hoped the noble Earl would not press his Amendment. In the Public Health Act of 1875 a poll could be demanded by anyone, owner or ratepayer.

EARL CADOGAN said, he must press at least for five.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment *moved,*

In line 23, leave out from ("by") to ("where") in line 26, and insert ("Schedule III. of the English Public Health Act, 1875, which shall be applicable to any such poll.")—(*Viscount De Vesci.*)

EARL CADOGAN said, the Schedule referred to contained 50 clauses, many of which it was impossible to embody in a Bill of this kind. The clauses applied to constituencies in England which were uniform, and in that respect they differed from those in Ireland. He was led to believe that the object in view was to obtain an enactment for the use of voting papers at those elections. He would frame a new clause in order to carry out that object, but at present he could not accept the Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Amendment *moved,* after Clause 6, to insert as a new clause—

"The approval of the Local Governmen Board, or of the Chief Secretary, as the case may be, shall not be given to any such resolution as aforesaid until the expiration of seven days after the second publication thereof as provided by this Act, and in the meantime any ratepayer within the district of the governing body may give notice in writing to the Local Government Board, or the Chief Secretary, objecting to such approval."—(*Viscount De Vesci*).

EARL CADOGAN said, he would accept the Amendment. He suggested that instead of "ratepayer" the wording should read—"Any person qualified to vote at the election of the governing body of the district."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Order of the day for consideration of Standing Order No. XXXV., read and *discharged*; The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 290.)

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT (BUILDINGS IN STREETS) BILL.

(*The Lord Basing.*)

(NO. 283.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD BASING, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it proposed to confer powers on municipal authorities, in new localities, to prevent the bringing forward of houses so as to mar or interfere with the frontage of streets. The Bill, he believed, had the approval of the Local Government Board, and it had passed the House of Commons.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Basing.*)

LORD BALFOUR said, the Local Government Board did not propose to offer any objection to the Bill. On the contrary, they thought it a reasonable measure, which carried into effect what, until a recent decision, was believed by all parties to be the state of the law.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

OATHS BILL.—(No. 272.)
(*The Earl Spencer.*)
COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

LORD DENMAN said, he trusted that the Bill would pass through their Lordships' House without Amendment. The subject had been thoroughly threshed out. He earnestly hoped that the Bill would be passed in its present state, and that no more discussion would arise with regard to it. The Bill ought to be passed quietly, and if a man chose to say that he desired not to swear he should be relieved of the obligation to do so, and those who suspected him should have the power of challenging him.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Affirmation may be made instead of Oath).

LORD ADDINGTON moved, in page 1, line 5, to leave out from "every" to the end of the clause, and to insert—

("Member of either House of Parliament shall (instead of making and subscribing the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance), subscribe the following declaration:—I, *A. B.*, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors; according to law.)"

His Lordship remarked that the second reading of the Bill clearly indicated that the House wished the measure to pass. For his own part he did not desire to prevent its passing; but it related to questions of the highest importance, and therefore it ought to be treated with deliberation. In his opinion, the Parliamentary oath ought to be dealt with apart from the other oaths affected by the Bill. Surely, if an affirmation was good enough for one man, it was good enough for another. If it were good enough for a person who denied the existence of God, *a fortiori* it was good enough for Christians. Why should any Christian volunteer to take an oath which was not imposed upon him by law? The straightforward course would be to provide that nobody need do more than make an affirmation.

Amendment *moved*,

("In page 1, line 5, leave out from ("every") to the end of the clause, and insert ("Member of either House of Parliament shall (instead of making and subscribing the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance) subscribe the following declaration:—I, *A. B.*, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, according to law." (*The Lord Addington.*)

EARL SPENCER understood that the House, in reading the Bill a second time, affirmed its principle, which would be done away by the noble Lord's Amendment. The noble Lord wished to confine the Bill to the Houses of Parliament. Then the Bill as it stood was not obligatory. It did not sweep away all oaths; but the noble Lord wished to sweep them away altogether in the Houses of Parliament, and to leave matters as they were elsewhere. So far as his individual opinion was concerned, he should not object to the abolition of the oaths for Members of both Houses; but the Bill was a compromise, and if the noble Lord's Amendment passed their Lordship's House it would be lost in "another place."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, he was unable to accept the noble Lord's Amendment, which had not a single merit to recommend it. But, little as he liked the Amendment, he liked his noble Friend's argument still less. The Amendment made a declaration compulsory instead of optional, and would settle nothing and unsettle everything.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said, that it had come to him from many quarters that the Church of England was expected to oppose this Bill. But he thought the Church was in no way bound to resist the measure. The Church was thought somehow to be compromised in the maintenance of oaths, as if it held that truth itself depended on them. He, however, did not accept the interpretation which many moderns adopted, as it were almost in defence of our usages, that Our Lord forbade only "profane oaths," or levity in the use of oaths in common talk. But Our Lord was not speaking only of those oaths which Moses would have condemned with the same earnestness as Christ Himself. He was com-

menting on and correcting the grave Mosaic precept itself, which had been as much as "the old time" could bear, and which simply required faithfulness to oaths sworn. His express words, that whatsoever was more than "Yea" and "Nay" came of evil, precluded this narrow interpretation. He there traced the substitution of adjuration for affirmation to an evil source. What that bad source was in part was patent. Unhappily, the experience of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, that there were multitudes of people who would speak falsely but would not swear falsely, could be confirmed by every clergyman. The word of masses of mankind was not credible, though their oath was. The necessity, then, for oaths was to be deplored, but was to be acquiesced in so long as the civil magistrate, "who did not bear the sword in vain," declared oaths to be found essential to the ends of justice for the eliciting of truth and the conduct of government. But that could not make the exacting of an oath more or less to be a thing indifferent, or the taking of oaths as if they were not only a sad necessity, but a good thing, justifiable. He did not find that the ancient writers took the line that profane oaths only were against the Christian ideal. He held with Augustine that oaths were *in necessariis* but not *in bonis*, and with Chrysostom that the oath was a security so long as men distrusted each other. The last conversation he had with the statesman whose condition at that moment was causing so much anxiety, alike to those who agreed and those who did not agree with him, was on this subject. The Article of the Church of England, which they then discussed, said exactly this upon the subject—namely, that oaths at the command of the civil magistrate were not prohibited—that was, so long as owing to the imperfection of Christian society they remained the security for truth; they could only be taken rightly if this condition were fulfilled upon the declaration of the supreme authority that they were indispensable. Even then, the Article laid upon the individual conscience these cautions—that the oath must "be in a cause of faith and charity," and "made in justice, judgment, and truth." The Article was an Article of Religion, and it simply allowed that an oath under such circumstances might be taken "without sin." In almost every age the Church had protested against oaths being of more account than this. In a Council even of the 16th century the "*Immoderata iuramentorum exactio*" was condemned. The Church, therefore, was bound by its principles to accept any relaxation in oath-taking which the Government thought possible; and he considered it a real gain when at last the making of a false statement became as punishable as a perjury, when saying untruly was to be counted as wrong as swearing untruly. It was a sign that Christian feeling had made progress. Should it still be ruled that any class of oaths was to be retained, we should bow to the decision but look on to its reversal. For the present, there appeared to be a certain obscurity in the words, which provided that an affirmation might be made where a person stated that the taking of an oath was "contrary to his religious belief." Would that include the case of a Churchman who, though considering himself justified in taking an oath at the bidding of the civil magistrate, yet had an aversion to taking an oath, and a conscientious feeling that an affirmation was the more desirable form? He hoped those words would include such a case, or, if not, that they would be amended, for otherwise in practice the effect would be that an unbeliever's word would be treated as being as good as a Christian's oath. Lastly, with regard to this measure generally, he knew that it had been urged in some quarters that the Church ought, having regard to its origin, to reject it altogether; but he hoped that that was not the opinion of any of their Lordships as to the Church's duty. If any body in the world was bound to judge any measure honestly for what it was in itself without respect of persons, it was the Church. The measure ought to be treated on its merits, and he felt bound to support it.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY suggested the substitution of the words "religious conviction" instead of "religious belief."

EARL SPENCER said he did not think that there was any real difference between the words in the Bill and those suggested by the most rev. Prelate, and

he thought it better not to introduce any unnecessary changes in the Bill.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY remarked that if the word belief clearly included conviction he should not suggest the alteration, but "belief" might very well be understood to be the religious creed of the Church to which the person belonged, whereas he wanted to include the case of a personal religious aversion to taking an oath, irrespective of whether the taking of an oath was or was not against the creed of the Body to which the person belonged.

LORD COLERIDGE said, the words "religious belief" were already on the Statute Book, and were well understood in Courts of Justice. The common thing was to ask a man whether the taking of an oath was contrary to his religious belief.

LORD ESHER said, he was anxious that the Bill might be passed without Amendment, so as to obviate further discussion, and hoped that no unnecessary verbal Amendments would be made.

LORD HALSBURY, in moving the following new Clause:—

"Such an objection and statement, on the ground that he has no religious belief as in the first section of this Act mentioned, if made by a juror shall be good cause of challenge to that juror by the Crown or by the prisoner in any criminal proceeding, and by any party thereto in any civil cause or matter;"

said, that juries had intrusted to them the property, character, and, in some cases, the life of individuals, and he thought that those individuals ought to have a right to have their case tried by a juror who was bound by the sanctity of an oath and influenced by considerations of a judgment to come and a hereafter. He believed that a great many persons would object to have their rights, much more their lives, committed to the charge of persons uninfluenced by these solemn feelings, and while Parliament might think it expedient to relieve certain persons of disabilities, they ought not to deprive other persons of the right of having their cases tried by jurors acting under the solemn sanctity of an oath. There were already several grounds which entitled the parties to a case to challenge jurors "for good cause," and he proposed by this Amendment to make this statement on the part of a juror "good cause." He should certainly press this Amendment to a Division.

Moved, after Clause 2, to insert as a new Clause—

"Such an objection and statement, on the ground that he has no religious belief, as in the first section of this Act mentioned, if made by any juror, shall be good cause of challenge to that juror by the Crown or by the prisoner in any criminal proceeding, and by any party thereto in any civil cause or matter."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

LORD ESHER said, he had the greatest respect for anything coming from the noble and learned Lord; but he nevertheless would earnestly appeal to their Lordships to reject this Amendment. The Bill was an attempt to terminate an irritating and distressing controversy, and such an Amendment would seriously affect this object. The Bill was a compromise agreed to by persons in the other House who were interested in the same view of religion as that which he and his noble and learned Friend held. He thought, therefore, that such a Bill ought not to be altered unless it was absolutely necessary that there should be some alteration. The Amendment, if carried, would inevitably keep open an irritating and distressing controversy—that seemed to him sufficient reason for refusing to adopt it—while it would be very small in its effect. The challenge for good cause was not necessary, and never came into play until the challenges which every party was entitled to make, or did make, without stating any cause, were entirely exhausted; therefore, the Amendment would, in addition to casting a slur, keep open a sore in order to give a right of challenge for cause which would hardly ever arise. Besides that, it seemed to him that the Amendment would bring about an extraordinary anomaly, because a person making a declaration would be allowed to give evidence upon which the jury and the Court must act in a matter in which he was interested, and five minutes afterwards objection might be raised to his going on a jury to try a matter in which he was not interested. He was afraid that the Amendment would, if their Lordships carried it, bring about the loss of the Bill. He earnestly advised their Lordships to pass the Bill without any Amendment of any kind.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he could not agree with the noble and

learned Lord who had just sat down. A witness who made a declaration was subjected, if he stated that which was not true, to the penalties of perjury; but a juror who gave a false verdict could not be subjected to those penalties. If a man came forward as a juryman and objected to be sworn because he had no religious belief, thousands of persons might very fairly object to be tried by him. He did not see how the Amendment would cast a slur upon any man. By objecting to a man who held no religious belief going on the jury, they would not say that he was a dishonest man, but simply that a person to be tried had a right as of old to be tried before a jury of 12 good sworn men.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he did not agree with the opinion expressed by the late Mr. Justice Mellor in regard to oaths—namely, that they were of very little value. He regarded them as of very considerable value, especially in those oaths the breach of which was followed by possible punishment. A man with an oath which he believed was binding on his conscience must have an additional inducement to tell the truth. Undoubtedly, where there was no penalty, the efficacy of the oath was not so great as in other cases, but even then it had some effect. He had seen a jury who had made up their minds to give an untrue verdict so shaken by being abjured to tell the truth upon the oath they had taken that they had done so. But the Bill dealt with those who could not truthfully take an oath. If it was right, then the Amendment was not right. The Bill affirmed the fitness of the man who could not take an oath; the Amendment said that he might be objected to as unfit. The Act, of course, would be the Act of Crown, Lords, and Commons, and yet the Amendment said the Crown might object to the man it had declared fit.

LORD GRIMTHORPE said, that he had listened to his noble and learned Friend opposite (Lord Bramwell), but had not been convinced by what struck him as rather loose logic; for if his noble Friend was right, as he doubtless was, in pronouncing unsworn jurymen less trustworthy than sworn ones, he did not see what right they had to force the inferior juryman on either prisoners, or suitors, or the Crown. But he had been convinced by the Master of the Rolls (Lord Esher) that this Amendment was unnecessary, because, by the existing law in criminal cases and the practice in civil cases, the parties could protect themselves.

LORD HALSBURY said, it was a mistake to suppose that the Amendment was rendered unnecessary by the existence of a general right of challenge. In cases of felony there was a right of challenge; but the law gave no such general right of challenge as had been supposed. A loose practice had sprung up. Counsel on both sides might, indeed, agree to say in respect to a particular person—"Don't let that gentleman get into the jury-box;" but the question with which their Lordships were dealing was what the law ought to be; and he was surprised to hear what had fallen from his noble and learned Friend the Master of the Rolls on that point.

LORD ESHER said, that in his experience of 40 years it was the invariable practice that if a solicitor said to the officers of the Court—"Please don't call that man," without any demur the man was told to stand down.

LORD HALSBURY said, that might be by the concession of both of the parties; but they were now concerned with what was the law, and what the law ought to be, and a practice of that sort ought not to guide them in determining that question. The noble and learned Lord opposite said that the promissory oath of a juryman was of considerable value, and that he had known jurymen who would have attempted to find a verdict contrary to the evidence being so impressed by having the obligation of the oath they had taken impressed upon them that they had been compelled to find a verdict according to the evidence. Could they have a stronger argument than that in favour of this Amendment? If this Bill were passed as it stood, they would force every suitor and every prisoner, whether he liked it or not, to have his case tried by a person or persons who had not that sense of obligation which the noble and learned Lord opposite had shown to be so important. He trusted that their Lordships would give all the subjects of the Queen the right of being tried, if they

wished it, by persons who were impressed with the sense of religious obligation.

Lord COLERIDGE was understood to say that the Lord Chancellor appeared to him to be right in his view of the law and the Master of Rolls to be right in regard to the practice. That was a practical matter; and the practice was that if objection was taken to a juryman, and both sides agreed not to have him on the jury, he was not forced into the jury-box unless it was absolutely necessary through the panel running low. He earnestly trusted that his noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor would reconsider the matter, and not press his Amendment, but would allow that long and painful controversy now to be settled by the compromise which had been anxiously arrived at.

Earl SPENCER said, he hoped that their Lordships would not accept the Amendment, which would still leave open one grave and very important part of a long controversy which it was most desirable to have settled. He would ask, was it not rather absurd that when the Judge and the witnesses could affirm, a juror must be put under the stigma to which a challenge of that kind would subject him? Again, by that Amendment, they would place a scrupulous and honest unbeliever under a stigma. The scrupulous and honest man who thought that he could not take the oath would be liable to a challenge, and, therefore, would be placed under a religious stigma, whereas the less scrupulous man, who was a disbeliever, would be sworn and go on the jury. He begged their Lordships not to accept the Amendment, but to leave the Bill as it stood, and so help forward in a small way the settlement of this great controversy.

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Viscount Cranbrook) said, he differed from the noble and learned Lord behind him. If the question were a new one, he might take a different course, and consider the whole question an open one; but it was no longer in this position. Progress had been made in the direction of settling this controversy, and they could not go back. This was a Bill to remove a disability, and it seemed to him absurd that it should depend on any one person as to whether or not a man should be relieved from that disability, that it should no longer depend on Parliament, but on a person taking an objection in Court.

Lord HALSBURY argued that the observations of the noble Earl in charge of the Bill would apply with equal force and cogency to affirmations as to oaths. To be logical, the noble Earl ought to abolish all affirmations, and so prevent anyone from being called upon to take an oath of any kind.

Earl GRANVILLE was understood to retort that there were several noble Lords who were willing to see the oath abolished for affirmation, but who, in order to agree to the compromise, were willing to abstain from proposing Amendments. This was an example which it would be well for the noble and learned Lord to follow.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 14; Not-Contents 54: Majority 40.

Resolved in the *Negative.*

Bill *reported* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Tuesday* next.

PROROGATION AND ADJOURNMENT—PUBLIC BILLS.—QUESTION.

Lord DENMAN asked the Lord Chancellor, If all Bills passed over by the Adjournment to 6th November are to be deemed the subjects of lapsed Orders as they would have been if Parliament had been prorogued instead of having been adjourned on Monday the 13th of August?

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury) said, that there had already been a discussion on this subject. An Order which did not come on at the appointed time became a dropped Order, but could be revived by specific Motion. But a mere Adjournment could not destroy a Bill.

Lord DENMAN said, that he had always thought that his first Bill appointed for six months after January 31, 1887, might be read a second time after the six months; but it was not on the Paper he could not apply for an appointment. There would be plenty of time now ot appoint any of his three Bills waiting for second reading before an Adjournment or Prorogation.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—NEW BUILDINGS — MARYLEBONE ROAD.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF MEATH asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether it is true that the Metropolitan Board of Works, in opposition to the wishes of the Vestry of St. Marylebone, have sanctioned, contrary to the Act 29 *Geo.* II. c. 88, buildings to be erected on the south side of the Marylebone Road, east of Seymour Place, encroaching 35 feet upon the 50 feet from the margin of the road within which distance, by the above Act, it is illegal to build; and, if so, whether they will take steps to prevent the Metropolitan Board of Works from permitting the Marylebone Road to be thus narrowed, and the limited amount of breathing space within the Metropolis from being diminished?

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, that personally he was unable to enter upon the discussion of the question; but he had been asked to read a reply which had been furnished by the authorities concerned. An application was recently made on behalf of the Committee of the Samaritan's Free Hospital, Marylebone Road, for permission, in rebuilding the hospital, to advance the frontage of the building to a line at the centre 15 feet and at the wings 19 feet back from the public way. As the Vestry of St. Marylebone objected to the proposal, the application was referred to the Building Act Committee for consideration. The Committee, having regard to the objects and public character of the institution, thought that the building might be enlarged without injury to the adjacent property, and the Board, on the recommendation of the Committee, granted the application. Since the permission of the Board was given, the Vestry of St. Marylebone had requested the Board to reconsider their decision, and the parties interested had been invited to attend the next meeting of the Building Act Committee, which took place on the 27th instant. That was today.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 27th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]— SELECT COMMITTEE — Parliamentary Papers Distribution, Mr. Walter James *disch.*; Mr. Howell *added.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) * [381]; County Court Appeals (Ireland) * [367].

Committee—Report—Land Purchase (Ireland), [385].

Considered as amended—Land Charges Registration and Searches * [356].

QUESTIONS.

INLAND REVENUE—GAME LICENCES.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If the Board of Inland Revenue has taken into consideration, as promised some time ago, the desirability of issuing single day and single week game licences, to facilitate the contribution to the Revenue of many hundreds who, having but an intermittent and brief opportunity for sport, are prompted by the high duty to evade the law?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in reply, said, the suggestion of his hon. Friend, and other suggestions for a modification of these licences, had not been neglected. But his hon. Friend would see that the licences did not stand in the same position as formerly, as the proceeds would no longer go into the Imperial Exchequer. They would have to be considered in connection with the views of the County Councils, to whom the licences would go. He was, consequently, unable to make any definite statement in regard to the matter.

VALUATION ROLL (SCOTLAND)—MR. PETER LUKE, INVERARY.

MR. J. SINCLAIR (Ayr Burghs) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Mr. Peter Luke, Inverary, whose name was removed from the Valuation Roll by Mr. Wyllie, Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, without the usual or any legal warning, and that of his father, an old bedridden man (since

dead), substituted, without the consent of either of them; whether the Sheriff dismissed the claim of Mr. Luke as a voter on the ground that he was not an inhabitant occupier, though he had paid all rent and taxes, and his furniture remained in the house, and though it was proved in evidence that, though temporarily at work some miles off, he visited his home twice a-week, and usually slept there from Saturday to Monday; whether the Sheriff, in stating a case for the Appeal Court, took no account of the above facts, and so rendered an appeal to that Court practically hopeless; and, whether any redress is possible in such a case?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I am informed that, in making the statutory return to the assessor, Mr. Wyllie sent in the name of the father of Mr. Luke, and not the name of Mr. Luke, on the ground that the latter was not inhabiting and occupying the house. It appears that Mr. Luke was employed and had lodgings in Furnace, eight miles from Inverary, and only sometimes slept in the house in question from Saturday to Monday. The other circumstances of the two men are stated with substantial accuracy in the Question of the hon. Gentleman. The Sheriff held that Mr. Luke was not an inhabitant occupier. I understand that the parties failed to adjust a special case; that the Sheriff then prepared a case, to the terms of which the appellant objected; and that the appeal was abandoned. I am not surprised that an appeal should have been considered practically hopeless, even assuming the whole facts to have been fairly stated; and I have no reason to suppose that this was not the case. The duty of stating a case is incumbent on the Sheriff; and the only remedy for failure to fulfil this duty would seem to be the general one for dereliction of duty by way of petition and complaint.

MR. J. SINCLAIR asked, whether the evidence did not go to show that Mr. Luke visited his house twice a-week; that his furniture was in the house; and that he had all along been paying the rent and taxes?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, the only difference was as to Mr. Luke's visits to the house, which he was informed were only occasional; but that would not make much difference in the legal result.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked, whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman would consider the condition of affairs on some estates, where the name of a tenant might be kept on the roll for 10 or 15 years after he had left or been dead, so as to prevent other names being substituted?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, he must ask the hon. Member to give Notice of the Question.

PRISONS (SCOTLAND)—ALTERATIONS IN AYR PRISON.

MR. J. SINCLAIR (Ayr Burghs) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Governor's house in the prison of Ayr has undergone extensive alterations and repairs at a cost of some £700; whether, while these were in progress, the Governor received an annual sum of £50 in lieu of house rent; whether the Governor still resides outside, warders without extra pay occupying a portion of his house from week to week because of his nightly absence, though the alterations have been completed four or five months ago; and, whether the Governor will be required either to occupy the house or forego the allowance for house rent outside?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Governor's house in this prison has undergone considerable alteration and repair, at a cost of £597, and not £700, as stated in the Question. Though it is quite correct to say that the Governor received £50 in lieu of house rent while these alterations were in progress, it was not on this account that he received it. He has received this allowance by special arrangement ever since his appointment by the then Secretary of State in 1883, and has always lived outside the prison. No warder sleeps in the Governor's quarters, but a warder occupies the lodge; and no warder receives extra pay for any kind of night duty, either here or in other prisons. The Secretary for Scotland does not propose to require the Governor of the prison to alter the existing arrangements; but, in the event of a vacancy occurring, any other Governor will be required to occupy the house in question.

MR. J. SINCLAIR wished to know what were the special reasons for ex-

empting the present Governor from residence in the house within the prison walls?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, the special reason was that the house, as it existed previous to the alterations, was not considered to afford adequate accommodation. In the event of a new appointment, the house inside the prison would be utilized.

MR. J. SINCLAIR pointed out that the Lord Advocate had not answered his Question as to whether the present Governor should be allowed to live outside and get an extra allowance of rent?

[No reply.]

CROFTER EMIGRATION—CIRCULAR OF MR. W. L. REES.

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If his attention has been directed to a Circular recently issued by Mr. W. L. Rees, entitled, "A Plan for the Settlement of Two Thousand Crofter and other Scotch Families upon the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand," in which it was stated that an Association would be formed under the Joint Stock Acts, and that the necessary capital would be "partly provided by loan, guaranteed by the Government at 3 per cent;" and, further (pages 8 and 9), that "Mr. Rees had already seen Lord Knutsford and the Marquess of Lothian, both of whom expressed themselves in favour of the proposed plan so far as explained to them;" whether Mr. Rees has since issued a provisional prospectus for the formation of a Company with a capital of £1,000,000, which prospectus also refers to an expected loan "guaranteed by the Government at 3 per cent;" whether Mr. Rees had any authority to use Lord Knutsford's and the Marquess of Lothian's names in his Circular; whether his scheme has received the approval of the Colonial Office, of the Scotch Secretary, or of the New Zealand Government; and, whether there is any foundation for the statement that the Government were likely to guarantee a loan at 3 per cent for the purposes of Mr. Rees' Company?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Secretary of State's attention has been called to the two prints in question. Mr. Rees had an interview with Lord Knutsford, at which the latter expressed no approval of the scheme beyond a general wish for the success of any plan calculated to deal satisfactorily with the colonization of crofters; and it was subsequently pointed out to Mr. Rees officially that he was under a misapprehension in interpreting what was said as an approval of his scheme. Neither has approval been expressed by the Secretary for Scotland, who informed Mr. Rees by letter that he "must guard himself against any expression of approval or otherwise" of the scheme; and, as regards the Government of New Zealand, their Agent General states that he has received a telegram from his Government saying that they had seen Mr. Rees' prospectus, but that the figures therein were entirely misleading, and they could give no countenance to it. There is no foundation for the statement referred to in the last paragraph of the Question.

MR. HOBHOUSE asked whether this was one of the schemes proposed to be submitted for the consideration of the proposed Committee on Crofter Emigration?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he must ask the hon. Gentleman to give Notice of the Question.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) asked whether the hon. Gentleman could give any information as to the number of crofters who had been sent away?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked for Notice of the Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE—SENTENCE ON GEORGIANA HOWES, NORWICH.

MR. S. HOARE (Norwich) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a sentence of six months' imprisonment, passed at the Norwich Guildhall, on Georgiana Howes, for obtaining money under false pretences; and, whether he is prepared to consider the circumstances of the case, with the view of deciding whether or not the sentence was unduly severe?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have carefully considered all the circumstances of this case, and have obtained a Report from the Justices. There

were three distinct charges proved against Georgiana Howes; and it appeared in the course of the case that in several other cases she had been obtaining money from charitable persons for some months by false and fraudulent pretences. The magistrates were, therefore, justified in dealing with her severely as an habitual begging impostor; but, upon the whole, I think the ends of justice will be served by a shorter term of imprisonment. The magistrates are not opposed to this view; and I shall, therefore, advise Her Majesty to remit the second period of three months' imprisonment to which the woman was sentenced.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (SCOTLAND) —EXTENSION OF CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the Lord Advocate, If he will, before next Session, consider the propriety of extending the legislation against corrupt practices to municipal elections in Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I find that the question whether legislation should be proposed on this subject was under the consideration of my Predecessor, and it will have my attention.

IRELAND—STATE OF THE COUNTRY —THE POTATO CROP.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that, in the West of Ireland, owing to the almost complete failure of the potato crop and the deficiency in yield of oats, the small farmers and labourers will be in a state of comparative destitution; and if he will see his way to urge upon the Government the advisability of commencing works of public utility, in order to provide employment for these unfortunate people during the winter?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: Local inquiries have been made; and it is found that, as regards the counties of Galway and Roscommon, it is not the case that there is a complete failure of the potato crop. On the contrary, it is reported to be very fair, though below the quality of last year's crop, which was unusually good, while the yield of oats is represented to be quite up to the average. The same remarks apply, it is reported, to all the inland portion of the County Mayo; but in the Island of Achill, and along the coast-line of the county, these crops are not so good as usual. No abnormal distress is anticipated in the districts; and any individual cases which may occur can be readily dealt with under the ordinary Poor Law.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—REVISION OF JUDICIAL RENTS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state the number of Inspectors appointed last year to report on the prices of produce for the purpose of revising judicial rents, and also the amount per day given to each for remuneration, and also for expenses; whether he can give similar information with regard to this year's revision; whether he will mention the articles of produce in respect of which prices were obtained for last year's revision; and, if he will also give similar particulars as to this year's revision?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that during the year 1887 16 scrutineers of prices were employed. They were paid at the rate of £3 3*s.* a-day, together with their actual expenses of locomotion. The Head Inspector, who was employed in the office, was paid at the rate of £4 4*s.* a-day. In 1888, 15 scrutineers furnished Returns of prices of cattle and sheep and other stock, for which they receive a fee of £2 2*s.*, and expenses of locomotion by railway for each fair attended. The Returns of prices of cereals, butter, hay, wool, flax, pork, and potatoes are made by the Inland Revenue officer in 21 principal districts, for which these officers receive extra remuneration at the rate of £12 a-year each. Three scrutineers furnish weekly Returns of the prices of beef and mutton in the Dublin, Belfast, and Cork Markets, for which they receive remuneration having regard to the services performed. One Superintendent over the whole of these agencies receives a salary of £1 1*s.* per day, and travelling expenses. The following are the

schedules of articles of produce for which prices have been ascertained in the years 1887 and 1888 respectively:—Wheat, oats, barley, flax, butter, beef, mutton, pork, potatoes, wool, hay; also for 1887:—Straw, eggs, milch cows, stripper cows, two-year-old cattle, one-year-old cattle, lambs; and for 1888:—Springers, three-year-old cattle, two-year-old cattle, one-year-old cattle, and lambs.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked why the pay of the scrutineers had been lowered since last year from £3 3*s.* to £2 2*s.*?

MR. MADDEN said, he had no information on the point and asked for Notice.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FAIR RENTS—LEGISLATION.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the reports in the Irish Conservative papers, to the effect that it is his intention to bring in a Bill at the beginning of the next Session to enable the Land Commission to fix fair rents, in accordance with the system now adopted for the revision of judicial rents, and without giving the tenants any opportunity of appearing before the Sub-Commission to give evidence as to the improvements made by them, and as to the productive qualities of their farms; whether it is his intention, as reported, that the alteration of the rents is to depend on the prices of certain articles of produce, and without regard to the yield of the crops, or to the respective interests of the landlord and tenant in the farms; and, whether the cause of delay in fixing fair rents in the thousands of cases entered from County Down before November, 1887, is due to the fact that they are proposed to be dealt with under this new system?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the Chief Secretary had not seen the reports, which must be founded on unauthorized gossip. As regards the delay in fixing fair rents, he would remind the hon. Member of the opposition which the proposals of the Government, as embodied in the Land Law (Ireland) (Land Commission) Bill of the earlier part of the Session, met with in the House.

MR. M'CARTAN: Has not the attention of the Government been repeatedly drawn to the fact that out of 19,000 cases sent from Ulster in 1887 only 3,000 have yet been heard; and that the rest of the tenants, though entitled to have a fair rent fixed, are still obliged to pay the old rent?

MR. MADDEN: I am quite aware that the attention of the Government was called to that fact; and failing their endeavours to pass a Bill which they thought would remedy the mischief, they did appoint a considerable number of additional Sub-Commissioners.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BOAT-SLIP AT KNOCKADOON, CO. CORK.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the boat-slip recently erected by the Irish Board of Works (at an expense to the public of £1,200), at Knockadoon, County Cork, has already been partly washed away; whether the attention of the Board of Works has been called to the present unsafe state of this structure; and, what steps the Board of Works propose to take to prevent the pier being completely washed away?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said, this pier was constructed about three years ago, and the County Authority was responsible for keeping it in repair. However, one of the Engineers of the Board of Works was on a tour of inspection, and would examine and report on its present condition.

CROFTER EMIGRATION—GOVERNMENT ADVANCES.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the following passage in a letter published by Mr. Malcolm M'Neil, relative to certain crofters emigrated under the Government scheme:—

> "The whole party of 98 souls embarked within seven days, and being unable to realize their property were compelled to anticipate their advances in order to discharge their debts and equip themselves with clothing;"

and, if he would state the amount of the money advanced for the purposes thus described?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): My attention has been called to the letter in question. The amount advanced was £350, being an average of about £3 10*s.* per head. In the particular circumstances of last year some such advance was necessary to enable these families to provide themselves with suitable clothing and discharge obligations; but these cases must be regarded as exceptional.

CROWN RIGHTS TO FORESHORES—THE STONE BEACH AT HASTINGS.

MR. NOBLE (Hastings) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Charter granted to the Corporation of Hastings (31 *Eliz.*) is still in force, whereby

"all that our parcel of land and our hereditaments called the Stone Beach at Hastings,"

was granted

"to the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town and port of Hastings, in the County of Sussex, and their successors, for ever;"

and, if so, on what grounds the Board of Trade claims, on behalf of the Crown, possession of the Stone Beach of Hastings, thus causing the Local Government Board to refuse its consent to the raising of a loan by the Corporation for drainage purposes; and, whether he is aware that the Corporation of Hastings has been in undisturbed possession of the foreshore for 300 years?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The question whether the claim of the Corporation against the Crown in the matter of the foreshore below high water mark at Hastings is a valid one or not is now before the Law Officers with a view to legal proceedings; and it would, therefore, be improper for me to anticipate the result of any proceedings that may be advised. With respect to the loan for drainage purposes, the Board of Trade have, in order to facilitate the granting of the loan, and in accordance with their usual practice, asked for a nominal acknowledgment of 2*s.* 6*d.* for the site of the outfall, so far as it lies below high water mark, and have offered to return it to the Corporation upon their substantiating their claim to the shore in question. By a simple acceptance of that offer the Corporation would be in a position, so far as the Board of Trade are concerned, to proceed with their drainage scheme, without the slightest prejudice to the claim the Corporation have made.

ARMY—ORDNANCE STORE DEPARTMENT—CASE OF MR. DUNN.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that two more workmen (making four in all), all of them juniors to Mr. Dunn, have been promoted to be viewers in the Ordnance Stores Department, over the head of Mr. Dunn, since he gave evidence before the Judge Advocate General's Commission; what, if anything, has transpired to negative the Judge Advocate General's verdict in favour of Mr. Dunn's fitness for the duties of viewer, which duties he had, in fact, formerly discharged, though without viewer's wages; if the Judge Advocate General's Report was correct, what are the precise reasons why a workman, who has done public service by directing public attention to gross irregularities in his Department, is four times denied the promotion for which the Special Commissioner of the Government reported his fitness; whether it is the fact that articles passed into the Government service by, and under, his present official superiors were subsequently, on the remonstrance of Mr. Dunn, examined afresh and condemned by independent experts to whom they were ordered to be submitted; and, which of his official superiors is responsible for the treatment which Mr. Dunn is receiving, and what is the reason assigned?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Two men junior to Mr. Dunn have been appointed lately viewers of accoutrements. Mr. Dunn, as a saddler and collar maker, was not qualified for promotion to these posts. My hon. Friend is doing no service to Mr. Dunn by these Questions. They compel me to remind the House that, during the present Session, Mr. Dunn caused complaints to be brought before this House of certain horsehair which was being used in the Service, which, on being submitted to an independent expert, was pronounced to be good and fit. But I am glad to say that Mr. Dunn's conduct generally has been such as to evoke the approval of his superior officers. He has been offered advancement in the

Ordnance Factories, which he declined. Since then, within the last month, he has been recommended for promotion to a post carrying higher wages, which may possibly lead to subsequent promotion. I have called for Reports on his conduct, which have led me to think that this post should be offered to him. In answer to the last Question, I take the whole responsibility on myself in this matter.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (CHANCERY DIVISION) — MR. FREDERICK BEDWELL, A "REDUNDANT CLERK."

MR. THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Mr. Frederick Bedwell, formerly one of the first-class clerks in the Affidavit Department of the Chancery Division, and who had served 28 years in the Department and in the Record and Writ Clerks Office, made an arrangement with the Chiefs of the Department, with the express written sanction of the Treasury, to be placed on the list of "redundant clerks" at his then salary of £500 per annum, provided he would give up his right to an annual increase of salary of £25 until it reached £600; whether that arrangement has been carried out since 1880 till the present year; whether, in October of this year, intimation was made to him that, as the duties he had agreed to perform, if required, had been abolished, he must now retire upon such pension as his services entitle him to receive; and, whether it is the practice at the Treasury to reserve the right to alter or vary arrangements entered into with members of the Service on retirement; and, if so, was it intimated to Mr. Bedwell, when he concluded his bargain with the Chiefs of his Department, that the arrangement was liable to modification or alteration?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The facts are as stated in the Question. In September last the Lord Chancellor intimated to the surviving redundant clerks his opinion that they should now retire on pension. Four of them being so advanced in age as to be incapable of any work have placed themselves in the Lord Chancellor's hands. The fifth, Mr. Bedwell, has made no reply; and I understand that his case is under the Lord Chancellor's consideration.

CUSTOMS—LEGAL HOURS FOR LANDING GOODS.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will inquire into the working of the experimental alterations of the legal hours for landing goods at Liverpool, Hull, and Grimsby; and, whether he can give any undertaking that, in any change it may be necessary to adopt for facilitating the operations of trade, the just claims and legitimate interests of Customs Officers (Outdoor Department) will not be overlooked?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Yes, Sir. I will inquire carefully into the working of the alteration of the legal hours for landing goods at Liverpool, Hull, and Grimsby. I have been in communication with the Commissioners of Customs; and as soon as they have had sufficient experience to enable them to make a Report to the Treasury they have undertaken to do so. As to the second Question of my hon. and gallant Friend, I think a wholly wrong impression has been created in the minds of the officers; and I can assure him that it is not intended to call upon the Landing Officer of Customs to perform more than the eight hours' work on the average for the same remuneration: and I can promise him that in any alteration which it may be necessary to make for the purpose of meeting the reasonable and pressing requirements and facilities for trade, every consideration will be given to the position of the officers, so as to make such changes with the least possible inconvenience to those concerned; and I am sure we may rely on the loyal co-operation of the Customs officers in carrying out such alterations as may be found to be absolutely necessary.

INLAND REVENUE—INCOME TAX—SCHEDULES A AND D—OCCUPIERS OF FARMS.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the case of a yeoman farmer who farms his own land, and has filled in and returned Form D, has he to pay under Schedule A, or does his actual income derived from the land, which would be shown in Form D, represent the amount on which

he has to pay Income Tax; in the case of a farmer of this description entering on his holding at, say, Michaelmas, and wishing to be assessed under Schedule D, has he to wait till the commencement of the next financial year before he can do so; and, if he then obtains from the collector and fills in and returns Form D, could the Surveyor of Taxes be right in insisting on the assessments under A and B, on the ground that he had not received legal notice by registered letter as in the Act prescribed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): A yeoman farmer who farms his own land is in the same position as any other owner of land with regard to Schedule A. He is assessed upon the annual value to him as owner. The Return under Schedule D, if properly filled up, would show not the actual income derived from the land, as the noble Lord seems to suggest, but the profit or gain from the occupation of the land for the purposes of husbandry; and the annual value of the property under Schedule A would have to be taken into account before the balance of profit under Schedule D could be ascertained. The whole amount, therefore, on which the yeoman farmer has to pay Income Tax is represented by the two assessments under Schedule A and Schedule D. With regard to the second and third paragraphs of the noble Lord's Question, the answer is in the affirmative. Yet I should think that where a farmer had obtained from a collector and filled in a Return under Schedule D, even if he had not fulfilled all the formalities necessary for obtaining such a Return, it might be a question whether the technical objections to accepting the Return ought not to be waived.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS—NEW SCALE OF SALARIES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether a new scale of salaries has been sanctioned and applied to a branch of the Inland Revenue since the issue of the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments; and, whether it is intended to apply such scales of salaries to the Public Departments generally, thus giving effect to the recommendations contained in the said Report, or whether it is intended to limit the application of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on this head?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The alterations of establishment and consequent changes in classification and scales of salary to which the hon. Member refers were proposed by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, and were approved by the Treasury as proper and economical in themselves. They were designed to meet the special requirements of the Department to which they applied, and to that extent stand apart from the general recommendations of the Royal Commissioners.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—TRIAL OF MR. E. WALSH.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Is it the fact that Mr. Edward Walsh, T.C., proprietor of *The Wexford People*, is to be tried on Wednesday by two Resident Magistrates on a charge of intimidating a landlord; that the Court will consist of, at least, one magistrate who lately sentenced Mr. Walsh to three months' hard labour for publishing in his paper Reports of suppressed League branches; whether the latter sentence was quashed as illegal; if the Government could arrange for Resident Magistrates to try Mr. Walsh who have not previously convicted him; and, who selects the members of the Court in such cases?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): Inquiries are being made on the subject of this Question. The fact that the Superior Court differed from the Resident Magistrates on a difficult point of law raises no presumption against their competence to deal with the case now before them. At the same time, I dare say, the magistrates would prefer that the present case against Mr. Walsh should be tried by a Court differently constituted; and, if practicable, it will be arranged that this shall be done.

VENEZUELA AND TRINIDAD—APPOINTMENT OF A VICE CONSUL.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Secretary of

State has confirmed the refusual on the part of the Local Government of Trinidad to recognize General Perez Leon's appointment as Vice Consul for Venezuela; and, if so, whether he proposes take any steps so as to prevent an interruption to the commercial relations existing between Trinidad and Venezuela, there being now no Consul to represent the Republic in connection with the procedure necessary in relation to the exportation of merchandize to Venezuela?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The Governor of Trinidad reported on the 10th of November that he had informed General Leon that he would raise no objection to his acting as Vice Consul in the absence of General Tortigne. The formal recognition of General Leon can only be granted on application in the customary form through the Colombian Minister in London, who takes charge of Venezuelan interests during the suspension of diplomatic relations.

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS — THE RETURNS.

MR. STANSFELD (Halifax) asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, When the Returns of Parliamentary Voters, distinguishing between resident and non-resident voters, Addresses for which were agreed to in April last, will be distributed to Members?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) (who replied) said: Both these Returns have been presented to Parliament. One of them is in the hands of the printers; and the other is delayed owing to the difficulty of getting in the Return from one of the local officers.

SOUTH AFRICA (ZULULAND)—TRIAL OF THE ZULU CHIEFS.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the case that the Zulu Chiefs now being tried for treason at Ekowe are not defended by counsel; whether they desired to be defended by Mr. W. J. Campbell, of the Natal Bar, but that gentleman refused to act unless adequate time was allowed him to prepare the defence of the prisoners; whether Dinizulu, the late King of the Zulus, is also to be tried for treason, and whether his counsel, having been refused an interview with the ex-King, has also refused to act; whether the Secretary for the Colonies will procure "the full investigation into the matter" that he promised; and, whether there will be any investigation into the complaints of the Zulu Chiefs regarding the action of the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners that caused the late disturbances in Zululand?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Sir Arthur Havelock reports that Miss Colenso had engaged Mr. Escombe for the defence, and that he himself would engage other counsel if occasion arose for doing so. With regard to the second paragraph of the Question, Her Majesty's Government have no information. Dinizulu will, no doubt—like the other Chiefs, as Her Majesty's Government now learn—be tried for treason as well as other crimes. The Secretary of State has no information as to his counsel. In answer to the fourth paragraph, the Secretary of State has no reason to doubt that there will be a full investigation into the case. The Secretary of State informed the Governor of Natal on the 22nd of October that he would reserve any further expression of opinion on the allegations made against Mr. Osborn and his subordinates until the conclusion of the approaching trial of the Usutu leaders, as the evidence which would be given before the special tribunal could hardly fail to throw further light upon the whole matter.

CROFTERS' COMMISSION—CASES DETERMINED.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case that, from the 10th of October, 1886, till the 10th of December, 1887, the Crofters' Commission only determined 1,767 cases; whether, since December, 1887, to the present time, only about 1,500 cases have been determined; whether there are still 5,000 or 6,000 applications yet to be considered; whether he is aware that great dissatisfaction exists in all the Highland counties in consequence of

the Commission being unable to get through the work in a reasonable time; and, whether the Government will consider the desirability of increasing the number of assessors and valuers, or permitting the Sheriffs' Substitutes to sit with valuers and determine fair rents, subject to an appeal to the Commissioners?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): 1,767 is the number of cases determined from June 10, 1886, till December 10, 1887. I am not in possession of official information as to the figures mentioned in the second and third paragraphs. The Secretary of the Crofters' Commission informs me that, in order to obtain anything like accurate figures as to the actual volume of business, it would be necessary to compare and analyze the applications, as in many cases both landlord and tenant apply regarding the same holding, although, from different descriptions being used, this is not apparent on the face of the applications. This analysis of the documents would involve time and trouble. The staff consists of only a secretary and two clerks; and, as indicated in the latter part of the hon. Gentleman's Question, it is most undesirable further to impede the work of the Commission, more especially as those statistics will have shortly to be compiled in regular course in preparing the Report. Without, however, accepting, as absolutely accurate, the figures suggested by the hon. Gentleman, it is certain that the amount of business awaiting disposal is very large, and that expressions of disappointment have come from various quarters in the Highlands. The matter has already engaged, and will receive, the consideration of the Government, who have every desire to see the work of the Commissioners as rapidly completed as possible.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — HOLBORN DIVISION — EXHIBITION OF ELECTION BILLS IN POST OFFICES.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that the keeper of a sub post office, No. 118, Southampton Row, is exhibiting in his windows election bills in favour of Mr. Gainsford Bruce, Q.C., the Conservative candidate for Holborn; and, if so, whether the exhibition of Party bills is not a violation of the Rules of the Service?

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) inquired whether it was not a fact that at the branch post office at Rathmines, in Ireland, the cartoons of *The Weekly Freeman*, caricaturing the Government and the Chief Secretary, were constantly displayed?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I think the hon. Member has asked that Question before; and I think he will see from the answer which I am about to give that the case he mentions does not fall within the same category? With regard to the Question on the Paper, as soon as it came to my knowledge—which it did by the hon. Member's Question—that the post-office receiver at No. 118, Southampton Row, was exhibiting in his window the election bill in question, I gave immediate directions that it was to be taken down, the exhibition of any political notice in a post-office window during an election being in contravention of Rule.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL—THE OBSERVATORY AND BOTANIC GARDENS.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether, in view of the statement by the Secretary for Scotland on Friday, with regard to the Universities (Scotland) Bill, that the Government has abandoned its intention of transferring the Observatory and Botanic Gardens to the University of Edinburgh, he will himself, on behalf of the Government, move to strike out the clauses of the Bill relating to this subject?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON): Yes, Sir. I shall move the necessary Amendments to carry out the alterations.

PROBATE DUTY (SCOTLAND)—LEGISLATION.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When the Bill for the distribution of the Probate Duty in Scotland will be introduced?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in reply, said, there

would be a joint Bill for the distribution of the Probate Duty in Scotland and Ireland. The delay in circulating the Bill was due to the extreme care being taken to secure a just distribution.

MR. BUCHANAN asked if the Bill would be introduced next week?

MR. GOSCHEN: I hope so; but I cannot pledge myself to a day.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONSTABLE EDWARD SWINDELL.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Constable Edward Swindell, against whom a verdict of wilful murder has been found by a Coroner's Jury in Midleton, has been placed under arrest; whether it is correctly reported that, at the inquest, District Inspector Creagh, of Midleton, swore that he did not consider it any part of his duty as a police officer to take any steps to discover who killed Patrick Ahern, and that District Inspector Seymour, representing the Crown, stated that he would not produce any evidence as to how Ahern came by his death; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will give the Crown Prosecutor for the district special instructions to take the necessary steps to have Swindell brought to trial at the next Cork Assizes?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) asked that (as he had not received sufficient Notice of this Question) it might be deferred.

MR. LANE: Might I ask, with regard to the second part of the Question, whether, in the Solicitor General's opinion, it is not the duty of the District Inspector of Police to take some steps to discover who committed the homicide in his district; and, also, whether it is not the duty of the Crown Prosecutor, or the representative of the Crown at a Coroner's inquest, to produce some evidence as to how the deceased came by his death? I ask him to give information on these points for the guidance of the public officers of the Crown in Ireland.

MR. MADDEN said, he was afraid that a general statement by him on matters of which no particulars were given would be of little value.

TURKEY — BRITISH AND AUSTRIAN RAILWAY LESSEES.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has seen a telegram in *The Times* of November 26, in which it is stated that—

> "The Sublime Porte has signified an intention of taking possession of the Haidar Pasha-Ismid section of the line out of the hands of the British and Austrian lessees, who hold it under a regular Convention, including a distinct right of preference before all competitors on equal terms for the extension of the line;"

whether, in reference to this and previous similar statements in the public Press, Her Majesty's Government are taking effectual steps to prevent such acts from being committed against British subjects; and, whether, in view of the important interests involved, the Government will request the British Ambassador at Constantinople to bring the matter under the personal notice of the Sultan?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The question has for some time been the subject of communications between Her Majesty's Embassy and the Porte. The Porte asserts that the lessees have failed to execute the conditions of the contract, and claims to resume possession of the line. Her Majesty's Ambassador, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, has intervened with a view of protecting the lessees from any arbitrary act of seizure or confiscation, and no such act has at present been done by the Ottoman Authorities. The case is one which involves questions of law and fact, and can only be decided by arbitration or reference to the proper Courts. In the present stage of the matter there seems no sufficient reason for instructing Her Majesty's Ambassador to take the unusual step of making a personal representation to the Sovereign on the subject of a private claim.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND--APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is

yet in a position to inform the House what decision has been come to regarding the protest of the Premier of Queensland against the appointment of Sir Henry A. Blake as Governor of that Colony?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have to inform the House that Sir Henry Blake has stated to Her Majesty's Government that, after what has passed, it would be extremely unpleasant to him to undertake the Government of Queensland, and has requested to be relieved of that appointment. Her Majesty's Government have, under the circumstances, agreed to this request.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): May I ask what is to be done with that gentleman now?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—PLEURO-PNEUMONIA.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) asked the Vice Chamberlain, Whether the Privy Council would consider the possibility of giving discretionary powers to the Local Authorities with reference to slaughter in cases of pleuro-pneumonia?

THE VICE CHAMBERLAIN (Viscount LEWISHAM) (Lewisham): So far as cattle affected with pleuro-pneumonia are concerned, the Privy Council have no power to interfere with their slaughter, which is ordered by Section 21 of the Act of 1878. With reference to cattle which have been in contact with diseased cattle, it was stated on Tuesday last, in reply to the hon. Member for West Dorset (Mr. Farquharson), that the whole subject of outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia was recently considered by a Departmental Committee; and the Order of March, 1888, now in force for the slaughter of cattle which had been exposed to the infection of pleura-pneumonia, was in strict accordance with the recommendations of that Committee.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—THE BRITISH EMIGRATION SERVICES—THE "LANCET" REPORT.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of *The Lancet* Special Sanitary Commission on the British Emigration Services, as set forth in *The Lancet* of November 24, page 1,039; whether he will at once cause a special inquiry to be made into the alleged disregard of the Emigration Regulations in certain ships sailing from the Port of Glasgow; and, whether he will consider the advisability of proposing Amendments to the Passengers Acts of 1855 and 1863, with a view to the more effectual remedying of the abuses complained of?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): My attention has been directed to this Report. The two principal facts noticed that require attention are the scale of medical stores and the sanitary condition of certain emigrant ships. The scale of medical stores has been under the consideration of medical specialists for some months, and its revision is now complete. I shall take measures to have a careful inquiry instituted as to the correctness of the allegations regarding the sanitary condition of ships.

METROPOLITAN BUILDINGS—QUEEN ANNE'S MANSIONS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has been able to take any effective steps to hinder the erection of a proposed gigantic addition to Queen Anne's Mansions, overlooking St. James's Park; and, whether, although it was stated by the First Commissioner of Works that the War Office had moved in the matter for the protection of the Guards' Chapel, which would be completely overshadowed and darkened by the proposed erection, the building has since that time been commenced?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The War Office has every intention of protecting its property by hindering in every possible way the erection of these gigantic buildings. Legal proceedings are pending; and I cannot at present disclose the steps we intend to take under the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown. But I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that we mean to exercise all our power in order to make it certain that this injury to our property is stopped.

INDIA—SIKKIM AND THIBETAN TRADE.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether an "authoritative statement of facts relating to Sikkim Affairs" has been circulated to the Indian Press; and, if so, by whom, and on whose authority; (2) whether this official statement records a difference of opinion between the Government of India and the Home Authorities as to the policy of the Macaulay Mission to Pekin; and (3) whether Her Majesty's Government will take any steps to open up friendly relations with the Thibetan authorities, and to develop the Indian trade with Thibet through Sikkim, now that hostilities in Sikkim have come to an end?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): In reply to Questions one and two I can only repeat what I stated on the 9th instant, that the Secretary of State has no knowledge of any such Memorandum. In reply to the third Question, the relations of the Government with Thibet are now engaging the attention of the Viceroy and the Government of India.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—REPORTS AND RETURNS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there are Reports and Returns showing the final result of the Arrears Act of 1882—that is, how far that Act was, in practice, effectual in wiping off the arrears of the small tenants of Ireland, or to what extent it failed to do so; and, in case such Reports and Returns have been presented, if he will be so good as to indicate where they are to be found, and to state in general terms what actually happened in reference to clearing away arrears?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that the total number of applications received under the 1st section of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, 1882, was 135,997. The amount ordered to be paid was £812,321 4*s.* 6*d.* Under the 16th section 994 loans were sanctioned, amounting to £27,332 19*s.* 2*d.* A comprehensive Return on the subject was presented to Parliament in 1884 (Parliamentary Paper No. 4,059).

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Did the Act wipe off the majority of the arrears of the small tenants?

MR. MADDEN: I can give nothing in the way of figures to answer that Question. I can only show the extent of the operations under the Act. There are no figures to show the amount of arrears that did not come under the Act.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Did not the Act apply to the arrears of all tenants under a £10 valuation?

MR. MADDEN: Yes, Sir.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kerry, S.): Can the hon. and learned Gentleman say that half the tenants in Ireland got the benefit of the Act; and with regard even to those who did get the benefit it was only to the end of 1881, so that they had still left a gale of arrears?

MR. MADDEN: It cleared off the arrears up to the year the hon. Member refers to.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.): Will the Government give a Return showing the number of cases in which the landlords obtained decrees for arrears which had already been extinguished by means of this Act?

MR. MADDEN: Such a Return would be absolutely impossible.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Has the Irish Office no information as to the large amount of arrears which was not wiped off by the Act?

MR. MADDEN: We have, of course, general sources of information, derived from knowledge of what is going on in the country; but there are no figures that can be embodied in a Return.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I did not ask for figures; I only asked for general information.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—COUNTY COUNCILLORS—TOTTENHAM ELECTORAL DISTRICT.

MR. HOWARD (Middlesex, Tottenham) asked the President of the Local Government Board, How the first election of County Councillors will be conducted in the Tottenham Electoral Division, there being no separate list of voters for the various wards under the Acts relating to the registration of electors, and whether any Order will be

issued by the Local Government Board on the subject; and, whether in case the election will not be by wards, it will be by the whole county district, including Wood Green?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I have for some time past been awaiting further information from the Clerk of the Peace for Middlesex as to the Electoral Divisions for which there will not be separate lists of voters available for the first election of County Councillors. I have to-day received a statement from the Clerk of the Peace; and at present I can only say that the Tottenham and Wood Green Electoral Divisions are not included in that statement as Divisions for which separate lists are not available.

CRIMINAL LAW—MEETING ON CLERKENWELL GREEN—ALFRED GOODMAN.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If, on consideration of the many representations made to him on behalf of Alfred Goodman, he is able to recommend to Her Majesty any mitigation of the sentence passed on him in connection with a recent meeting at Clerkenwell Green?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Alfred Goodman was discharged from prison this morning, Her Majesty having been pleased to remit that portion of his sentence which required him to find sureties.

METROPOLITAN SUBWAYS — THE BLACKWALL TUNNEL SCHEME.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire, Whether the Metropolitan Board of Works have served all the notices to treat upon owners and occupiers of property required for the formation of the approaches of all the tunnels comprised in the Blackwall Tunnel Scheme; and whether it is probable that all the land so required will be in the possession of the Board before the transfer of their duties to the County Councils?

MR. TATTON EGERTON (Cheshire, Knutsford), in reply, said, that the Board proposed, in the first instance, to proceed with the construction of the footway tunnel at Blackwall. Notices had been served for all the property that would be required, with the exception of three blocks. Having regard to the number of artizans occupying tenements on the property on the Middlesex side, the Board had not as yet taken possession; and it was not anticipated that the Board would take possession before the transfer of their powers to the County Council.

In reply to Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar),

MR. TATTON EGERTON said, that the Board could not bind their successors; but the new County Council would find themselves in possession of an enormous amount of land, which would, no doubt, compel the continuation of the work.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON CIVIL ESTABMENTS—THE SEVEN HOURS' SCHEME

MR. CAREW (Kildare, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether in view of paragraph 123 in the Second Report of the Commission on Civil Establishments, it is proposed to take immediate steps, as regards the Savings Bank Department, for carrying out the recommendation of the Commissioners referring to the introduction of the seven hours' scheme into the Civil Service?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Until the Treasury, in whose hands the question now is, has arrived at a decision, I am unable to take steps with respect to the recommendation of the Commission.

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACT, 1888—THE DRAFT RULES.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is proposed by the Board of Trade that the time allowed for sending in objections to a proposed classification and Schedules, is eight weeks from the date of its first advertisement; and, whether he will take into consideration, having regard to the novel and complicated facts involved, and the time required for consultation among traders, the propriety of allowing a much greater length of time?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): Copies of the Draft Rules were presented to Parliament on August 10, and forwarded to the various Chambers of Commerce. No

exception has, up to the present, been taken to any of the provisions of the Rules. Should the period referred to by the hon. Member be found too short, I will consider the expediency of extending it; but, at present, there is no evidence to show that it is so.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—ADVANCES TO TENANTS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state what has been the number of advances to tenants for the purchase of their holdings under the Land Purchase Act, in sums of £100 and under; of from £100 to £200; £200 to £500; £500 to £1,000; and £1,000 to £2,000 respectively?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that the number of advances to tenants for the purchase of their holdings in the sums enumerated in the Question have been as follows:—£100 and under, there were 2,023 advances; £100 to £200, 2,059; £200 to £500, 2,562; £500 to £1,000, 1,182; £1,000 to £2,000, 549.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL—PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL.

MR. J. C. STEVENSON (South Shields) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now prepared to name a suitable day for the second reading of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill?

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) also asked, If, having regard to the great importance to the manufacturing community of the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill, the right hon. Gentleman can name a day when it may be assigned a sufficiently favourable place on the Paper to enable it to be considered in Committee?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I regret very much, indeed, that, owing to the extreme urgency of Supply, it is not in my power to name a day at present for the consideration of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill, and this statement must apply to the Patents Designs, and Trade Marks Bill.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) asked if the House was to understand that it was still the intention, if possible, to give a day for the discussion of the Bill, and not to let the Session expire without discussion?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think it will be admitted that I am ordinarily in the habit of keeping engagements which I enter into. I can assure the hon. Member for South Shields that I have certainly endeavoured to find him an opportunity, and that it is still my intention of doing so.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) asked the right hon. Gentleman to inform the House what was the intention of the Government with regard to the Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment Act?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Gentleman must give Notice of that Question.

EGYPT—SUAKIN—REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Egyptian Government have applied to Her Majesty's Government to reinforce with British troops the Egyptian garrison at Suakin; whether any British force will be landed at Suakin without the direct previous sanction of Her Majesty's Government; and, whether any communications have passed between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Khedive as to the permanent retention of Suakin by the latter?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Her Majesty's Government, after being informed of the arrangements contemplated for repelling the attacks on Suakin, offered to the Egyptian Government the assistance of a certain number of British troops, who will only be used for operations in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. This offer has been gratefully accepted, and it is a temporary arrangement. No communications have passed as to the permanent retention of Suakin between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Khedive.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Probably it was through inadvertence: but the right hon. Gentleman has not answered the first paragraph of my Question—namely, whether the Egpytian Government have applied to Her Majesty's Government to reinforce with British troops the Egyptian garrison at Suakin?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Communications have certainly passed between the Egyptian Government and Her Majesty's Government.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I am very sorry to press the right hon. Gentleman; but perhaps he will tell the House whether these communications were initiated by the Egyptian Government?

MR. W. H. SMITH; No, Sir; they were not.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): How long is this arrangement, which the right hon. Gentleman describes as temporary, likely to last? I assume that British troops are to take part in the engagements which may take place in the neighbourhood of Suakin?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I cannot foresee what the result of the arrangement may be. There is no doubt in our minds that it will be successful. I have stated accurately to the House all the circumstances of the case. It is impossible for me to look into the future.

MR. T. P. CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman says he is not able to foresee. Are we to contemplate a repetition of what occurred on a former occasion, when the Egyptians were defeated and a large massacre of Arab troops took place?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Certainly not. You are not to contemplate anything of the kind. It is the duty of the Government to see that an operation of this kind is successfully carried out, if it is necessary it should be carried out, and they take the responsibility.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked, what was the amount of the force to be sent to Suakin; and whether there was any truth in the statement that troops from India had been stopped on their way home with a view to the operations contemplated?

MR. W. H. SMITH: There is no truth in the statement at all. I am not able to say definitely; but I believe they will consist of a battalion from Cairo.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: May we expect any Papers on this subject?

MR. W. H. SMITH: If the right hon. Gentleman will repeat his Question on Thursday there will be no objection to answer it.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked, who was to pay for the operations.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would give Notice of the Question.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, that as the course of Public Business had somewhat changed during the past few days, perhaps the First Lord of the Treasury would be able to give the House some information on the subject?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am very glad that the right hon. Gentleman has asked me a Question on this subject. I very much regret that the course of Public Business has been different from what I contemplated at first. We had hoped that the discussion on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill would have been finished before now; but as we have been disappointed in our expectation I would make an earnest appeal to hon. Gentlemen on both sides to aid us in bringing the discussion on the Bill to a conclusion. I think I may make that appeal in the interest of the House, whatever the views of hon. Gentlemen. The Bill has been under discussion now for the seventh day, and there has been but one Amendment moved in Committee, as to the amount thought necessary for land purchase. I should hope, then, that we may be able to bring this business in Committee this evening to a conclusion. Then we should take the third reading to-morrow. After that we shall be under the necessity of asking the House to proceed at once with Supply. I should regret that we should be obliged to ask the House for a further Vote on Account. [An hon. MEMBER: What Supply?] The Civil Service Estimates; with a view to taking the Irish Estimates on Monday next, so as to carry out our obligation to hon. Members opposite. As considerable progress in Supply is essential between this and Monday next, we shall have to ask the House to sit on Saturday. I am sure the House will

feel that at this time, approaching the month of December, unless considerable progress is made in Supply, very grave inconvenience may be caused. We propose to take Supply on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.

MR. JOHN MORLEY asked, if they were to suppose that the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill was indefinitely postponed?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it must be postponed until they saw their way with regard to Supply.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.) asked, whether the Scotch Estimates would follow immediately after the Irish Estimates?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the right hon. Gentleman must give him a little indulgence till they saw what progress was made with the Irish Estimates. If they were finished on Thursday of next week the Scotch Votes might be proceeded with on Friday.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he had half-a-dozen Amendments on the Paper, and he saw no reason why those Amendments should not be disposed of to-night, and the Report and Third Reading taken at the next sitting. There was, in fact, no obstruction, and there was no reason why Amendments should not be incorporated in the Bill.

MR. WIGGIN (Staffordshire, Handsworth) asked, if the right hon. Gentleman's statement applied to the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it applied to all other business than Supply and the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill. He saw no chance of the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill being taken this week.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House at first proposed to take the Scotch Estimates before the Irish, and Scotch Members had made arrangements accordingly. Under these circumstances he thought the right hon. Gentleman might fairly tell them to morrow when he intended to go on with the Scotch Estimates?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I shall endeavour to give the House as much information as I can on Thursday next.

In reply to Mr. CHANNING (Northampton, E.),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that Class V. of the Estimates would be taken as soon as they had closed Class VI.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MR. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Vice President of the Council whether he was aware that yesterday electors who reached Grayshott Road, Battersea, before 7.30, and Millenson Road, Battersea, before 7.45, were unable to record their votes; whether it was not the duty of the collectors to receive the votes of all who were inside the polling booth before 8 o'clock; who was responsible for the arrangements; and, whether future elections would be properly conducted?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, the Education Department was not responsible for the conduct of School Board elections. If the order directing the election had not been properly carried out, the matter might be the subject of a future legal proceeding, and it would not be right for him to express any opinion on the subject. It was the Returning Officer who had the conduct of the elections.

COMMONS (METROPOLIS)—WANDSWORTH COMMON.

In reply to Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth),

MR. TATTON EGERTON (Cheshire, Knutsford) said, that it was not the fact that the Metropolitan Board of Works had agreed to hand over a portion of Wandsworth Common to the Vestry of Battersea.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—THE TWELVE O'CLOCK RULE.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it was his intention to move the suspension of the Standing Order relating to the 12 o'clock Rule every night during the Session?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminister): No, Sir. I do not intend to move the suspension of the Rule every night; but I am afraid that it will be necessary to move it so far as Committee of Supply is concerned.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would also revert to the practice of the House meeting at 4 o'clock?

[No reply.]

METROPOLITAN POLICE—THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): May I ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has any information to give the House with regard to the appointment of the new Chief Commissioner of Police?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): No, Mr. Speaker; I have not.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROSECUTION OF IRISH MEMBERS.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I wish to put a Question on a matter of urgency to the Chief Secretary. I wish to ask him whether he is aware that two constables left Ireland last evening with a warrant signed by Mr. Cecil Roche for the arrest of the hon. Member for West Kerry (Mr. E. Harrington); and, also, whether Constable Jeremiah Sullivan, previous to his more famous escapade of last night, served the hon. Member for East Limerick (Mr. Finucane) with a number of summonses calling on him to appear at Castleconnell on Monday next; and what arrangements will the Government make to secure that hon. Gentlemen will not be prevented by these political charges from being present during the discussion of the Irish Estimates, which commences next Monday?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I shall have to ask for Notice in reference to the earlier part of the Question. As to the latter part, which is the more material, I have the satisfaction to tell the hon. Member that arrangements have been made to enable the Gentleman referred to to be present at the discussion of the Estimates next week.

MR. SEXTON: I hope the Chief Secretary will allow me to ask him (as I intend to repeat the Question to-morrow, with regard to the warrant against Mr. E. Harrington) whether he has any objection to undertake that the warrant will not be executed in the meantime?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the hon. Gentleman will be satisfied with the answer that I have already given him. I believe that arrangements can be made by which the hon. Member will be in his place next week; but I do not like to answer off-hand a question about warrants.

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

The House *divided:* — Ayes 202; Noes 129: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 310.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.*)

[BILL 385.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 26th November.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central), in moving the following new Clause—

"No advance shall be made by the Land Commissioners to any one tenant purchaser in respect of any application made, after the passing of this Act, exceeding the sum of £2,000 in all,"

said, the clause was of some importance, and was, he thought, worthy of the attention of the Committee. The object of the clause was to limit the advance to any single tenant purchaser to the sum of £2,000 in all, representing roughly a rental of £100 a-year. Any tenant whose holding was worth less than £100 a-year would come under the general definition of a peasant proprietor, whereas a tenant at above £100 a-year represented a totally different class. This was not the first time he had moved the same Amendment. In the year 1885, when Lord Ashbourne's Act was in

Committee, he had moved what was practically the same Amendment, and after some discussion the Government assented to a limitation, and the right hon. Gentleman who now represented the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, accepted the Amendment which he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had proposed. As far as he could make out, this limit was, on the Report Stage of the Bill, raised from £2,000 to £3,000, and elsewhere, in the House of Lords, he presumed, the limit was got rid of altogether, and the Act finally passed without any limit whatever in this respect. In the Land Act of 1887 a limit of £5,000 was inserted for the first time. Now it appeared to him that by extending the limit beyond £2,000, which represented a rental of £100 a-year, they were giving the money to an entirely different class of tenants. His object in 1885, and his present object, was to limit the scope of that Bill to that which was its avowed and ostensible object—namely, the creation of a peasant proprietary in the true sense of the term. By "peasant proprietors" was generally understood a class of persons who cultivated the soil themselves and did not employ labourers. When they went beyond that class to the class of farmers they would find a class of tenants who employed labourers and who were a totally different class of men. The terms offered by the Act were so extremely generous that, though it might be possible to justify transactions under it in the case of small tenants, for a political purpose—namely, the creation of a set of *bonâ fide* peasant proprietors, yet he contended that such terms could not be justified when it was proposed to extend them to the class of large farmers paying beyond £100 a-year for the purpose of converting them into owners. The Government had now supplied the Committee with figures which showed what had been the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act, from which it appeared that there had been 200 advances of between £2,000 and £4,000, representing altogether a sum of £860,000. The advances below £2,000 had been about 8,000 in number, amounting to £2,430,000. It was quite evident that if a limit of £2,000 had been inserted in the Act of 1885, 3,000 more tenancies at least might have been created, and that fact alone showed what the effect must be of making advances to the larger class of tenant purchasers. In other words the money advanced by the State went a very little way in regard to tenancies of the largest class, whereas it went a very long way indeed in creating peasant proprietors of the smaller class of tenants. It appeared from the Irish statistics that there were in Ireland about 100,000 of the small agricultural tenant class who were mere labourers, and not farmers in any sense of the term. Next came the class of small occupiers who farmed the land themselves and employed their own labour on the land, but did not employ labourers. These constituted the main body of the tenants of Ireland, and they numbered about 400,000, or, perhaps, nearly 500,000. Lastly came the larger farmers who paid a rent of more than £100 a-year, and of whom there were certainly not more than 32,000 in number, although they occupied a much larger proportion of the total area of Ireland than might be supposed, for he found that they cultivated two-fifths of the total area of Ireland, and paid a total rental of £3,900,000 a-year. If, therefore, it was desired to effect any material change in the condition of the occupying tenants of Ireland, a very large sum of money would go a very little way in converting the larger class of tenants into owners, while it would go a very long way in turning the smaller tenants into owners. No doubt, when they came to deal with the class of farmers who paid beyond £100 a-year rent they might raise invidious comparisons as between the condition of English and Scotch farmers on the one hand and Irish farmers on the other, and so give rise to difficulties hereafter. He was unable to understand upon what principle they could justify the use of English credit for the purpose of converting large tenants in Ireland into owners and refusing the same privilege to English and Scotch tenants, especially when in the case of the Irish farmer they had already given him the immense advantage of judicial rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale. In the case of English and Scotch farmers they had done none of these things, nor did he advocate that they should do them. Then, on what principle were they to give the Irish tenant the

further advantage of converting him into the owner of his farm on terms so extremely favourable as those provided by the present Bill? When the Bill was introduced he had mentioned a case in illustration of his argument, and, with the permission of the Committee, he would repeat it again, because it was certainly a very remarkable case. It was the case of a tenant in the North of Ireland who farmed 250 acres, and whose rent two years ago was £229 a-year. He went into the Land Court, and got a judicial rent fixed at £160 —a reduction of 25 per cent. The farm was then bought under Lord Ashbourne's Act, and he got an advance from the State of £3,000, his annual payment in respect of it being £120, or a further reduction of 30 per cent on the rent. Of that sum of £120, however, £30 represented the annual instalment payable as capital, and must be deducted in order to compare his real payment. With that deduction it would be found that the tenant was really paying £90 a-year for his farm compared with £229 which he paid two or three years ago. Such terms were extraordinarily profitable to tenants of this kind, and would make the mouths of the English and Scotch farmers water. He had no hesitation in saying that this tenant farmer, after getting his judicial rent fixed at 25 per cent below his previous rent, could have sold his tenant right for about £1,200, and after the passing of Lord Ashbourne's Act he could have sold his interest under that Act for another £1,000. In other words, the effect of Lord Ashbourne's Act on this purchase was to give to this tenant farmer something like £1,000. There were two instances mentioned by the noble Lord who was Member for the South Molton division of Devonshire (Viscount Lymington) in a letter which appeared in yesterday's *Times*. The noble Lord said that—

"On the Fishmongers' estate in Londonderry a tenant named David Craig bought two farms of 41 acres for £550 and of 61 acres for £539, and sold them for £970 and £1,280 respectively."

And this might be done without the person who purchased and resold ever having become the occupier of the farm at all. In the case of the Fishmongers' Estate, the transaction resulted in a clear gift to the tenant of £1,160, although he was only in occupation of the land for a few months. The effect of the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act was to give to a man who was not necessarily an occupying tenant, but a mere speculator in land, such large sums of money as those he had mentioned. There was only one other point which he would venture to bring under the notice of the Committee. It was this—that in numerous instances where large amounts were concerned there had been a bogus manufacture of tenancies, and it was against that practice that the second clause which appeared in his name on the Paper was directed. Numerous cases had undoubtedly occurred in which estates had been divided among sons and relatives for the express purpose of obtaining advances of public money at 3 per cent; and these were things that ought to be put a stop to. They had occurred openly within the knowledge of the Land Commissioners, and no complaint had been made. There was one particular case which he would mention by way of illustration in order to show what went on. An owner of land in Galway, who held under a perpetuity lease, subject to a rent of £150, made an application to be treated as an ordinary tenant, in order that he might obtain an advance from the State to pay off the head rent. He was actually treated as a tenant under the Ashbourne Act, and was allowed to borrow £3,000 to clear off this perpetuity rent; and he was thus enabled to reduce the encumbrance from £150 to £90 a-year. Transactions of this kind ought not to be allowed, as they were altogether beyond the purview of the Act, which was to create a class of peasant proprietors, in the true sense of the term, and not to turn large farmers into yeomen owners. The same amount of money would create a greater effect the more it was confined to small tenants. In sums under £200 there had been advanced only £500,000, but the advances in sums above £200 amounted to £2,700,000. Practically, the bulk of the money had been advanced to the larger tenants, and the scheme could be justified only if it reached a proportionate number of the smaller tenants. He, therefore, ventured to move the Amendment. He had, he thought, inserted in the clause a higher figure than he ought to have

done. He had fixed the limit at £2,000, but he thought it would be better to fix it at £1,000. He had, however, adopted the higher figure in order to bring the matter fairly under the attention of the Government. The object of the Amendment was to restrict the advances, as far as possible, to the case of the smaller tenants, and to enable the multiplication, for political purposes, of the ownership of the land in Ireland. The establishment of a peasant proprietary was, he thought, the only principle upon which the grant was to be justified at all; and he, therefore, asked the Committee to insert a limitation.

New Clause (Limitation of Advances,) —(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman was no doubt an Amendment of importance—of great importance—but it was also one which had been discussed by anticipation on two or three other Amendments which had been brought before the Committee. Therefore, in what he had to say, it might be necessary to repeat, although he should only do so briefly, some of the arguments which he had formerly enforced. It was rather late in the day to speak of legislation for Irish tenants producing jealousy in the minds of Scotch and English tenants, because Irish legislation had been based on the recognition of an essential difference between the condition of Ireland and that of England and Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to have foreshadowed an opposite proposition.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE remarked that he had not said so. He had distinctly said, "not at present."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that, of course, all would agree that if a disproportionate number of large properties were bought under the Act to the exclusion of smaller properties, that would be an unfortunate abuse of the powers given to the Commissioners. No doubt there might have been, at one time, ground for thinking that some such abuse would take place, but such fears had been dissipated by the actual experience of the last few years. Anybody who looked at the figures which appeared in the Report of the Commissioners would see that the number of large holdings which had been purchased was so few that they could not be regarded as an abuse. At one time the theory was that it was dangerous to go too far in the other direction, and the natural anxiety rather was that the smaller tenants should not be turned into proprietors. It certainly appeared to him that if any error had been made by the Commissioners it was in the number of very small tenants who had been turned into proprietors, and not in the large number of large tenants who had been made proprietors. He found, for example, that there were 2,000 cases of tenants of £100 in value and under. He apprehended that the value of a holding which was not worth more than £100 would not be more than £2 a-year.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): £5.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR would accept the hon. Member's correction and say £5; but there were a large number of them. Then he found that there were 2,050 cases in which the capital value was from £100 to £200, representing a rental value of from £5 to £10 a-year. It would therefore be seen that more than 4,000 out of 8,000 cases came under the two categories he had described—namely, holdings of which the capitalized value was from £100 to £200. He did not think, therefore, that whatever other charge might be brought against the Commissioners that it could be truly said they had ignored the claims of the smaller tenants of Ireland. He had a further argument against the acceptance of the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman himself would admit that, broadly speaking, limitation was an evil, and that no limitation should be introduced into the Bill without strong reasons. In a Report made by a Committee of which the right hon. Gentleman himself was Chairman, that general proposition was distinctly laid down. He was quite aware that the right hon. Gentleman was not connected with Ireland; but he had laid down certain theories in regard to land purchase to the exclusion of all others. It was quite clear that to let any class of occupying tenants in Ireland feel that they were

excluded from the benefits of a great legal measure would be to make them the centres of disaffection, discontent, and agitation. He had used that argument yesterday, and he repeated it now. There ought to be no exclusion unless there was a strong reason for it. He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman had given any strong reason in favour of it; and there were strong reasons against it. As was pointed out yesterday, it constantly happened that it was most desirable, for the sake of tenants, of landlords, of encumbrancers, and of the peace of a district, that a particular estate should be sold; and probably it could not be sold if any considerable body of tenants, or any tenant at all, were precluded from buying. Therefore, if by this Act Parliament said, "You shall not buy," the effect of that would be that the people who desired to sell and those whom the right hon. Gentleman desired should buy might be deprived of taking advantage of the Act by the limitation the right hon. Gentleman was anxious to introduce. Therefore, the result would be that, so far from benefiting, as the right hon. Gentleman desired, the small occupiers as contradistinguished from the large occupiers, he would inflict serious injury upon the small occupiers themselves. For these reasons he hoped the Committee would not accept the Amendment. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman that it was not desirable to create a proprietary with farms of the value of £100 a-year and more. He maintained that if we were to build up a strong social agrarian fabric, it would be madness to endeavour to exclude a particular class of owners. The idea of the right hon. Gentleman was a vast number of very small owners, a few very large owners, and a considerable intermediate area covered by large farms. Personally he did not think that would be the most desirable state of things. He should like to see rising up a hierarchy of owners from the smallest to the largest, but by deliberately excluding a particular class of farmers they would interfere with the realization of this social ideal. By excluding farmers with tenancies of from £150 to £200 a-year, so far from furthering the establishment of that social ideal, they would probably do serious mischief.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought the picture the right hon. Gentleman had drawn in the closing words of his speech was a fancy sketch not likely to be realized. The Ashbourne Act proposed to create a large number of small tenants, who were to become the owners of their holdings, and the right hon. Gentleman said the Government proposed not only to allow that principle, but also to allow a considerable number of large tenants to purchase their farms. Did not the right hon. Gentleman see that so far as they allowed large holders to become purchasers to that extent they would shut out from the benefits of their legislation a still larger number of small holders? The result would be that the hierarchy would be top-heavy. If he allowed any large proportion of farmers who paid an annual rent of £200, the hierarchy would not be properly graduated, and would be likely to topple over. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw-Lefevre) told them that 2,000 tenants of holdings under £100 a-year had purchased under the Ashbourne Act and 2,000 more under £200. On an average the rental of a holding sold for £100 might be taken to be £6, and £12 in the case of one sold for £200; and this remarkable fact was deducible from the Returns, that only £500,000 had been advanced in sums under £200, or, in other words, advanced for the purpose of purchasing farms with a rental under £12. What reply had the right hon. Gentleman made to the forcible arguments of the right hon. Member for Bradford in moving his Amendment. The advances to tenants up to £200 was only £250,000, and it meant an advance at an average rate of purchase under the Ashbourne Act of 17 years. It was these tenants which Parliament had in its mind when the Act was passed—tenants who were subject to pressure from the landlords, who were deprived of their right to turbary and were rendered helpless serfs. They were the men upon whom Parliament intended to spend the money; but how much had been spent upon them? Out of the whole sum of £5,000,000 there had been £500,000 advanced to them—just one-tenth of the money. Where had the rest gone? In order to show the utter fallacy of the argument of the Chief Secretary that they were creating a hierarchy, he wished to show what the

effect had been of allowing the large tenants to buy their farms. The number of them was small, but the amounts advanced to them were large. It appeared that 249 persons had had advanced to them sums between £2,000 and £4,000, or an average of £3,000, and had absorbed over £750,000; while 28 persons had had advanced to them sums of over £4,000, and had absorbed £112,000, so that 277 persons had appropriated £859,000, while all the tenants of Ireland whose rental was under £12—an enormous class—had only received £500,000. Would the Chief Secretary stand up and defend that? For the sum appropriated to these 277 persons—this favoured class of tenants—about 5,000 small tenants could have been assisted to purchase, and it was just these small tenants whom the Ashbourne Act was intended to benefit. He maintained that there had been something more than the perversion of an Act of Parliament, and that there had been a deliberate fraud upon the public. He felt sure that when the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury), who was sitting beside him, and other hon. Gentlemen opposite supported the Ashbourne Act in its passage through Parliament, it was because they thought that it would benefit the helpless and unfortunate small tenants who were in difficulties with their landlords. Had that purpose been carried out? He was glad that the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington was in his place, because he considered it to be not only the proper but the essential part of economy, when money was voted by Parliament, to devote it to the purpose for which it was intended, and not wastefully and uselessly expend it. It was all very well for the Chief Secretary to say that previous legislation had produced inequality, but that was no reason why the inequality should be exaggerated. The right hon. Gentleman should be mindful of the fact that the Public Revenue was not derived from a small class of the community, but from the consumption of various commodities by the people generally, and very largely from the wages of working men. It would be difficult to go upon a public platform and defend the system upon which this money, extracted from the pockets of the working classes, had been employed in assisting, not men belonging to their own class, but the gentlemen farmers of Ulster in securing a larger margin of profit for comfort and even luxury.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) wished to say a few words from the English taxpayers' point of view. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that any limitation in an Act of this sort was, in itself, a defect. But there could be no greater calamity than to pass an Act of this sort without a limitation. But the right hon. Gentleman appeared to forget that there was actually a limitation existing at this moment. The story which had been told by his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford as to the proceedings upon the Bill of 1885 was somewhat mysterious, which was solved neither by *Hansard* nor by the Journals of the House. When the Ashbourne Act was passing through its later stages his right hon. Friend moved an Amendment fixing a limit of £2,000. The Government accepted the Amendment, but struck out £2,000 and substituted £3,000. The question was put "that those words be there inserted." *Hansard* reported that they were so put, and there was no mention of their having been struck out in the House of Lords before the Bill received the Royal Assent. So far as *Hansard* went, and his right hon. Friend's recollection went, the House of Commons did insert a limitation, although it did not appear in the Act. But whether that was so or not, by the Act of last Session a limit was fixed of £5,000. Therefore the principle of a limit was admitted. It was considered to be wrong to make any advance in excess of £5,000. That brought them down to a question of degree as to what the limit should be, and to a question of degree only because the principle was conceded. He spoke in the interest of the British taxpayer, and he would like to know what justification there could be for the English Exchequer being asked to advance money to enable occupiers of land in Ireland to purchase their holdings? This was not proposed as a great political scheme; the Government did not demand the passing of the Bill as a great measure dealing with the whole

question of land in Ireland. If they did, other considerations would arise. It was proposed because it was said that social order was imperilled in certain districts in Ireland, and it was said that, in order to tranquillize these districts, the British Exchequer might well incur some financial risk, which the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington pointed out the other night. The noble Lord was prepared to risk to a limited extent in order to produce a beneficial result. That was a strong order to the English taxpayers to begin with, that they were to provide hard cash for the purpose of bringing about social improvement in Ireland; but he would concede that, for this purpose, such risk might well be undertaken. But it was not right that the money of the English Exchequer should be used for the purpose of enabling the thriving tenant-farmers of Ulster to buy their lands upon specially advantageous terms. If it was proposed to do this for Ulster, why should not similar opportunities be given to farmers in Staffordshire or Essex, where there had been as great agricultural depression and distress as in any part of the United Kingdom. They would only be too delighted to be told that instead of paying their rent in future they should pay so much less, and in 49 years the holding should be their own. He was not sure that they might not some day have to deal with the English Land Question on a very different basis from what they had ever done before, and for that purpose the credit of the State might sooner or later be evoked. But that was not the purpose of this Bill. The avowed and only justification of the Bill, unless it were to apply to the farmers of England and Wales, was that it was calculated to restore social order in the disturbed districts in Ireland. Social order was only disturbed in the districts where there were wretchedly small holdings of £3 or £4 a-year, which rendered it impossible for the tenant to pay his rent, and where agrarian disturbance arose from the constant friction between the tenants and their landlords. There was no agrarian disturbance caused by the condition of the large tenants, though it was to these that the bulk of the money already advanced had been applied. There was no agrarian disturbance between the large tenants and their landlords, and no agrarian disturbance in Ulster. He must express his opinion that the case of the London Companies was one of the most flagrant cases under this Act. They had put in a claim for money which, when they got it, they were obliged to reinvest, and had received between £400,000 and £500,000. This money had gone into the pockets of the City Companies in order to carry out an arrangement which there was not one shred of social disorder to justify. The advance of money by the State must rest on the question of social order, and it was very well known that agrarian disturbances and social disorder arose only in the case of the poorest tenants, whose holdings were much below even a £2,000 limit. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary further stated that there was great disadvantage in being obliged to retain a landlord who was himself the centre of social disaffection. That was only another way of multiplying the social grievance. He intended to support the Amendment of his right hon. Friend. He failed to see upon what principle a large tenant, paying a rent of £200 a-year, could be entitled to an advance from the State for the purchase of his holding, and he hoped that the Chief Secretary, now that the principle of some limit had been conceded, would accept the limit of £2,000 suggested in the Amendment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) said, he did not at all concur in the basis of the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). The main object of the Act of 1885 had not been to restore social order in Ireland, though if it had had that effect so much the better. That, however, he did not at all hold to be the main object of the Act. The State assisted tenants to purchase land for the purpose, as he understood it, of getting rid of what was regarded as an incumbrance on the land which rendered it altogether impossible to bring about the development and improvement of the land. For that purpose Parliament had felt ever since the passing of the Irish Church Act that, as far as the cultivation of the land went, the so-called landlords had been reduced to such a position that the sooner they were bought out the

better it would be. It was absurd to argue that the object of the Government had been to restore social order in disturbed districts in Ireland. The operation of the Act must, by its nature, be a chance operation. The Government could not pick and choose, and say "Here is a district which is disturbed; we will give the power of purchase here; but there is another district which is not disturbed and there shall be no power of purchase." But if by chance purchase occurred in districts where there had been disturbance, with the result of producing a state of great tranquillity, then obviously the beneficial result of the Act had been proved. Having thought it right to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it was possible to hold a different view to that which he had expressed, he would now turn to the argument of the hon. Member for West Belfast. The hon. Member stated with some positiveness that it had been the general intention of the Parliament of 1885, understood in all quarters of that House, that the Act should be applied mainly to small tenants. He could not at all agree with that view. He did not think that the Government—and he could speak with some authority on the matter—had any such view before them at all. The object of the Act of 1885 had been purely experimental—an experiment both in regard to the small, the moderate-sized and the larger farms. They had desired to find out what would be the effect on Irish land and on social order of dispossessing the incumbent; what was the nature of the security the tenant farmers of Ireland would afford to the State; and what section would provide the best security. If a limit had been introduced into the Bill it was a mistake, and he altogether disagreed with the view of the right hon. Member for Bradford. There was no limitation contained in the Act of 1885.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The Government accepted it.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Accepted a limit?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes; accepted the limit I proposed.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: A limit of £3,000?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I must explain. At first I proposed a limit of £2,000, but on the Report of the Bill the Government agreed to accept a limit of £3,000.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that his recollection was altogether at fault in regard to the circumstances referred to by the right hon. Gentleman. But it must not be supposed that it all took place pending a General Election. The Bill was as nearly as possible shipwrecked at the last moment, and it was only by a rapid agreement outside that the Government were able to pass it. He thought there were hon. Gentlemen opposite who would confirm that view. The Bill was passed for an experimental purpose, and any limits that were introduced were a mistake. The limit of £5,000 introduced into the Act of 1887 passed without opposition, and he did not see why they should now go back from the limit of £5,000 which was introduced in that year. Take the County of Limerick for instance. There was a considerable amount of agrarian disturbance there, and surely it was desirable that the tenants, many of whom were substantial farmers, should be placed in a position to purchase their holdings. That advantage ought to be retained in the present Bill. The evil was that by inserting too narrow a limit they might, in some instances, prevent an entire estate from being sold when it would be for the benefit of social order that it should be sold. He had made these remarks because he did not wish to be understood to be altogether in accord with the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton.

MR. RATHBONE (Carnarvonshire, Arfon) would suggest that there was one practical way of meeting the difficulty. There could be no difficulty in making a further addition to the Bill to provide that where a large portion of the same estate was sold to small tenants the Land Commissioners should not be debarred from exceeding the limit provided in the Bill for the sake of effecting the sale of an entire estate. Anyone who had been in the habit of crossing the Channel would be aware that most tenants who paid a rent of £200 or £300 a-year would, on becoming owners, at once set up as landlords, and smaller tenants took holdings from them. It had been shown in the debates on former Bills—especially in connection with the estates of Lord Portsmouth—that the most profitable farms for

peasant owners' cultivation were those which were rented at from £20 to £30 a-year. Such holdings could be worked to great advantage and profit. Why then, if the Government were not disposed to accept a hard and fast limit, should they not agree to the Amendment with a proviso to meet exceptional cases.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he felt bound to condemn the system carried out in some parts of Ireland by which the land had been allowed to come into the possession of large graziers, the original tenants having been driven out in the famine years—1846, 1847 and 1848. As there was nothing to cultivate on the mountain and bog land in which these unfortunate peasants had been compelled to take refuge, he feared that in some of the congested districts nothing remained but migration or emigration. Only last year a case was taken before the late Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland—Colonel King-Harman—where it was pointed out that in one of the most fertile plains in Ireland there was no tillage whatever worth calling tillage. The whole was originally held by 400 or 500 small tenants, who paid rents of £7 and £8 up to £10 a-year, but these men had been driven upon the hillside and the bog, and one of the first questions for an Irish Parliament to consider would be whether the land was to be held by large graziers or restored to the Irish peasants who had been deprived of it. It was an important question whether these people were to dispossess the graziers or were forced to emigrate to America and the Colonies. At the present moment the Irish landlord was merely a rent receiver, who performed no useful duty. What was wanted was that these large grazing occupiers should be got rid of and the land restored to the people.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, there was a common, but an erroneous, idea that a large sum had been spent upon the farmers of Ulster who did not need it. A great portion of the money had gone to one of the most troublesome districts in Ulster, which did not at all partake of the character of the rest of the Province, and was certainly not loyal to the Party in power. The Land Act of 1881 was chock-full of exemptions, and as he was against all exemptions, he would not be a party to the setting up of new ones.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he did not concur with the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington that the Act of 1885 was passed in order to get rid of the incumbrances which then existed on the land of Ireland. He was sure that Parliament would never have consented to pour out the money of the taxpayers of the country for the mere object of paying up incumbrances on the land; or, in other words, buying out the landlords. The Act was passed as a political movement with a view of restoring social order. The Arrears Act and other Acts dealt with the small tenants on the land, not with the large tenants. With regard to the large tenants the Act had been very much abused. Last night he had mentioned a very strong case, which he would repeat, in support of the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment. It was a case in which an advance of £5,000 had been made to a man who was not an old but a new farmer, who had come in, within the last 10 years, under Lord Ashbourne's Act, to purchase 300 acres, and this man was also in possession of another farm of 400 acres, another of 100 acres, and several others, amounting to about 1,000 acres altogether. To enable a person of that kind to add farm to farm—a man whom hon. Members below the Gangway would call a landgrabber—and who would be a landlord and not a peasant proprietor, was a great abuse. There was another case which he had some delicacy in quoting, because it contained a reference to an hon. Member who sat on the Opposition side of the House. He quoted it from *The Times*, which stated that, by a process of family arrangement, on one of the principal estates in the North of Kerry, that of Mr. Gunn Mahony, his brother, Mr. Pierce Mahony, had purchased a farm upon it and had become a peasant proprietor. He was by no means averse to an arrangement of that kind, for it might be that in many instances it was desirable to divide big estates, but what he did object to was that they should be divided at the expense of the British taxpayer. Some hon. Members asked why he should be so little careful of the money of the British taxpayer; why should he want to give

it all to the small tenants and not to the large tenants? If this were not a financial transaction which set aside all the ordinary operations of finance, he should certainly agree with his hon. Friends, especially if there was any real hope to get their money back again. But he confessed that he did not expect to see again the colour of the money which we were lending to the Irish tenants under circumstances which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told them did not amount to a justifiable financial operation. As we were advancing our money to Ireland at three per cent when other people would not advance it except at five or six or ten per cent, it could not be a sound financial operation, and we were advancing money which we should probably never get back again. It was only by applying the money to the purchase of small holdings in order to establish a broad basis on which the future prosperity of Ireland should rest, that they could attain the object they had in view. Home Rule must come sooner or later, and they must guard against throwing good money after bad. He was much opposed to this operation altogether; he was opposed to the advance of the money of the British taxpayer for experiments when he did not think we should ever get it back again. He regretted that the Government would not accept the Amendment, and said it certainly appeared that they had come to the determination of rejecting everything that might be proposed.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, that he had taken very little part in the debates on this Bill. On the other hand he had listened with great attention to the whole of the important speeches which had been made, both that day and on other occasions. He had risen now to make some remarks in reply to the observations of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) upon the speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). There were two arguments in the noble Lord's speech which struck him as requiring an early answer, and he was anxious to meet those two arguments or objections as well as he could. The noble Lord seemed to suppose that the Act of 1885 was the original Act under which the principle of advances by the State was conceded by Parliament, and the foundation of the present policy, and that that Act did not aim at securing social order in Ireland, but at ensuring that landlords should, if possible, be men of substance, so that those unable to improve their estates should be got rid of. Perhaps the noble Lord would allow him to remind him, that the Act of 1885 was not the foundation of the present policy nor the original Act in which the principle of advances made by Parliament was based. It was the Act of 1881 which was the original Act, and the Act of 1885 made two not very large differences from the Act of 1881. According to the Act of 1881, which laid down in much detail the proceedings for these loans, only three-fourths of the amount required could be advanced to the tenants. The Act of 1885 merely amended the fifth part of the Act of 1881, and provided that the whole amount might be advanced on the principle of Part V. of the Act of 1881, with the further provision that one-fifth of the whole amount should be temporarily deposited with the Commission. They had, therefore, to go back to the Act of 1881, and the debates which took place on that occasion, if they wanted to see clearly what the object of Parliament was in enabling the tenants to make arrangements with their landlords. By referring to the debates of 1881 it would be seen that the promotion of social order was the main object of the policy then adopted by Parliament, and not getting rid of certain landlords who are not in a position to do their duty by their tenants and to improve their estates. The noble Lord had also fallen into another error which he would endeavour to point out. The noble Lord had spoken of advances to the tenants under the Act of 1885 as if it was contemplated and requisite that when such advances were made that the whole of the estate affected should be purchased.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say that it was requisite under the Act, but what I said was, that it would be of advantage.

MR. CHILDERS said, he thought he could show the noble Lord that just the opposite was the case. The Acts of 1881 and 1885 contained provisions for both purposes. There was a provision which applied to the case where the whole of the estate was to be purchased,

and there was a provision for advances being made, but the two purposes were kept quite separate under the Act of 1881. Both that Act and the Act of 1885 put it into the power of the Commissioners, under certain circumstances, to purchase direct from the landlord the whole estate where they were satisfied that there was a fair proportion of tenants, he thought three-fourths or four-fifths—[An hon. MEMBER: Four-fifths.]—coming forward to purchase back afterwards from the Commissioners. That power, as he had said, was initiated in the Act of 1881, but it was quite distinct from the power to make advances to tenants to enable them to purchase their rent from their landlords, and if the noble Lord would look at the Act, he would see that there was no suggestion in that part of the Act that purchase should be made by the general body of tenants. The purchase might be effected by a single tenant, the words of the Act being that the Land Commission should give certain facilities to "any tenant" who sought to take advantage of the Act. On the other hand, in purchasing an entire estate the Commissioners were to be satisfied that the greater part would be bought back by the tenants. The effect of these two different processes under the Acts of 1881 and 1885 showed that they had to deal with two states of things—with estates in which nearly the whole body of the tenants were prepared to become purchasers, in which case the Commissioners purchased the estate and then re-sold it, and also with cases in which there was no presumption whatever that any large body of tenants would become purchasers, but in which advances were made to a single tenant to enable him to purchase his holding. He hoped he had succeeded in showing the noble Lord that two utterly distinct and different processes were contemplated under these Acts. No inconvenience had yet arisen, and no unfairness to the tenants, if there was a general wish to purchase an estate from a landlord, although some of the tenants did not desire to come in, nor if only single tenants desired to purchase. There was ample provision to meet each case. He would pass, however, from that subject to another part of the question, with which he thought he ought to deal. He confessed that he had been very much alarmed by a statement which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that night. A similar statement was made in the earlier stages of the Bill by the hon. Member for the Southport division of Lancashire (Mr. Curzon), who went so far as to use the word defrauded. The hon. Member said that both landlords and tenants would be defrauded, and injustice would be done if a body of landlords and tenants, being willing to sell and purchase, were unable to do so owing to the limitation of the total amount of money to be advanced by Government. That was of course only the opinion expressed by an unofficial person who had no connection with the Government. But that night they had had from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland a declaration practically to the same effect. The right hon. Gentleman said it would be very unfair if one class or set of tenants were allowed to purchase under the Bill and another class or set were not so empowered.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that what he did say was that where the landlord was anxious to sell and the tenant anxious to buy, there would be a sore feeling towards the small tenants, whom hon. Members wanted to benefit, in consequence of the limitation.

MR. CHILDERS said, the right hon. Gentleman went further; he compared two estates, in one of which the whole of the tenants might have purchased, and in the other might hereafter be debarred because of the large size of their farms. He wished to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that the result, state it as they would, came to this—that if they passed that Bill without such an Amendment as that which was proposed by his right hon. Friend, after that declaration from the Chief Secretary, and after the remarks that were so much applauded which came from so good a representative of his Party as the hon. Member for the Southport Division, they would undoubtedly lay down the principle that all the landlords and tenants in Ireland were entitled to the benefits of the Bill, no matter what sums might be required to give them those benefits. The result might be that they would have an agitation of a most dangerous kind, under which a claim would be sent up to the British

Parliament for an advance of the public money on the ground that by the principle laid down all landlords and tenants in Ireland were entitled to receive an advance from the public money which might not be restricted to £5,000,000, £10,000,000, or £20,000,000. In fact, any amount of advances might be demanded from Parliament without a shadow of security to the British taxpayer, who would have to provide the money. He hoped the Committee would pause before they allowed such a principle to be virtually adopted by the House. So far it had not been contradicted by any Member of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that if the argument of the Government was worth anything, it was an argument in favour of no limitation at all, and it would be better to take the £5,000 limit out of the Bill altogether. The noble Lord had mentioned a grievance which existed in connection with an estate in the County of Limerick, where, but for the £5,000, the whole estate might be purchased and great good done to the cause of social order. If that were really so it would be better to establish the £5,000 limit altogether; if the argument was of any value whatever it went the length of requiring that they should sweep the limit away and clear the entire deck. When they were discussing the Land Bill last year, and the position of town-parks, leaseholders, graziers, and residential holdings, they warned the Government that they were sowing the seeds of future disorder. What was their position now when they came to deal with the question of purchase? He thought the Committee had a right to expect from the Government something more than an absolute refusal. He would not object to the suggestion of the hon. Member for the Arfon Division of Carnarvon (Mr. Rathbone), whose moderation, he thought, ought to commend itself to the Government, and who had not taken, so far as he remembered, any very strong views with regard to the present Bill. The suggestion of the hon. Member for Carnarvon was that there should be some elasticity in the limitation—that there should be a £2,000 limit, unless the Land Commission found that by introducing that limit the sale of some large estate would be prevented. If the Government would accept an Amendment of that kind it would go far to smooth the present situation, but they would not accept it. Unfortunately they had taken up the view that they would accept no change whatever, not even a comma or a line in the Bill. If the Government wanted to prevent the sale of an entire estate by reason of a limitation of this sort, why did they hesitate to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member? By so doing they would put up a beacon-light to guide the Land Commissioners, to whom they would give some power of expansion. If the Commissioners in some important case possessed this power, which need not be exercised with the assent of the Treasury, he thought it would facilitate instead of shipwreck the entire transaction where it was desirable that such transaction should take place. He, therefore, urgently commended the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It seemed to him that the Government were perpetuating a very vicious system by some of the purchases which had already been effected, because, as his hon. Friend the Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) had pointed out, if they sold a holding of 2,000 acres to a large grazier he would soon sub-let to the men on the bog and the hillside who had been driven from the low-lying land, and they would perpetuate the very system against which they had been struggling. What would happen was that the moment the Act passed the men who held the large grazing farms would try to obtain subtenants from among those who had been driven to the hillside, and the system which was now so much deplored would be re-established. He thought that men in that position should be put in a kind of *patria potestas*, so that their power of alienation without the consent of the Land Commissioners should be limited. In the same way, when the State was giving these large sums of money, some regard should be had to the interests of the country; and, with that view, some powers should be conferred upon the Land Commissioners to enable them to check any of the scandalous transactions to which reference had been made on that side of the House.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, he hoped the Government would see their way, in some degree or other, to accept

the principle of the Amendment. He thought that it would be an immense advantage to Ireland to establish a system for the creation of peasant proprietors. He understood that the object of the Bill was to encourage that system, and that it was not introduced in order to enable large farmers to buy up their farms. The adoption of such a principle would be a complete abuse of the understanding upon which the grant was made; and he, for one, would enter a strong protest against it. He thought they ought to clear the ground, and understand thoroughly what they were doing, and not make the provisions of the Bill so wide as to admit of transactions taking place which lay outside the scope of the Bill. It was not the business of the State at all to enable large farmers to buy their farms, although he held that, under certain circumstances, it might be a satisfactory thing for the State to encourage the question of peasant proprietors in Ireland on the plan adopted by the States of Central Europe. He maintained, first of all, that the State money ought not to be given for the purchase of large farms; but, at the same time, he was of opinion that it ought not to be given for the purchase of miserable small holdings upon which they could obtain no security for the repayment of the money advanced. They must employ other machinery for aiding that class of tenant. They could not advance the money of the State for the purchase of holdings that were only worth £1 or £2 a-year with any reasonable expectation of getting the money repaid. Nor was it desirable to advance money for the purchase of farms with a rental of £100 to £200 a-year. The suitableness of this system was confined to the intermediate class who held farms of from £10 to £30 and £40, and, possibly, up to £100. They wanted men with enough land to live upon, and they ought to prevent any attempt to subdivision after purchase. It was the business of the State to see that those men paid due regard to their own interests, and to prevent them from cutting their own throats. They wanted to do something for the benefit of the mass of the Irish people, and not for the landlords or the large farmers. Nor was the system suited for the miserable holdings in the congested districts. They were legislating for that large class of the Irish peasantry who could give ample security, for the money advanced, to the State. Schemes of land purchase were required not so much for extremely poor and helpless people as for the average tenants with holdings worth from £10 up to £50 a-year.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not propose to enter upon a survey of the last part of the debate, although he confessed that a great deal had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) to which he should like to reply. He had only risen to say that he could not withdraw from the position he had taken up with regard to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had accused him of being absolutely unwilling to accept any Amendments on the Bill whatever, of ignoring all the arguments and statements that had been made, and taking his stand upon the absolute letter of the Bill. Now he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did not admit the "soft impeachment." He certainly could not withdraw from the position he had taken in regard to the Amendment then under discussion, and he must express his adherence to the views he had laid before the Committee. He could not imperil the sale of estates which probably ought to be sold and which would not be sold if the limitations proposed were introduced, but at the same time he thought there was a great deal to be said in favour of the suggestion which had been thrown out by his hon. Friend the Member for the Arfon Division of Carnarvon (Mr. Rathborne) and which was supported by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford. If words could be drafted embodying that suggestion, he believed it would give both the elasticity which he desired to see and also impose limitation up to a certain point in accordance with the wishes of the right hon. Member for Central Bradford. To that extent he was anxious to meet the general view of the Committee, and the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would submit words embodying the suggestion.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin Uni-

versity) said, he had adopted the words of the limiting clause of the Land Act of 1887. The words he suggested were—

"No advance shall be made by the Land Commission to any one purchaser of land under the Land Law (Ireland) Act exceeding the sum of £3,000 unless in the opinion of the Land Commission the advance of such large amount, not exceeding £5,000, be expedient for the purpose of carrying out sales on the estate of the said landlord."

He thought the less they had of a hard-and-fast line the better. By this Amendment, in administering the Act, the Land Commission would be bound, whenever any advance was applied for exceeding £3,000, to reject it, unless they thought that the advance was desirable in order to facilitate the sale of an entire estate.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE suggested that the sum of £2,000 should be inserted instead of £3,000. He had based the whole of his arguments upon a limitation of that nature. Subject to that understanding, he was quite willing to accept the words proposed by the Government.

MR. SEXTON said, that an advance of £3,000 would cover a holding worth £120 a-year. He maintained that that limitation was too high, and that an advance of £2,000, which would cover a rent of £100 a-year, was all that was necessary. Farms up to that limit might very well be left to the operation of the exception. He had already pointed out that 277 tenants had absorbed nearly £1,000,000 of the first advances by the State, while the whole of the small tenants only got £500,000 between them. Suppose, for instance, there were 20 farms on one estate, each of which required an advance of £3,000 to enable the tenants to purchase their holdings, surely it would be a scandal for the Land Commission to advance to so limited a number of applicants so large a sum as £60,000. His own opinion was that there should be a limit to the sum of money which could be advanced in any particular case.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) said, he was grateful to the Government for having accepted the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford. It was his impression that the worst security they could obtain was the security they would derive from establishing a new class of landlords in Ireland. He remembered the time when very strong objections were entertained in Ireland to what were known as middlemen. It was thought that if they got rid of the middlemen Ireland would soon be in a better condition than she then was. But, so far as he could judge by the provisions of the present Bill, they were going to increase the number of the middlemen by creating a large number of small landlords. One of the most dangerous things connected with Irish affairs was the desire that they there had to acquire land and to connect themselves with the small gentry of the country. It took away many industrious people from various employments, and turned the mind of the country entirely towards land. If any system could be adopted by which peasant proprietors could be established in Ireland it was, no doubt, a very beneficial object. But if they wanted to re-establish the landlord system in Ireland, and to convert the tenants into landlords, they would run the risk of losing the money they invested, and it would be the duty of hon. Members on that side of the House to give every opposition they could to the new class of landlords they proposed to establish; and for one word that might be said against the landlords of Ireland ten might be said against the graziers, for the feeling against that class was much stronger in Ireland than against the landlords themselves. Why should they give money to the Irish graziers—a class of men who had destroyed agriculture as a science in the country? Why should they make advances to those men, while the industrious and energetic farmers in Scotland and England, who really gave employment to the labouring classes, and protected their business in such a manner as to promote the general welfare of the country, were altogether ignored? He failed to understand why the State should give money to middlemen to perpetuate the pernicious system of grass-farming in Ireland, while they refused any assistance whatever to the Scotch and English farmers who cultivated the land in such a way as to benefit every class of the community.

MR. RATHBONE suggested that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford should accept the words proposed by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, on the understanding that if it did not carry

out the objects aimed at it might be amended afterwards.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was willing to accept the proposed words on the understanding that £2,000 was substituted for £3,000.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was not quite certain about that, seeing that £3,000 was the figure fixed in the Acts of 1881 and 1885. Parliament, therefore, on two occasions had accepted that as the limit. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would feel that he had made a considerable concession to him, and that he would not press him further, all the more as those who were practically acquainted with the working of the Act were of opinion that the figure of £3,000 would lead to a better result than that of £2,000.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would accept the figure of £3,000, subject to an inquiry as to what the number of cases were in which advances between £2,000 and £3,000 had been made. If it should turn out in the Report that a large proportion of the advances were between £2,000 and £3,000, then he thought that the lower figure ought to be accepted.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in moving the insertion of the following new Clause:—

(Prevention of colourable transactions.)

"No advance shall be made by the Land Commissioners in respect of any holding which has not been occupied by the tenant or his predecessors in title as a distinct and separate tenancy during the period of not less than five years,"

said, the new clause he had to propose was for the purpose of preventing the fictitious creation of tenancies in order to enable landlords and tenants to avail themselves of the Act. To some extent the alteration the Government had consented to make met most of his views, but he was afraid that in some respects it might rather tend to add to the number of fictitious tenancies against which the present Amendment was directed. There were two other classes of fictitious tenancies created under the system. He believed there were not infrequent cases where a landlord wishing to sell had broken up his demesne lands, dividing them among his sons and relatives, in order to enable him to get the benefit of purchase under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Numerous acts of this kind had occurred, he believed, within the last few years. He could not say that they were fraudulent, because the Land Commissioners had full knowledge of what was done, but he called them fraudulent cases of tenancy for the purpose of gaining the advantage of the Act. The landlord wishing to borrow money at 3 per cent, instead of having to pay the higher rate he would be charged in the open market, had broken up his estate and let it colourably to his sons. He had then applied to the Land Commission for an advance of money, and had been able to obtain it at 3 per cent; whereas, if he had gone into the open market, he would be obliged to pay at least 5 per cent. Those were colourable transactions which he desired to put a stop to. As he had said, cases of this kind had been agreed to by the Land Commissioners with full knowledge of the circumstances, under the idea that they were in accordance with the spirit of the Act. The other cases to which the clause applied were those which would not come within the limit of £5,000, but where a tenancy already existed of more than the value of £5,000. Such holdings had been broken up and re-let so as to bring them within the limit, and enable the landlords, acting in combination with the tenants, to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act. He believed that cases of that kind also had not infrequently occurred, and, as he thought they ought not to be allowed, the clause had been so drawn as to prevent them taking place in future. He proposed to make a small alteration in the wording of the clause, in order to prevent another abuse. After the words "predecessor in title," he proposed to add "other than purchasers since the passing of the Act." That would prevent cases such as those which had been mentioned by the noble Lord the Member for the South Molton Division of Devon (Viscount Lymington), where land speculators had bought up tenancies for the purpose of getting them converted into ownerships and then releasing them at a great profit. He did not see what there was in the Act, as it stood, to prevent a landowner from doing that. There was nothing to prevent him from refusing to sell to the tenant, then compelling the tenant to sell to him, putting in a bogus tenant,

and then re-selling the holding; the Land Commission having lent money at 3 per cent for the purpose of facilitating such speculations. It was to meet those three descriptions of colourable transactions that he proposed the clause.

New Clause (Prevention of colourable transactions,) — (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre,*)— *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the right hon. Gentleman in this clause had proposed a remedy which would go far in excess of the disease he alleged to exist, and he had given no evidence of the existence of the disease itself. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that there were cases in Ireland in which a landlord had cut up his estate into half-a-dozen holdings and put in his sons, or other relatives, as bogus tenants; and having thus created three or four bogus tenants, he had then applied to the Land Commission for an advance of money under the provisions of the Land Purchase Act at 3 per cent to his own great personal advantage. Now he did not think that such a state of things really existed; and, if a case of the kind had occurred, it must have occurred through some error on the part of the Land Commissioners, which was to be remedied by a more rigid course in future, and not by a particular limitation suggested by the right hon. Gentleman. As a matter of fact, he did not believe that the Land Commissioners had been guilty in any respect of the carelessness with which the right hon. Gentleman charged them. The right hon. Gentleman told them that the Land Commission had lent themselves to those — what he called — colourable transactions, but what he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) called fraud. He could not believe that the Land Commissioners had been guilty of connivance in any fraudulent transactions of the kind. He believed that the statement was absolutely without foundation, and, that being so, he could not accept an Amendment which he considered to be based upon an error of what had actually taken place, and which involved the greatest slur, not only on the intelligence, but on the character of the gentlemen who had been engaged in administering the Act. Did not the right hon. Gentleman see that his remedy, if adopted, would go much further than the disease he alleged existed? He wished to exclude from the benefit of the Act every tenant whose tenancy had begun in the course of the last five years. They had discussed in those debates the evils of limitation, the hardship inflicted by excluding classes; but was there ever a limitation of which those who were excluded had more reason to complain than this? Why was the man who had taken a farm within the last five years less worthy of consideration than another man who had held a farm for more than five years?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, his Amendment did not say five years before the passing of the Act, but five years before the application of it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the point was this—why was a person who wanted to apply next January for a loan, because he became a tenant for the year preceding January next, to be excluded from the beneficial operation of the Act? He could not conceive any justification for the limitation. Very likely he might be a man who had made money in some other calling, and who wished to invest it to the best advantage. Surely such a man was the very person they ought to encourage, and whom they would desire to see established as a proprietor. He could not understand why he should be singled out for exclusion. For these two reasons—because the remedy was worse than the disease, and because the clause would have a tendency to exclude desirable tenants, he felt bound to oppose it, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would not press it to a Division.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said, he knew of one case in which an attempt had been made to create a fictitious tenancy; but the Land Commission refused to recognize it. The gentleman interested called upon him to complain of it as a grievance, and to state that he had a grudge against the Land Commissioners; but his (Mr. T. W. Russell's) reply was that the Commissioners had acted properly. What they had done in that case he believed they would do in others.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) said, he regretted that the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) had not told the Committee what the case was to which he referred. He (Mr.

Sheehy) knew of cases in Ireland—in Galway and in Kilkenny—in which fictitious tenancies had been created. The cases to which he referred were of this kind—the tenant was evicted by the landlord, the landlord then introduced a caretaker, made him the bogus tenant, and then sold the holding to that bogus tenant under Lord Ashbourne's Act. He would give the particulars of one case, so that the Committee might understand the nature of the job which had been perpetrated under the Act. In the case he had in his mind the original tenant owed a sum of money to a person named Macnamara, and was sold out for the debt. Macnamara then put in an Emergency man as tenant of the farm and sold his claim to the tenant. Then, having got the money, he allowed the tenant to remain in possession for a year and then went away. Coffin was the name of the tenant. In this case he gave both the name of the landlord and the tenant, but he had not heard any name mentioned by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. The statement he had made related to facts which it was impossible to controvert. He might adduce other facts, if it were necessary, to show that it was quite possible to introduce bogus tenants and place them in possession of holdings, on the understanding that when one year had expired the tenant should apply to the Land Commissioners for power to purchase under the Act. In Galway he knew of a case where a distinct arrangement was made between the landlord and the incoming tenant that at the end of one year the tenant should be qualified as tenant to purchase. He maintained that those were not cases for which the Act of Lord Ashbourne was designed at all. The parties to the transaction were men in comfortable circumstances, and, if they wanted to purchase, were able to do so out of their own money without obtaining advances from the State. They had, however, taken advantage of the Act to create a sort of peasant proprietor which was certainly never contemplated when the Act of 1885 was passed. It was only right that the Government should accept this Amendment, if only to protect the interests of the British taxpayer. They did not wish that the Commissioners should become farmers or landlords of the property which was sold under their supervision. What had absolutely occurred in certain cases was that the Commissioners had had to advertise for graziers, and, having failed to get graziers, the property had reverted to the original tenant. It was not known yet what was the amount of money the landlord and tenant, by their collusion, got out of the Commissioners. He did not charge the Commissioners with anything like collusion, and he believed the Commissioners tried to do their duty. They were bound by Act of Parliament to see that the land was worth the money advanced, but, if the Commissioners had discretion they might inquire into the character of the tenant. This, however, they were not required to do now, but were only bound to see that there was proper security for the money. What he and his hon. Friends complained of was that the Commissioners were not safeguarded; they were not given instructions in the Act by which they might conserve the public money, and by which such instances of bogus sales as he had mentioned might be prevented.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had kept back the names of the sellers and buyers in these cases, and hon. Members therefore could not supply him with as many instances as they might have been able to give him had they had the names before them. But they were not without some cases, and he begged to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to a case which came before Mr. Justice Lawson and a jury in Dublin on the 12th of November, 1886, a case which illustrated the facilities with which the Act had been used for benefiting the landlord only. From the statement made in the case he found that a gentleman in Donegal, by the death of his brother, became the owner of certain lands. The gentleman created a tenancy in the farm by letting it to a neighbouring farmer at a rent of £65 a-year. Application was then made by the occupier to the Land Commission for the purchase of the land, and the Commissioners advanced money representing 20 years' purchase. Three weeks afterwards the temporary tenant re-conveyed the land to the landlord, and he then succeeded in getting a loan on his own land at the ordinary rate of repayment by instalment. What answer

was there to a case of that kind, and that sort of case was no uncommon one? In his opinion this Bill, whatever other persons might think about it, was primarily intended to enable the landlords, who were now creating bogus tenancies, to sell the land. In other words, it was a last device of the Government for defeating the Plan of Campaign. The Lord Lieutenant, speaking at Belfast the other day—and the Chief Secretary had since repeated the statement—said that 160 farms had been re-let in Ireland recently. It was an extraordinary thing, however, that the Government would not give any information about these farms—where they were, or who were the persons who had taken them. He granted for a moment that some form of letting had been gone through in the case of these 160 farms; but he could readily understand the nature of the cases from specimens he would furnish to the Committee. They knew that a certain number of the 160 farms comprised the Coolgreany estate. They had it on the authority of Captain Hamilton, the ex-Secretary of the Property Defence Association, that 10 farms in that locality had been re-let. To whom had they been re-let? Why, to the very Emergency men who were paid so much a week for turning the old tenants out of their houses. One man, who had been created a tenant on this estate, had recently left the county of Kilkenny because he was not able to pay his rent. Another man had been created a tenant whose property on his holding consisted only of an ass and a goat. A Mr. Webster, who was so successful a Loyalist farmer in county Wexford that he could not pay his rent, had got a new farm in Coolgreany, and no doubt in a very few weeks he would apply for an advance under Lord Ashbourne's Act, and he would be installed as one of the new peasant proprietors. A man named M'Gowan actually came from the Gorey Workhouse in the very week he was employed by Captain Hamilton as an Emergency man. He, too, was one of the new tenants, and the Committee could imagine what sort of a tenant a man would make who, a week before, was so poor that he had to take his meals in one of the common workhouses of the country. Then there was the famous Emergency man Johnston. This man was the tenant not only of one farm, but of two farms on the Coolgreany estate. He was a man who was engaged in all the operations carried on by the Property Defence Association on the Plan of Campaign estates. When he became a tenant, Captain Hamilton said that he and all the other tenants on the property paid half-a-year's rent to get into possession. Now, what were the facts about Johnston, one of the champion tenants of Coolgreany? Johnston was examined the other day in a case tried at the Wexford Petty Sessions, in which a man named MacCarthy was charged under the Coercion Act with intimidating a certain person not to do a certain act. On that occasion he, upon oath, contradicted, point blank, Captain Hamilton, asserting that he paid nothing at all on coming into possession. He also stated that he paid his rent a couple of weeks ago to Captain Hamilton, but refused to state what the amount of the rent was. He admitted, too, on his oath, that he got no receipt. There was every reason to believe that all the tenants on the Coolgreany estate were bogus tenants; that they had been expressly created for two purposes—for the political purposes of right hon. Gentlemen occupying the Treasury Bench to show some need for their coercive policy; and for the second and more important object of enabling Mr. Brooke to be able to sell his property under the Ashbourne Act. Mr. Brooke had no other possible means of getting on; he had evicted his tenants, and there were no other genuine tenants in the neighbourhood, or in any other part of Ireland, willing to take the farms. The Protestant Colonists of the North of Ireland showed great unwillingness to come down as far as Wicklow or Wexford; but a few beggared Loyalists, some straight from the workhouse, and some of them possessing an ass and a goat a-piece, had been found in scattered portions of the rest of Ireland, and had been brought to Coolgreany, and installed under bogus lettings as new tenants, for the purpose of enabling them to apply to the Land Commission, a few weeks hence, for the sale and purchase of the land which could not otherwise be disposed of. If, in face of these facts, which he challenged the loyal minority sitting opposite to contradict, the Committee could sanction this Act without some power being

given to the Commissioners in the direction of preventing advances being made in support of bogus tenancies, all he could say was that the British taxpayer deserved to be swindled and plundered by the landlords of Ireland.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said, he hoped the Committee would abstain from forming any absolute judgment as to the character of the tenancies alluded to by the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) until they got other and possibly more accurate information. He was perfectly well aware that the action of Mr. Brooke on the Coolgreany estate was a very sore point with hon. Members opposite. He did not suppose he would be in Order if he were to go into the case; but as the hon. Member had alluded to bogus tenancies the Committee should remember what class of tenants they were whose places these Protestant tenants took. They were well-to-do tenants. There was very little difference between the rent asked by the landlord and the rent fixed by the Plan of Campaign, and yet the tenants were now beggars on the roadside. [*Cries of* "Not beggars!"] Well, they were living in Land League huts, and that was worse than being beggars. Let him pass now to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). He could not conceive how the right hon. Gentleman obtained his information in regard to the action of the proprietors of demesnes; the right hon. Gentleman must have consulted some friend with an ingenious mind, in order, between them, to devise a way by which Irish landlords could defraud the State, and had arrived at this probable solution; for undoubtedly the case he cited would be a case of fraud. The Committee would see that, if the Commission were worth anything at all, it must be trusted to refuse its sanction to any such transaction as the right hon. Gentleman contemplated. No case had been given in which an Irish landlord had deliberately set to work to defraud the State by dividing his demesne among his children and then getting money under this Act. He (Colonel Saunderson) hoped the Committee would see there was ample protection afforded by the Commission itself being able to discriminate as to cases in which advances should be sanctioned and in which they should be refused. He could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman's speech was a deliberate reflection upon the Commission. Without giving the slightest shadow or shade of ground for the accusation, the right hon. Gentleman had deliberately accused the Commission of collusion with the Irish tenants to defraud the State.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I never said that, or anything like it.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, that it was within the recollection of the House that the right hon. Gentleman said that the landlords of Ireland sold their demesnes under these circumstances, and that the Commissioners were perfectly aware of the fact. He conceived that if that were true the Commission was absolutely unworthy of the confidence of the House of Commons and of the country. He repudiated, in the name of the Irish landlords and of the Land Commissioners, the insinuation that they had been guilty of any such fraudulent transactions. He trusted the Committee would reject this proposal, which was absolutely unnecessary.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton) said, that the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) was likely to make those Members who were already anxious about the financial operation of the Bill still more anxious. The hon. and gallant Gentleman referred to the Coolgreany estate, and, as far as he (Sir George Trevelyan) could gather, there was no difference of opinion between hon. Members as to the essential thing that had happened on that estate—that was to say, that a very considerable number of genuine tenants had left the holdings, and that their places had been taken by temporary men.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I do not call men genuine tenants who refuse to pay rent.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN said, that the former tenants were men who had been on the land a very long while, who had made their living as farmers, and who understood the business of farming. The places of these men had been taken by tenants who had been on the land, at any rate, a very short time. Now, he desired to ask the Government whether the Commissioners were empowered to inquire into any other matter

beside the question as to whether the land was security for the loan? He was sure the Government would see the extreme importance of the answer to that question. Were the Commissioners empowered to inquire into the question as to whether the tenants were really genuine farmers, and whether they were possessed of capital? Because, if the tenants were not, it might happen under the Bill, unless they provided by an Amendment that it should not happen, that a man without capital, who did not seriously intend to continue the calling of a farmer, might obtain one of these holdings on very favourable terms, and then, after a little while, sell it at a good profit. He might sell it at such a price that the next tenant, instead of being of that class of tenants whom they hoped to get under the Bill—namely, a man holding at an exceptionally low rent, would, in consequence of the large sum he had given for his holding, hold at a very high rent. The consequence would be that instead of being a good tenant for the State he would be a bad tenant, and a tenant who might be on the very verge of insolvency. Unless the Government could assure them that the Land Commissioners were empowered to inquire into the capital of the tenant, into his being a genuine farmer—unless the Commissioners were not only empowered, but considered it their duty, to make that inquiry in all cases where there was a new tenant—he could not see any reason whatever which any of them could give for not voting for this Amendment.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, it was the practice of the Commissioners to send down Inspectors whose business it was, in every case, to inquire not only into the nature of the holding, but also into the position of the tenant who proposed to buy, and to satisfy themselves of the solvency of the tenant. The Land Commissioners had already rejected a great number of applications upon the ground that the tenant was not a solvent person, and in other cases they had actually taken sureties for the payment of the instalments. In the case of a tenant who had been holding since 1885 only, the Inspector required the tenant to make an affidavit to the effect that the contract of tenancy under which he held was such as would enable him to enforce it in law.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had been challenged in regard to his statement. He admitted he was unable to give any specific name, but from the information he had received he had not the smallest doubt that landlords had let their land to one or more sons, and that then, immediately afterwards, the sons had applied under the Land Purchase Act for advances converting them into owners, and that the Land Commissioners, with a knowledge of the facts, had granted the applications, and the loans had been obtained. It was his deliberate conviction that, if a Return were given showing the names of the landowners and purchasers under the Act, it would at once appear that these transactions had occurred. He did not say they were fraudulent; the tenants might be *bonâ fide* tenants; but, still, what he stated was done for the purpose of obtaining advances from the State. Such transactions ought not to be permitted, and it was with a view of preventing them that he had framed this clause. This was only one class of the transactions he had complained of. He had mentioned two other classes. In the first place, he had pointed out that tenancies above £5,000 in value had been broken up into two or more tenancies in order to enable the sub-divided tenancies to come under the Act and obtain advances. [*Cries of* "Why not?"] There was a practical limit in the Act of £5,000, and for a tenant to break up a £5,000 tenancy in order to get advances in respect to sub-divided tenancies was against the spirit of the Act. Furthermore, he objected to seeing big speculators buying up tenancies for the express purpose of re-selling at larger prices. The only way to prevent such a condition of things was to give some limit of time within which the advances should not be made. There should be something to show that a *bonâ fide* tenancy had been created before the application was sanctioned. Some hon. Members had raised the question of evicted tenants; he did not enter into that question, because he did not think it necessary to do so. He did not believe that any case had yet occurred in which the tenant of what was called an evicted farm had obtained an advance,

and he did not think it was very likely that one would. If it was necessary to argue the matter, he would say that a tenant who had come in under such circumstances was not of the class intended to be benefited. He came in as a future tenant under the Land Act, and was not a dual owner, and therefore would not be in the spirit or purview of the Purchase Act.

MR. MADDEN said, he rose merely for the purpose of stating to the Committee the law with reference to the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). The right hon. Gentleman had suggested that a holding of the value of £5,000 might be split up into several parts, and a larger advance obtained in consequence of that process. The Legislature had, however, made it impossible for any such thing to be done, because under the 17th section of the Act of last year no advance over £5,000 could be made to any one purchaser. The total amount receivable was, therefore, fixed by law. Where tenancies created since 1885 were brought before the Commissioners, they not only sent down Inspectors in every case, whose duty it was to inquire into all the circumstances of the tenancy, but they further required evidence upon affidavit, not only as to the circumstances of the tenancy then existing in the holding, but going back and tracing the history of the tenancy. This was for the purpose of preventing bogus tenancies, by which he understood colourable tenancies —not substantial and real tenancies. What they wanted to guard against were tenancies which were not real tenancies at all, but colourable tenancies. Experience showed that they could not guard against fraud by any hard-and-fast rule; they must trust some judicial tribunal to go into the transaction and unravel the fraud, if it existed. The only thing that could be done in this matter was to trust the Land Commissioners, and let them, as they did now, in the exercise of their judicial discretion, examine into the circumstances of the cases.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that although he had an Amendment also down on the Paper dealing with this subject, he wished to express his agreement with the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson), that no one would think for a moment that any of the Land Commissioners would lend themselves to the creation of bogus tenancies. His concern had been solely in regard to evicted tenants, and he thought the Government might accept some Amendment whereby, instead of all these transactions taking place *in camerâ*, or in the dark, the public should see what was going on. When a man applied for money, why should not his application be advertised in the local papers? If it was, there would be some guarantee as to the *bona fides* of the application. The Government had now told them for the first time what it was the Inspectors did. He was glad to hear the statement made in that behalf, but the Government had not yet said whether they had any objection to providing that, if the Commissioners were satisfied that the persons pretending to be tenants and desiring to buy were not desirable tenants in their opinion, the Commissioners should be debarred from lending the money. What he feared in this matter was administrative pressure. The cases of evicted farms had been mentioned, and he thought that it would be very satisfactory to the House and to the country if the Government would say that on this point there was no scheme in operation by which, having got rid of tenants who for the moment were in dispute with their landlords, Protestant Emergency men from the North of Ireland should be planted on the farms at the fearful risk of disorder and bloodshed. It would be very calamitous for the working of this Act if any such idea were in the mind of the Government. He and his hon. Friends believed that the gentlemen who now formed the Land Commission would not be parties to any such transaction, but they knew also that the Government did not intend to give these gentlemen permanent tenure of their offices. They knew that the Government intended to put upon the Commission Mr. Wrench, a noted member of the Kildare Street Club, who practically governed Ireland in respect to the Land Question from the Kildare Street Club. If the Chief Secretary had any idea of backing up Lord Lansdowne, or Mr. Brooke, or Lord Massereene, or any other

gentleman of like description, in creating colourable tenancies on their estates, he (Mr. T. M. Healy) feared for the peace of the country. He would like to have from the Government a distinct statement that this Act was not to be run as an anti-Plan of Campaign movement for the purpose of installing Emergency men as tenants in the holdings. They heard a great deal about outrages committed in recent years being absolutely unknown in former days, and that they were entirely due to the action of the Land League. If any gentleman, however, would take up the work on this subject by Mr. A. M. Sullivan—a gentleman much respected in the House of Commons, and well known for the moderation of his views—he would have his eyes opened as to what would be possible if anything like what he feared happened. Mr. A. M. Sullivan showed that Lord Norton had recourse to a considerable eviction of his Catholic tenantry, handing over the farms to Protestant new-comers, with the result that murder was a common occurrence. What he (Mr. T. M. Healy) and his hon. Friends were as desirous of as any hon. Gentlemen opposite was the prevention of calamities of a similar kind. They were anxious to know that the Government were not going to turn the Act into a means of helping landlords like Mr. Brooke and Lord Massereene to set up in every little village social ulcers or festering sores, which was bound to be attended with disastrous results.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had no hidden design in his mind in this matter. The Commissioners were to see that the money was applied under the Act in making *bonâ fide* tenants, and he had no doubt that that would be done.

MR. SEXTON said, that the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) seemed to think that it would be impossible for more than £5,000 to be paid for one farm. What was to prevent the landlord and tenant from agreeing to sub-divide a farm, breaking it up into four different tenancies, and obtaining £2,000 in respect of each tenancy, bringing in in all £8,000 ?

MR. MADDEN said, that the Act of Parliament prohibited such a proceeding. No one purchaser, no matter how many farms he had, could get more than £5,000.

MR. SEXTON asked, if the Act of Parliament prevented a tenant putting two or three of his sons into bogus tenancies on the farm ?

MR. MADDEN said, that that was altogether a different question. The two questions could not be mixed together.

MR. SEXTON said, that the two questions from the point of view of this charge were just the same, because the intention of the law was to prevent more than £5,000 being paid in respect of any one farm. If the tenant of a farm costing more than £5,000, with the assent or collusion of the landlord, created subtenancies, putting one of three sons into each of them, there was nothing to prevent the four persons getting £2,500 each, and, therefore, obtaining £10,000 for a farm instead of £5,000. The Solicitor General for Ireland must see he was hair-splitting when he argued that no more than £5,000 could be given for one farm. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) said something that was very interesting and new. He told them that when the Commissioners were considering whether or not they should sanction agreements they sent down Inspectors to inquire into the salary of the tenants, and often to go so far as to require the neighbours to give bonds. It was exceedingly strange that they had not heard of this before. Personally, he heard the statement with great satisfaction and pleasure, and he should be very glad if that line of action were embodied in the Statute and did not depend upon the discretion of the Commissioners. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) had accused the Mover of the Amendment of charging the Commissioners with misconduct, and had stated that the Commissioners were able to discriminate in cases brought before them. It was just because the Commissioners were not able to discriminate that the Amendment would be pressed, and ought to be accepted without any imputation of fraud on the Commissioners. Why had none of the Members of the Government referred to the specific case of fraud which had been cited ? The Chief Secretary for Ireland complained of a lack of information. If the right hon. Gentleman desired information, why did he not induce the Commissioners to prepare a Return of the 1,000 landlords whose estates had been sold, and of the 14,000 tenants

who had bought their farms? The right hon. Gentleman had known since last July that this Bill was to be brought in, and therefore his complaint as to the lack of information was groundless. If the Return he had mentioned had been presented, they could have supplied hundreds of cases in which deliberate collusion and fraud had not only been attempted but executed upon the money of the State. What reply had been made about Taylor in County Limerick, who held under Macnamara? Taylor was evicted, and the landlord put in a bogus tenant. As soon as the landlord had pocketed the money advanced under this Act the bogus tenant disappeared. This was an example of the power of the Commissioners to discriminate. The landlord having pocketed the money of the State the Emergency tenant disappeared, and the Commissioners, having endeavoured to procure graziers, were now obliged to give back the farm to the original tenant acting as their agent. It would be very interesting to know how much was advanced to Macnamara in respect to the transaction; and, in the second place, to know what the Commissioners were now receiving from Taylor, the original tenant? Why had they heard nothing of the case in Donegal, if the Commissioners were so effective in protecting the interests of the State? A landlord induced a neighbouring tenant to become nominally tenant of a farm, and then to go before the Land Commissioners and obtain an advance to buy the farm on 20 years' purchase of a very high rent. Obviously that was a fraudulent transaction. The Land Commissioners, in spite of all the care they took according to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), ratified the contract. They paid over £1,040 to the bogus tenant; the bogus tenant re-conveyed the farm to the landlord, and there having been no real tenant of the farm, the landlord had not only got back the farm, but had pocketed £1,040 of the money of the State. Was this kind of flagrant humbug to go on all over the country? The Government had kept very clear of the Coolgreany matter. The tenants who had made the most there, and whose families had been for generations in possession of the farms, had been turned out, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh chuckled over their misery. The farms had been relet, but to what kind of people? The farms were now let, not for the purpose of agriculture, but for the purpose of finance. What security was there that when the Land Commissioners came to inquire into the question of purchase and sale between Mr. Brooke and these bogus tenants they would inquire whether the men were solvent persons, or agriculturists, or whether there was any prospect of safety to the State in the transaction? The Chief Secretary had carefully refrained from dealing with the information placed in his hands. Public policy demanded the adoption of this Amendment, because, unless some limit of time was placed on the creation of tenancies, the landlords would pursue the policy they had hitherto pursued. They would, by every device, endeavour to induce the tenants to assent to exaggerated terms of purchase. Failing in this attempt, they would evict the tenants and induct into the farms bogus tenants, and through these means financial contracts would be entered into disastrous to the State.

Sir JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) said, that, as he understood it, the real meaning and object of this clause was to put a penalty on evictions. From the moment a farm was left derelict, if this clause became law, they would create a new penalty, because no tenant taking the farm could, for five years, buy it under the Act. It was not in the interest of the State that this should be the case, and, therefore, he protested against the adoption of the Amendment.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, that the hon. Gentleman's view was quite erroneous; indeed, what the hon. Gentleman had said showed what absurd and impossible arguments would go down with some hon. Members of the House, who would not take the trouble to inform themselves upon questions before the House. As a matter of fact, not a single reason had been urged against the adoption of this clause. So far as he could understand, it had been urged from the Treasury Bench that there was no need for this Amendment, because the Land Commissioners would carry it out. Why should they not, therefore, put it in the Act? If they had no objection to the principle of the Amendment, why not adopt it and end the

discussion? The adoption of the Amendment could do no harm if it did no good, while it certainly would be a guide to the Commissioners. He was astonished to hear the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) treat as a light matter the point put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford as regarded the splitting up of large farms into bogus tenancies for the purpose of purchase. This splitting up of large farms was a matter of notoriety in Ireland. In the earlier days of the working of the Purchase Act it was done constantly and openly, and the Commissioners in Dublin were aware of it. In some instances it had been done upon an enormous scale. By that operation of dividing a farm into tenancies among brothers and sons, a man had got advances much beyond what was contemplated; he had utterly defeated the intention of the Act of Parliament. Men, who, in some instances, were extremely well off, and in the enjoyment of large incomes, had increased their incomes considerably in this way. That was an abuse which would be removed by the adoption of this Amendment. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) repudiated, in the most indignant way, the accusation that landlords in Ireland were in the habit of creating bogus tenancies. He (Mr. Dillon) was personally aware of cases in which landlords had let their home farms to members of their own families, and in that way obtained large advances from the State. Of course, the agreement for purchase in such cases was naturally fixed as high as the Commissioners would tolerate. [Mr. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): Has this been done in Ulster?] He was not always talking of Ulster; he was speaking now of abuses which were perfectly possible under the Act, and which had occurred. What he could not understand was that the Government, in the face of this abuse, should refuse to accept an Amendment which could not possibly do any harm. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) stated just now that it was the practice of the Commissioners to send down agents to inquire whether the tenants were solvent, and to ascertain other particulars regarding their position. That might have been the practice of Commissioners quite recently, but he doubted whether it had been the practice for any long time. A very interesting case had come to his own knowledge—the case of the sale of a large estate in Louth. It was an estate enormously rack-rented, and coercion was brought to bear upon the tenants to buy. A disagreement had been going on between the landlord and tenants; some of the tenants were evicted, and on one of the evicted farms an Emergency man was placed. It was notorious that he could give no security for an advance, but he (Mr. Dillon) was informed that the Commissioners would unquestionably have made an advance to the man had it not been for the intervention of the secretary of the local branch of the National League. This gentleman, seeing the gross outrage which was being attempted, wrote to the Commissioners in Dublin informing them that this was a case of a bogus tenancy, and that really the man ought not to get a loan. The Commissioners, very properly, entered into correspondence with this horrible ruffian, the local secretary of the National League. They found his story was true, and they refused the loan. That was the true history of what occurred. These men had escaped imprisonment—at any rate, up to the present time they had escaped it. But he was perfectly confident that, in many parts of Ireland, men would have been seized upon and thrust into gaol for intimidating the Emergency man, had such a thing happened there. He pointed this out to illustrate most forcibly, first of all that the Commissioners could not be trusted of their own motion and initiative to ascertain who were the proper tenants to lend money to, inasmuch as in the case to which he referred they had never taken steps to find this out until they had been put in motion by the secretary of a local branch of a popular organization; and, secondly, he mentioned these facts to show that in those parts of Ireland where the tenants were most in need, the Land League, which the Government were endeavouring to extirpate, was the only means by which the interests of the farming classes could be looked after and brought to the notice of the Commissioners in Dublin. Unless the poor people of the West of Ireland had some organization to which they could look in order to have their views and interests represented, how was it possible for

them to bring under the notice of the Commissioners any such facts as those he had alluded to? The instance he had given the Committee clearly showed that it was not right and safe to leave the Commissioners to their discretion without directions from the House in the carrying out of these most important and vital proposals in the administration of the Act. And now he desired to say a word upon the question of evicted farms. He was very much afraid that in the distribution of these £5,000,000 the question of evicted farms would come to be a very burning one. They had been informed through several channels of late that attempts were being made to colonize these evicted farms by Colonists from Ulster, and his conviction, based upon considerable experience, was that they would not get any decent, respectable farmer from Ulster to come down and take evicted farms in the South. His opinion was that the men they got to take these farms were landless men who were without capital, and able to face any risk. They were led to believe that they were going to face risk in taking these farms, and no doubt they were. They were men without substance, for no respectable farmer who had land of his own, or who had any experience of land, could be found to do as they did. What were the facts as regarded these farms? They had in Ireland at the present time, in the three Southern Provinces, at least 6,000 evicted farms, and they, therefore, had to face a question of considerable gravity and size. They had large estates like the Vandeleur Estate, the Clanricarde Estate, and the Brooke Estate, where great bodies of tenants were evicted, and where they were informed that an organization was on foot for the deliberate purpose of planting whole tracts of the country with Protestant Colonists brought from other parts of the Island. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and wished to ask him whether he expected that a policy of that character was going to bring peace to the Southern counties? And he wanted to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Executive Government in Ireland or the Land Commissioners were going to lend the money of the State for the purpose of planting these Colonists in place of the original population of the country, with the inevitable result that so long as they remained there a condition closely bordering on civil war would prevail over the whole of these districts? What was to be the upshot of this policy? Was this the purpose for which Parliament was called upon to vote the money of the nation? Would anyone tell him that if the people of England understood to-morrow that their money was being voted for a purpose like this they would assent to the spending of a single shilling of this £5,000,000? He did not believe it. They were told that the object of spending the money was to endeavour to bring peace and contentment to Ireland. Was this the way to bring peace to Ireland? A more disastrous policy for a Government who wanted to pacify Ireland he could not conceive. If the motives of the Irish Members were such as the Government declared, they would be delighted to see a policy of this kind carried out, not because it would do any good, but because it was one which could only lead, the longer it was carried on, to greater confusion, trouble, and turmoil in these Southern districts. But the Irish Members were anxious for the peace and prosperity of their country, and they, therefore, deprecated this policy. The Committee, he thought, was entitled to know what the Government were about, and to have an answer, before they passed this particular section, as to whether they contemplated in their resistance to this provision, the case of the evicted farms, and whether it was their deliberate intention that a portion of this £5,000,000 should go to the planting of the Vandeleur and Clanricarde estates with Colonies of Protestants? The great nobleman who lived here at the Albany had announced it as his deliberate purpose to extirpate 1,200 families from his estate, and to plant in their places a colony of people from other districts of Ireland—protected by the police; and this nobleman would, no doubt, effect his purpose, as he had the finances which were necessary, and was in expectation of assistance from the Government £5,000,000. He (Mr. Dillon) thought the Committee was entitled to some definite answer as to whether they would permit any part of the £5,000,000 to be voted to such a purpose. Moreover, hon. Members were entitled to have some answer from the

Government from a different point of view from that of the peace and prosperity of the Southern and Western districts of Ireland, because it could not be imagined for a moment that they were lending on good security when they were lending money for the purchase of evicted farms. He openly challenged anyone who was at all acquainted with Ireland to prove the contrary of his assertion when he declared that the only men they would be able to get to take evicted farm were landless and poor men. There was no instance to the contrary within his knowledge, and he had had great experience upon these matters. These people, if allowed to purchase farms, would not be able to pay their instalments—they would not have the capital to cultivate the land, and in a year or two they would collapse. When this happened, who was to take their places; who was to come in and buy the farms and pay the instalments? Who was to be responsible to the State for the money advanced when the Commissioners found it necessary to put up these farms for sale? He maintained that if this policy was entered upon it would not only be a premium upon eviction, it would not only plant in the centre of the Southern and Western districts a festering sore which would render peace and prosperity impossible for miles round; but it would involve the utter breaking down of the whole system of purchase contemplated in the Bill. The ultimate result would be that the Government would find themselves in possession of large tracts of land which they would be unable to dispose of.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) said, it was a matter for great surprise that after the assurances given by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden), and the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket), the Chief Secretary should have done nothing to meet this Amendment half way. What did the assurances to which he referred amount to? They amounted to this—that Inspectors were sent down under the auspices of the Land Commissioners to carry out this work to the best of their ability—that was to say, to inquire into the solvency of the tenants and the circumstances connected with each tenancy. Surely, if investigations were carried on now, it would be far more satisfactory to all concerned if the duties of the Inspectors were put down in the Bill in black and white—if a declaration were embodied in the measure as to the duties of the Inspectors, so that they might know exactly upon what principle they had to go? The sum they were voting in this Bill, great as it might appear, was only a drop in the ocean compared with what would be required to purchase the whole of the land of Ireland, and he could not conceive any policy which would be more injurious alike to the interests of England and Ireland, if, instead of this money being used to set up a peasant proprietary in the sense of men who owned the land they tilled and tilled the land they owned, and purchased their tenancies with the object of getting a living out of the land—he could not conceive anything more injurious than that this £5,000,000 should be devoted, not to the object of satisfying the cravings of a legitimate land hunger, but for the purpose of creating a sort of fever in land speculation, or of planting colonies of Emergency men. He trusted the Government would do something to meet this Amendment half way, instead of resisting it in the manner in which they had resisted it hitherto.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, he thought it well that the Committee should understand that whenever any of these Acts had been passed for the expenditure in Ireland of public funds, or, for the matter of that, in England or elsewhere, a great many ingenious minds at once set to work to see how they could get behind the Statutes, whether by fair means or foul. These persons set to work very much as omnibus conductors were said to approach the question of a new checking machine—namely, to see how they could circumvent it. He thought it was clear from the individual cases which had been mentioned to-night that a great many ingenious people had succeeded in getting round the Land Purchase Act, at any rate to the extent of creating bogus tenancies. It was also clear that a larger share of this money might be got for the benefit of a single individual than £5,000, which was the statutory limit for one transaction. It was by no means difficult to evade the provisions of the Act, notwithstanding the precautions which the Commissioners might adopt. In the first place, all opera-

tions under the Act were carried on in the dark. An individual tenant and landlord entered into negotiations with each other, and submitted the result of the negotiations to the Land Commissioners, no one around them being a bit the wiser as to what was going on. When the Inspector sent down by the Commissioners made his inquiry, no one was in a position to advise him as to the circumstances of the case. Furthermore, as was well known in Ireland, the entire administration of the country was carried on by a system of Government Bureaux, which were known to be in no sense under the control of the Irish Representatives or the Irish people. This system of administration was not looked upon with favour by the people of the country, and the people were not at all likely, therefore, to go out of their way to prevent the Government from falling into such transactions as had been described here to-night. Publicity would, of course, prevent the possibility of a great many of these transactions occurring, but they had not heard from any Member of the Government that they contemplated adopting the suggestion made by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy)—namely, that before these transactions occurred the names of the parties should be advertised in the public Press, just as advertisements were issued at the present time in respect of applications for loans of public funds for tenants' improvements. With regard to evicted farms, he was confident that if the English people understood that this measure was to be used for the purpose of enabling landlords to obtain the capitalized value of their lands by State aid through the medium of Emergency men they would call upon their Representatives to oppose it. Lord Ashbourne's Act was never so intended, and it would be a gross abuse of the present Bill so to apply it. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) had said that the Purchase Commissioners sent down Inspectors or valuators to inquire, not only as to the security, but also as to the surrounding circumstances of an agreement to purchase between a landlord and tenant, and he (Mr. Murphy) would ask how was this Inspector to arrive at any result except by such evidence as might present itself to his own senses? He could not hold one of those Star Chamber inquiries which they were familiar with under the Coercion Act, and could not examine witnesses on oath. He (Mr. Murphy) did not think that any system short of that would enable these Inspectors to arrive at the truth. Under the present circumstances, if there was any irregularity in a purchase, so long as the security was ample, it did not appear that the Commissioners would have power to refuse their sanction to a claim—he gathered that from the statement of Mr. Commissioner Lynch on a recent occasion. So far from the Commissioners taking precautions so as to protect themselves, it was well known that in the early stages of the Land Purchase Act purchasers were slow in availing of it, and there was general tooting about for people to come in and buy. He thought the Government would only be acting reasonably in accepting the Amendment.

Dr. KENNY (Cork, S.) said, he regretted very much that the Committee had received no intimation from the Government as to what they were going to do in this matter. This was a serious question, and there was more in it than probably met the eye, because he imagined that if this Amendment were not accepted the result would be to defeat the policy of the Act of 1881. The policy of that Act was to make those who were in a sense peasant proprietors capable of getting a fair rent fixed, whilst future tenants could not expect, under certain limitations, to get that fair rent fixed. Well, if this Amendment, or one in the same spirit, were not accepted, what would happen would be this — bogus future tenants, by purchasing holdings, would get a fair rent fixed. The inducement to these tenants to buy would be that the instalments they would have to pay the Government would be less than they would have to pay in the shape of rent, supposing they were only tenants. Well, if they were able to apply the Amendment in the way that was in his mind this difficulty, he thought, would be got over. He would suggest to the Mover of the Amendment that he should alter the wording of the Amendment, so as to make it say that the Commissioners, in the sale of tenancies, should confine their operations to such tenants as were present tenants within

the meaning of the Act of 1881. That would exclude, if he were right in his supposition, all bogus tenants from the possibility of purchasing under this Act —because a bogus tenant was obviously a future tenant under the Act of 1881. If this suggestion were adopted, a bogus tenant would not be able to buy, as the Commissioners would be forbidden under its terms from dealing with him. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary could accept this suggestion or not, but he would like to ask the Government whether the intention of the measure they were discussing, or the policy of it, was to advance loans, because, obviously, in the cases stated by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and other Members in the course of the debate, loans had actually been granted under Lord Ashbourne's Act. They knew that in Donegal a gentleman had got a loan of 3¼ per cent, amounting to £1,040, for the value of his estate, in order to work it. Was it the intention of the measure that loans of this kind should be granted —was such a thing contemplated under Lord Ashbourne's Act? To his mind it was diametrically opposed to the idea involved in the Act. He considered the Government were themselves bound to prevent any transaction in the teeth of what was supposed to be the policy of the Act. That policy was to relieve the now strained relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland by getting rid of one of the parties altogether. The Government were now departing from that policy, and were enabling clever Petty Sessions lawyers to circumvent the Act and get for their clients large amounts of money on very easy terms.

Mr. Johnston rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put;" but the Chairman withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said, that as one of the Members for Donegal he was bound to say that he had been most unfavourably impressed—he might almost say shocked—by some of the Returns which had been published referring to that county. It had been pointed out that in this county a landlord had been known to create a fictitious tenancy, and then, by an arrangement with the tenant, to secure a mortgage. That was to say, the landlord had effected a bogus tenancy. He (Mr. O'Doherty) had called the attention of the House to a similar case two years ago. In that case a father and son had been living together, and still continued to live together, and, under the pretence of using the Act for the purpose of making a peasant proprietor, the father had borrowed from the State £2,000 or £3,000. Although he (Mr. O'Doherty) had called attention to this matter in the House, as the gentleman principally concerned was one of the officials in the Land Commission, the Land Commissioners were easily satisfied as to the *bonâ fide* nature of the transaction. But the matter went beyond this, for in the county of Donegal the number of cases in which fair rents had been fixed by the Land Commission was 6,105, affecting an average of 181,957 acres, or an average of 31 acres, with a total rental of slightly under £8, the average value per acre being about 5*s.* He asked the special attention of the Committee to these figures, especially to the 5*s.* value. What was the result of the cases which had gone before the Land Commissioners under the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act? He had worked that out by the same means and by the same figures, and the land was now valued at 10*s.* an acre, which he declared to be a fictitious value put upon it for the purpose of getting a larger price through the Purchase Commission. The average in each case was 20 acres only, but where the rent for 31 acres was under £8, now, in the case of 20 acres, the rent was over £11. Now, he would ask the attention of the Committee to this fact—that the Commissioners had not been dealing in the case of Donegal with a normal state of things. In the 95 cases in which advances had been made there, they had been dealing either with future tenancies, with fictitious rents, or tenancies raked up for the purpose of enabling the landlords to apply for these loans of money. But that was not all. As he understood it, the average price given upon the rent all over Ireland was 17½ or 17¼ years' purchase, and would it be believed that the average price by the same test in the County of Donegal was 22 or 23 years' purchase? He could show that distinctly by the figures. On page 16 of the Blue Book, that hon.

Members had now under pressure obtained from the Government for their enlightenment in this debate, they would see with regard to Ulster the relation between the Government valuation and the judicial rent. They would find that in that Province the judicial rent was slightly under the Government valuation, the difference being about £400. Taking it broadly, the general rent and the Government valuation were the same. What did he find with regard to the cases dealt with in Donegal under Lord Ashbourne's Act?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he failed to see how the hon. Member's argument was connected with the question raised in the Amendment.

MR. O'DOHERTY said, his object was to show that besides the two cases quoted to the Committee, in his opinion the large majority of Donegal cases must have been fictitious cases consisting of future tenancies and exaggerated rentals, such as had been referred to already. However, he would not press the point further, as he knew the Chairman allowed every latitude to every hon. Member who endeavoured to bring essential facts before the Committee. He maintained, however, that something or other ought to be introduced into the Bill when they found such a state of things existing in the County of Donegal as had been described. Something ought to be done to prevent such cases as he had referred to in a previous Session, where a fictitious tenancy was created between father and son. He could give the names of the parties in this instance if necessary; in fact he had already given them in the House, and surely such a case as that was sufficient to warrant some steps being taken.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 93; Noes 120: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 311.)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I now propose the clause which we agreed to add to the Bill, and which is as follows:—

"No advance shall be made by the Land Commission to any one purchaser of land under the Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, exceeding the sum of £3,000, unless, in the opinion of the Land Commission, the advance of some larger amount not exceeding £5,000 is expedient for the purpose of carrying out a sale on the estate of the same landlord."

New Clause (Limitation of Advances,)—(*Mr. W. H. Smith,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. CONYBEARE (Corwwall, Camborne) said, he had two clauses down on the Paper, but he did not know that it would avail much if he pressed the first, because he had not noticed that yielding disposition on the part of Her Majesty's Government to lead him to expect that they would accept any suggestion he might offer. He thought, after all that had been said as to bad security, something should be done in the way of minimizing the risk which the taxpayer would have to incur, and, therefore, he thought it would be very desirable to increase the proportion of the purchase money that was to be covered by the advance on the part of the purchaser from one-fifth to one-third of the purchase money. But seeing that the whole principle of the Bill was essentially bad, and that this idea of guarantee by way of security was absolutely illusory and ridiculous to anyone who troubled himself to go into the matter thoroughly, he did not know that the difference between one-third and one-fifth was sufficient to make it worth while to trouble right hon. Gentlemen opposite by pressing his clause on their attention. He would only, therefore, say, with regard to the last line of the first clause he had put on the Paper, that it appeared to him, judging from the tables in the Blue Book which the Government had at the last moment furnished them with, that they were under existing arrangements for purchasing estates simply investing the money of the taxpayer in estates which were admitted to be worthless. Her Majesty's Government came before the House with this Bill, first on the plea that it was necessary for the pacification of Ireland. On that ground they had asked the House to advance money for the assistance of the tenants in the most poverty-stricken districts. Well, when it had been pointed out that, after all, a very small proportion of the loans had gone to relieve the poor tenantry of Connaught and Munster—a small

proportion compared with what had gone into the pockets of the Duke of Abercorn and other noblemen—the Government came and said, "You would not have us advance this money on worthless estates in the South and West of Ireland, because, as you well know, on many of these estates the tenantry could not make a living, even if they paid no rent at all." He found that while the Government were using that argument and insisting that a large part of this money should go into the pockets of dukes, marquesses, and lords, and so on, and that it would be impolitic to advance money on worthless farms, according to page 52 of the Report they were investing large sums of money on these very worthless estates, not by way of loan, but buying the estates out and out. The reason, therefore, he had put down this clause to strike out Section 5 of Lord Ashbourne's Act was, because it seemed to him a most preposterous thing that we should be asked as a nation to put ourselves in a position which any individual investor in his senses in this country would not for a moment put himself into—that was to say, to invest our money on what was admittedly a worthless security. To show how worthless it was all over Ireland, he might point out that they could not get companies whose business it was to invest in landed securities—mortgages, and the like—to invest in Irish estates at all. He had had forwarded to him a short time ago, by a very rabid Tory friend of his, a list of securities held by one of the insurance companies in London, with the note appended, "No advances made on Irish land." Now, he imagined that if companies whose business it was to advance money on realty, and individual investors who had their wits about them were so possessed with the idea that these estates in the South and West of Ireland were so worthless that they would not invest in them, it was a monstrous thing for the Government to come to this House and ask the taxpayers to invest their money on such ridiculous security. But so far from that weighing with the Government at all, he supposed that under the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act, continued by this Bill, they would be ready to buy up any number of worthless estates. What was the proportion of money which had already been spent in purchasing estates in the West and South of Ireland? Why, he found in the Summary of the Report that out of 12 estates which had been purchased, the total amount of money being £71,135, seven were in Connaught and Munster. They represented a majority of 203 out of 372 tenants, and out of the whole £71,135 purchase money no less than £40,468 had been advanced upon this very risky security on the estates in the Provinces of Connaught and Munster. Well, if Her Majesty's Government and the taxpayers of this country thought that that was good enough security for them, he supposed it was quite competent for them to go on spending a much larger sum out of this £5,000,000 in this way. All he could do was to utter a protest against the whole scheme of the Bill and the whole principle of Lord Ashbourne's Act, because he held that if they bought land at all they should buy it for the benefit of the State, and keep it in the hands of the State, and not replace the present worthless landowners by a number of other landowners independent of the State, who would probably be worse than the present ones, if that were possible. He felt bound to point out what seemed to him a very great danger, that in buying up these estates, which admittedly other people in their senses, who wanted to invest their money, would not buy, they were involving this country in the great possibility of losing all the money so invested. That was one reason for putting on the Paper the suggestion to omit Section 5 of the Act. But as he said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was much too languid to trouble himself with these minor considerations, and he (Mr. Conybeare) did not suppose that if he were to talk all night he could produce more impression upon him than to induce him to get up and move the Closure. Therefore, he did not think, having satisfied his soul by uttering a protest on this point, that he would trouble the right hon. Gentleman with the clause. He preferred rather to make a few observations on the next clause which he had put upon the Paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is rather trifling with the Committee. He has been speaking to a motion upon the Paper which in the

ordinary course would be put from the Chair, and he has now intimated that he does not intend to move it. The next clause, which he says he will move, is out of order, and cannot be put.

MR. CONYBEARE: Am I in order in moving this clause?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, as to the latter part of the first new clause.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he understood the second clause was out of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member intend to make a Motion?

MR. CONYBEARE said, that as it was ruled that he could not proceed with the next clause, he would move the latter portion of the first—namely, "Sections 5 and 7 of the same Act are hereby repealed." He thought that would be in Order. He apprehended there was no reason why he should not drop any preceding portion of the clause if he did not desire to press it. He had put himself in Order and had carried out a desire he felt to place before the Committee some extremely interesting observations of the right hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Courtney's) on the whole subject, and he would now content himself by formally moving the latter part of the first clause, making it clear that he would not trouble the Committee with the first portion.

New Clause (Amendment by Purchase of Land [Ireland] Act, 1885,)—*Mr. Conybeare*)—*brought up*—and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not comprehend the policy of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, because he had appeared inclined to drop the whole of his Amendment so long as he believed that the clause following could be put. It was only when he found that he could not put the second clause that he made his speech on the first, and the only part of his clause he desired to move was that declaring that Sections 5 and 7 of Lord Ashbourne's Act should be repealed. The hon. Gentleman's objection to these sections appeared to be founded upon a misconception of the facts. The two sections of the Act which the Amendment would repeal gave power to the Land Commissioners to purchase estates *en bloc* when they were convinced that four-fifths in number and value of the tenants were prepared to come under the operation of the Act.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he was not labouring under that impression.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the greater part of the hon. Member's speech wholly referred to that. The hon. Member seemed to think that the Commissioners took a different view of the security when they were buying under those sub-sections than when they were dealing with ordinary estates. But that was an entire mistake, because the Commissioners had in every case to satisfy themselves that the security was good. That was a pre-existing condition to every transaction entered into, and the only effect of the Amendment of the hon. Member, if carried, would be not that a better security would be obtained from the taxpayer than would otherwise be afforded, but simply that certain estates would not be sold *en bloc*. He, therefore, hoped that the hon. Member would not press the Amendment.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he did not want to press the Amendment, although he had felt it his duty, on account of the importance of the subject, to bring it before the Committee. His position was that the estates in the South were admittedly worse security than the estates in the North of Ireland; they were such that no prudent investors in this country would place their money in. He was convinced that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen in all parts of the House could not regard as good securities lands on which the tenants were unable to subsist. However, he would now thank the right hon. Gentleman for his courtesy, and ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, there was no Member of the Government present, and it would be of no use to address his arguments to the Chair.

Notice taken that 40 Members were not present, Committee counted; and 40 Members being found present,

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the principle of the Amendment standing in his name was one on which he believed the

Commissioners were already acting, except, perhaps, so far as it related to the question of interest. He understood that the Commissioners were making an order signifying their approval of the agreement between the parties, and afterwards an order to the effect that the tenant's liabilities shall cease from the date of the order. But he and his hon. Friends wanted more than that; they wanted an opportunity of knowing in what way they made the order, and whether it was of a judicial character. He was, however, now most concerned with the question of interest. It was a remarkable fact that although the Government securities were now reduced to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, the Commissioners made the man who bought the land from the landlord pay him 4 per cent. They did not know by what authority the Land Commissioners had decided that the tenant, pending the advance of the money granted to him by the State, must pay the landlord 4 per cent, while the latter, by investing it, could only get $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Further, by a recent decision in one of the Superior Courts in Dublin, 3 per cent interest had been fixed as the maximum amount which the landlord could recover pending the payment of the purchase-money. But this matter assumed a particularly anxious aspect from the fact that since the allocation of the £5,000,000 there had been a great number of advances. He knew some cases in which the advance had been standing over from year to year; and notwithstanding that the tenant was liable for rent and other matters after the date of the agreement, and when the relation of the tenant to the landlord had disappeared, he was nevertheless liable for this 4 per cent interest. He believed that there was a very large number of tenants whose agreements had been sanctioned by the Commission who were now paying interest to the landlord at that rate. He thought the fair thing would be that, when once the parties had entered into a practical arrangement, it should be considered that the tenancy became extinguished, and that the fee-simple vested in the vendee. When there was delay on the part of the Commissioners, why should the tenant be called to pay this interest in the meantime? It had happened that the Land Commissioners had taken more than a year to investigate a title, and another year to compose the differences between the landlord and the incumbrancers, and it was unfair that the tenant should be liable for this 4 per cent during the whole of that time. Indeed, it was a most iniquitous state of affairs. The moment the Commissioners sanctioned the agreement and made their order, at that moment the relation between landlord and tenant was extinguished, and, therefore, neither for rent nor for interest should the tenant be further liable. If they took a large sum, such as the Duke of Abercorn would receive, they would find that at 4 per cent a very large amount of interest would be realized upon the holdings of the tenants, and it was not right that when time was being taken up by the landlord being unable to prove a clear title, the tenant should suffer. Certainly 4 per cent, at a time when "Goschens" were down to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, was too much to collect from tenants who might be in very poor circumstances.

New Clause—

(Relation of landlord and tenant determined by approval of advance.)

"The approval of the Commissioners to the sanction of any advance shall be signified by an order as of date on which such approval was made, and from and after such date the vendee shall be discharged from all liability to the vendor in respect of any liabilities affecting the holding, including all rent and arrears, and the vendee shall not be liable to the vendor for any interest on the sum advanced in respect of any such holding, and the relation of landlord and tenant between them shall be deemed to have determined from the date as aforesaid,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, there were several clauses standing in the name of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) of a practical character, and if he was unable to accept them all, it was from no unwillingness to do so, but because he felt he could not recommend them to the acceptance of the Committee. With regard to the 1st clause, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would see that it could not

be accepted. The effect of the clause was to terminate the relation between the landlord and the tenant, and to provide that, from the date of the order, the vendee should be discharged from all liability to the vendor in respect of the holding, including all rent and arrears. The hon. Gentleman must be aware that the payment of instalments could not commence until the tenant actually received the money, and there would, therefore, be an interval between the termination of the relation between landlord and tenant and the commencement of the payment of the instalments. Under these circumstances surely the hon. and learned Gentleman could not expect that during the interval, whether it were short or long, the occupier of the land should pay neither rent nor interest. He could not think that the hon. and learned Member submitted that proposal to the Committee seriously. On the signature and approval of the agreement the relation between landlord and tenant ceased to exist; there was no more rent to be paid. But in the interim between the termination of that relation and the commencement of the new statutory relation when the instalments commenced to be payable, surely during that time the tenant was bound to pay interest. As to the rate of interest, it was reasonable to adopt the Court rate of 4 per cent. Undoubtedly the hon. and learned Gentleman was right in saying that the subsequent repayment of the loan was calculated at a lower rate of interest than 4 per cent. But that was because the State, once it came upon the scene, was able to advance money at a lower rate of interest than 4 per cent. The tenant had to repay the principal and interest. But he did not see that it was any hardship to the tenant to have to pay at the Court rate during the interval to which he referred. Therefore, as the arrangement was an equitable one to both parties, he failed to see any reason for accepting the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member.

MR. SEXTON said, he agreed that there should be some interval between the sanction of the agreement and the advance of the money? If the Amendment of his hon and learned Friend were adopted, or amended so as to limit the interest during the time which elapsed between the sanction of the advance and the actual advance of the money, the effect would be to relieve the tenant from a very material hardship. The State retained one-fifth of the purchase money and the landlord paid the State 3 per cent; so that on the one hand money was lent to the landlord at 3 per cent, and on the other hand 4 per cent was exacted from the tenant.

MR. MADDEN said, that the money was not advanced and the one-fifth retained until after the interval referred to—namely, until after the title had been made out.

MR. SEXTON said, the State paid one rate in respect of the sum advanced and yet the tenant was charged another—namely, 4 per cent. Why could it not be sufficient to say that the tenant should pay 3 per cent? This was a question of very great importance, because, according to the last Report of the Commission, the amount of loans sanctioned was £4,700,000 and the amount of money advanced was only £3,200,000, so that there was a difference of £1,500,000 between the amount sanctioned and the amount advanced, on which the tenants were paying at the rate of 4 per cent interest. To charge the tenant at that rate, while the Government only charged the landlords at the rate of 3 per cent, was, in his opinion, greatly in excess of the exigencies of the case. The Commissioners might take a year, or a year and a-half, before they advanced the money, and he suggested that the interest between the time of the sanction of the advance and the advance itself should be reduced, because, as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General would see, in this prolonged interval the tenant would be doing nothing towards repaying the capital.

MR. MADDEN said, there must necessarily be some delay between the sanction of the agreement and the advance of the money, and it was during that interval that the tenant had to pay interest, because he owed so much money to the landlord. Surely the hon. Member would not suggest that the tenant should go scot-free during that interval in which the arrangement was being considered by the Commissioners. There was nothing unfair in the existing law. Of course the hon. Member was quite right in pointing out that the tenant got more value afterwards for his 4 per cent, but the payment of the

money could not be accelerated. [Mr. SEXTON: Why not?] Because they were bound to assume that the Commissioners would do their best; and they could not make a hard and fast rule and say that all business should be settled in so many weeks or months—that must be left to the Commissioners.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, there was a fallacy underlying the case put by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland; because, although the tenant owed the money to the landlord, he knew that it would come from the State. Why should the tenants be paying interest for months while the landlord's murky title was being inquired into? The tenant assumed that the landlord had a clear title; but it might be found that when the matter went into the Court the Commissioners would discover that the title was not clear, and that there were incumbrances to be arranged, and, in the meantime, the man, unless he put his money into Honduras bonds, would not be able to get 4 per cent. Why should the delay of the Land Commissioners be made a reason for charging 4 per cent to the tenant? It was there he took issue with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He presumed that the Court rate referred to was that of the old Court of Chancery. But they had had a Liberal-Unionist Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he (Mr. T. M. Healy) contended that the Court rate ought to have been reduced. He knew nothing about the Chancery Court rate—the Capel Court rate was the only one he considered in this matter; and was it to be contended that the landlord was to receive 4 per cent while the widow or the orphan received only $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on money invested? He could see the hon. and learned Gentleman swelling with indignation at this idea, and he trusted that he would see that the landlords were placed in no better position in respect to interest than the tenant.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had very great doubt as to whether a portion of the Clause of the hon. and learned Member did not exceed the scope of the Bill. The Clause of the hon. and learned Member must stop at the word "arrears" in line 5.

MR. SEXTON pointed out that the Commissioners themselves had made a rule identical with that which the Chairman declared to be out of Order.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.) said, he wished to draw attention to the fact that on several estates now being sold the tenants were being proceeded against for the arrears of rent which had accrued before the purchase was effected. In one case, within his personal knowledge, John Healy had purchased under a threat of eviction from Lord Lurgan, to whom he owed an amount of arrears which this clause would go far to clear off. Judgment had been obtained against this tenant, and now, after the sale of the estate and the payment of the money, he was being proceeded against, not only for arrears but for eviction and law costs. He had in his hand documents which he should be ready to show anyone for inspection. One of the documents was a letter threatening this man with a levy upon his goods for arrears and rent which had accrued previous to the sale of the estate. That, he thought, was a great hardship, and it was now more than necessary that the tenants should be protected against the actions of the landlords and their agents. The letter he referred to was from Mr. McCash to Mr. John Healy, and was to the effect that he was obtaining a decree against him in the Sheriff's Court for execution, but that he would put the tenant in again as caretaker. This meant that he would seize the man's goods for arrears of rent; and, that being so, he submitted that the Amendment proposed by his hon. and learned Friend came at a very proper and opportune time, and he trusted it would be accepted by the Government. He should not trouble the Committee at greater length, but conclude with expressing his opinion that the House ought to be put in possession of the facts with reference to the present situation. He should, for these reasons, support with great pleasure the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, he might be allowed to remark that he saw great difficulty in entertaining the latter part of the hon. and learned Gentleman's Amendment; but from everything which had fallen from the Treasury Bench with reference to this question, he thought that the remaining portion of the Amendment was

one which ought to be acceptable to the Government. As he understood the situation, it was desirable, from the point of view of the Government, that the tenant should be in a position to offer satisfactory security to the State, and, therefore, that some such Amendment as that of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford should be accepted. The landlord or his agent ought not to be in a position to go behind the Act of Parliament, and hold over the tenant certain arrears after he had purchased the holding, because this practically rendered the advance of money by the Government to tenants more risky than it ought to be, or was intended to be, when the Act was passed. He could see no objection to the insertion of the clause; on the contrary, it seemed to him that the landlord and tenant, as well as the British taxpayer, would be placed by it in a much more sound position than they would otherwise be in. For these reasons he hoped the Amendment would be accepted.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said, he would like to understand from the hon. Member for South Armagh (Mr. Blane) whether a single application had been made from a tenant on Lord Lurgan's estate?

MR. BLANE said, he knew that one application had been made.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said, he was informed that this was not the case.

MR. MADDEN said, he thought the first part of the Amendment might be adopted down to the word "arrears."

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, if it would not be well to provide for a form of law?

MR. MADDEN said, he should not like that, as it would probably involve expense.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must inform the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, with reference to the next clause in his name, that part of it would be out of Order—namely, that which said—

"It shall be lawful for the Commissioners, where they see fit, to require that such charges should be capitalized and extinguished,"

and so on.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would not move the clause after the concession made by the hon. and learned Solicitor General, but he would ask whether, in the case of the existence of a rent-charge, or any other charge reducing the security of the state by so much, the Commissioners took into account the interest and prime charges on the estate.

MR. MADDEN said, he was informed that the Commissioners did so.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he had understood from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that the Government were extremely anxious to give the Land Commissioners a longer continuance of office. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) thought that, having regard to the fact that the time for which the two Land Purchase Commissioners had been appointed would expire next year, the Government would be anxious to give those gentlemen some feeling of independence by at once providing for their retention in office for seven years. He, therefore, begged to move the next clause standing in his name.

New Clause—

(Continuation of additional Land Commissioners.)

"The two additional Members of the Land Committee, appointed in pursuance of the seventeenth section of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' for the purpose of carrying the said Act into effect, shall respectively hold their offices for a further period of seven years next succeeding the passing of this Act,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. MADDEN said, having regard to the fair manner in which the hon. and learned Member had moved the clause he thought that the hon. and learned Gentleman would feel that it would not be reasonable to expect the Government to accept it. He hardly thought the hon. and learned Member seriously attributed to the Government any intention of casting a slur upon two gentlemen who had been satisfactorily and successfully carrying out their duties since 1885—a success which had been admitted by all Parties. Of course this question was a very important one, and the Committee were probably aware that

the Government had a Bill upon the subject which it was impossible to carry through during the present Session, and the course had been adopted of dealing with the matter by means of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act. The Government would, of course, be glad to receive suggestions on the subject from any quarter of the House, but the question was too large to be dealt with in the present Bill.

MR. SEXTON said, he did not think his hon. Friend would insist upon the retention of the period of seven years, but would advise that the Commissioners should be retained in office for a certain term longer. No one, as far as he knew, wished to speak of the Commissioners in any critical spirit, and, however critical Irish Members might become hereafter, they were at present disposed to give them the benefit of the opinion that they had discharged their difficult functions to the best of their ability. But the Commissioners would have to go out of office next year, and he asked the Committee to observe that, before the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill was considered, questions of extreme difficulty had to be determined by the Commissioners with regard to the estates of Members of the Executive Government, and the passage of the Bill might be affected by the degree to which the Members of the Executive were content with the action of the Commissioners. Undoubtedly, if the Commissioners were left in their present position, and their offices expired next year, they would have, in the meantime, to consider the proposal of the Lord Lieutenant to sell his estates at 20 years' purchase, and if the Commissioners sanctioned that scale, however purely they might act, they would lie under the suspicion of having done so under influence. Hon. Members on those Benches wished to prevent it being said that they had acted in this way, and that no one should be able to throw that taunt upon them. Before the Bill came on next year they did not know how many relatives of the Members of the Executive might go before the Commissioners, and in presence of that state of facts, without any desire to cast an imputation on the officials, as he had said, they desired by this Amendment to prevent any slur being cast upon them from any quarter with reference to this transaction.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.) said, he hoped, if the Government did not see their way to accept the Amendment as proposed to be altered by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), that his hon. and learned Friend would go to a Division. They could not feel the same trust and confidence in men who were liable to be dismissed at short notice as they would in men who were fixed in their office for a term of years. One fact had been brought out during the discussion by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford which threw a striking light on the manner in which the Commissioners might be, so to speak, pulled down into favouring the supporters of the Government unless they were protected by being continued in office. The Duke of Abercorn had been present in Court, or about the precincts of the Court, at the time when his estate was the subject of consideration at the hands of the Commissioners. They had heard also that the brother of a noble Member of the Government was interested in so vast a sum of money as £250,000 sterling, which the Commissioners had the means of facilitating or throwing obstacles in the way of, and that showed the importance of having Commissioners free from interference by a Government, the brother of one of whose Members was so deeply interested in their decisions. When they looked at the manner in which the Land Act had been carried on last year by Sub-Commissioners, they felt there was considerable ground for apprehension. Numbers of instances could be cited of Sub-Commissioners being appointed by the day, and in his own county several glaring cases had occurred. There were two estates dealt with by the Sub-Commissioners, one of which was owned by a brother-in-law of the chief Land Commissioner, and the other by the father of Mr. Wrench. In the latter case the landlord did not appear in Court, and did not show a single reason why the tenant's claim should be refused, and the people of the county believed, with fair reason, that the cause of the refusal was that the Sub-Commissioner, who was removable at will by Mr. Wrench, was doing a good turn for Mr. Wrench's father. Cases of that kind had occurred all over the country, and showed the importance of the Land Purchase Commissioners, holding a judicial office of enormous re-

sponsibility, being free from interference or arbitrary removal from their position.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) said, he had heard with Parliamentary disgust the accusation that had repeatedly been made against the Lord Lieutenant and the Duke of Abercorn. The Duke of Abercorn had been attacked from time to time in that House, and he desired to pay a humble tribute to his patriotism and the manner in which he had discharged his duties to his tenants. It seemed to him (Mr. Johnston) unfortunate that some hon. Members should think that all with whom they did not agree were actuated by sinister motives. He trusted that the Government would show a courageous spirit in dealing with this matter, which was one of great difficulty, inasmuch as the Commissioners were liable to be misrepresented and calumniated, no matter what they did, by certain Members of the House; he hoped they would resist the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, which, while professing to shield, was really attacking the Commissioners.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, hon. Members on those Benches would not yield to hon. Gentlemen opposite in a desire to protect the character of those Commissioners whose office was about to be renewed. If they went back two years they would find that there was ample reason for the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend. It would be remembered that when the Land Commissioners were appointed in 1881, a great agitation by the landlords sprang up for the purpose of discrediting the characters of those who were administering that Act of Parliament. The agitation resulted in the appointment of a special Commission; the characters of the Commissioners were investigated, and the result of the agitation was that many of the Commissioners were set aside. Then again, they should remember that one of the present Commissioners about whose office they were then speaking had given evidence before the Commission with regard to the administration of the Act of Parliament. This gentleman pointed out to the Commissioners that efforts were made by landlords in Ireland to frustrate the intention of the Act. It was a bold thing for a man holding office in Ireland to make such an independent statement as that, knowing well that a day of reckoning would soon come, and that it was in the power of the friends and relatives of Members of the Government to dismiss him. Having regard to those pages of history, such an Amendment as that proposed by his hon. and learned Friend was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary to protect the Commissioners, when doing their duty, from undue influence being brought to bear upon them by those who were the friends and relations of the landlords in Ireland—namely, Her Majesty's Government. There had been brought under his notice many of the ways and means by which landlords endeavoured to frustrate the Act of Parliament, and not long ago one landlord went to his tenant and said, "You and I will make a bargain; you shall buy your land at so many years' purchase"—

The CHAIRMAN said, that the subject referred to by the hon. Gentleman could not be relevant to this Amendment.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR said, he was endeavouring to point out that it was necessary to protect these Judges from influence in order that they should discharge their duties under the Act in an independent manner. It had from time to time been the object of Her Majesty's Governments and the Legislature, by enactments, to protect the independence of the Judges. It stood upon the Statutes of the Realm, and past history showed the great efforts which had been made to preserve the independence of the Judges of the land. It was in that spirit that this Amendment was proposed, and he trusted that his hon. and learned Friend would go to a Division upon it, and that the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would extend to it the same fair play as he had extended to another Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend. He thought that the present clause had a stronger claim upon him than that which he had so graciously accepted.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he regretted to have seen the day when the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) opposed a proposal which would have been supported by William III., by whom the Judges for the first time were made practically independent. He observed that there was no Member of the Government in his place to make a

statement on the position of the two Commissioners in question. He did not apprehend that there was any intention whatever to discontinue the two gentlemen who were now in office, and it was in that sense that his Amendment had been drawn up, but he did apprehend that they would be practically shelved by some other person being brought in. In the original Act the Commissioners were practically amalgamated, and last year the Government had proposed to bring in a Bill to make them again one body. Of course, if the Government would say that the Bill which they proposed was dead, he would be most happy to withdraw his Amendment, and, even as it was, he did not think it would be fair to press it to a Division, because he did not believe there was any intention to discontinue these gentlemen in their office. As the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had now returned to his place, he would ask him whether the Bill of last year was definitely to be shelved; and whether the Land Purchase Commissioners would be able to discharge their functions separately and distinctly from the Commissioners who were engaged in fixing fair rents? As the Bill of last year had been abandoned, he desired to ask whether there was any intention of renewing a measure which had created in every quarter of the House so much suspicion and distrust?

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, he did not wish it to be understood that hon. Gentlemen on those Benches had any suspicion of the Commissioners, whom they thought had administered the Act pretty fairly as far as they could, and had not strained the law against the tenants. He was glad to think that view was entertained by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and seeing that there was that concurrence of opinion, he did not think it was too much to expect an expression of opinion from someone in a responsible position. They would be glad to hear that there should be no interference with the members of the Commission, and that no attempt would be made to raise the ghost of the Bill of last year. They did not want to put the Commissioners under the shadow of the Superior Courts, whose views in the matter of land they had every reason to mistrust. If they had found men who had not shown any *animus*, and who were not charged with showing any by the landlords, it was, he thought, only a reasonable demand that the Commission should be allowed to administer the Act until the present £5,000,000 had been expended; and he considered they were entitled to have an expression of opinion on the part of the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, that unless they had a distinct declaration from the Government that there was no intention to revive the Bill of last year, they would come to the conclusion that the Government had still that intention *in petto*.

MR. SEXTON said, he did not think his hon. and learned Friend was being treated by the Government with the respect that Members of the House were entitled to. His hon. and learned Friend had urged that, if the Government were unwilling to accept his Amendment, there should be no attempt made to swamp the powers of the two Commissioners by merging their functions with those of the Land Commissioners. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland having communicated the alternative proposal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), that right hon. Gentleman had immediately left the House, and apparently it did not please the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) to say anything on the subject. He thought they must have a clear reply to the alternative proposal that had been made—namely, that if these gentlemen were to be left at the mercy of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act, the Government should say that they should continue to administer the purchase functions, and not be swamped by the intrusion of any other of the Commissioners.

MR. MADDEN said, the two classes of Commissioners were dealt with precisely in the same manner under the Expiring Laws Continuance Act; but he did not think how Gentlemen should expect any Member of the Government to state what Bills would be brought before the House next Session.

MR. SEXTON asked, if the hon. and learned Gentleman would say that these two gentlemen would or would not be allowed to continue by themselves the function of purchase?

MR. MADDEN said, he could not state that. Under the existing law,

they were solely engaged in the work of the Act of 1885, and would so continue as long as the law remained as at present.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, he thought that after the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the suspicion which existed would be increased. The hon. and learned Gentleman was not asked to say what Bill would be brought in next year; he was asked whether the Commissioners would be confined to their present functions? That question he had deliberately declined to answer. His own belief was that the Government meant to work this Bill in the interest of the landlords, and that with this view they were deliberately keeping the Commissioners in a dependent position. His hon. Friend below him had referred to a consideration of the most material importance on the present occasion raised by the evidence given before the Cowper Commission, at whose hands this question of the independent position of the Commissioners had received very great attention. One witness pointed out that every Sub-Commissioner had before him the risk of being cross-examined in a Law Court. What had taken place in 1882 might take place in 1889; and he conceived it possible that if Lord Londonderry did not get 20 years' purchase for his estates, under the auspices of the very men who intimidated the Sub-Commissioners in 1882 with the prospect of another Commission in the House of Lords, the present Commissioners would be called upon to answer for it. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) seemed to be of opinion that the great change in the constitution which made the Judges of England and Ireland independent of the Crown was an insult to the Judicial Bench, whereas it was in England the opinion that by the change the administration of justice had been made pure. He was convinced that the Irish people would entertain a profound suspicion that the Judges administering the Act in Ireland were putting money into the pockets of the large landowners. If the assurance was not given that they were not to be interfered with by Mr. Wrench, the suspicion now existing would become a belief that the whole scheme was to be worked for the landlords' benefit. The Government would give no answer on that point. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had twice risen, but twice evaded answering; and therefore, unless a positive assurance was forthcoming, he was prepared to support a Motion for Progress if his hon. Friend thought fit to make it.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, that upon a question affecting the integrity of the Land Commissioners and the price to be paid to the Viceroy and the Duke of Abercorn, the guardian of the public purse had fled from the House. He asked the public and the Members of the Committee to note this fact and draw from it their own conclusion. As far as he was concerned he asked leave to withdraw the Amendment, reserving to himself the right of bringing it up again on Report, because he and his hon. Friend had never been, and would not be, content that the Commissioners should be under the rule of the Chief aider and abettor of rackrenting landlords in Ireland, Mr. Wrench.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. T. M. HEALY said, his object in moving the next clause in his name was to secure that, on receiving an agreement signed by the parties, the Commissioners should do something else than merely have regard to the security. He thought they ought to go behind the agreement and inquire into the circumstances, that if they found writs of ejectment were issued on the estate they should be slow to sanction the proceedings, and that if the landlord had served ejectments or processes on his tenants the Commissioners should abstain from granting any advance of public money.

New Clause—

(Advances not to be made pending proceedings by landlord.)

"No advance shall be made under the Land Law (Ireland) Acts to any tenant for the purchase of his holding if it still appear to the Land Commission that the application for such advance was made during the pendency of any proceedings at suit of the landlord of such holding, or in consequence of, or under threat of, such proceedings, or otherwise than as the free and voluntary act of such tenant,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. MADDEN said, he thought the Amendment was open to the objection that it laid down a hard and fast line, and because it seemed injudicious to prevent advances being made during the pendency of any proceedings on the part of the landlord. It must occur to the Committee that there were many cases in which a compromise, in the interest of the tenant as well as the landlord, of pending litigation was a very good thing, but this would be absolutely precluded by the proposed new Clause, and it was upon that ground that he was unable to accept it.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, that all he desired was that the Commissioners should satisfy themselves that the bargain under their consideration was a voluntary one. If the Commissioners found out that the tenant would not have signed the agreement except for the threat of proceedings, he said that the Commissioners should refuse to sanction the advance. That had been the case with the tenants who had been referred to, and yet the Commissioners held them to the bargain. He did not see the good of an action for a specific purpose against a man who would have no money unless the State were willing to advance it to him; and if a man had no money and the Land Commissioners would not advance it, what would an action compel him to do? Nothing at all. Under the decision that had been referred to, a great number of tenants might be driven into Court and afterwards swear that they would not have carried out the agreement but for the proceedings pending against them. In the case of Lord Lansdowne's tenants, for instance, he thought it would be most desirable to have a compromise on the basis of purchase. At the present moment he regarded Lord Lansdowne's tenants as being able to effect a bargain with their landlord, because they were backed by the Plan of Campaign, and no man could be more independent than when he lived in a Land League hut. He did not point his Amendment at the existence of peaceable agreements between such gentlemen as Lord Lansdowne and his tenants, but at cases in which writs had been issued, and where the tenants had been compelled to accept terms of purchase which otherwise they would not have accepted. If there was no Member of the Government who was prepared to accept the clause, he would be happy to withdraw it and bring it forward again on Report, or accept any modification which the hon. and learned Gentleman might suggest.

MR. SEXTON asked, if the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would accept the insertion of the words—

"No advance shall be made if it appeared to the Commissioners that the agreement has been signed in consequence of a threat of proceedings by the landlord?"

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, that innumerable cases had occurred in Kerry in which tenants had been forced into agreements for the purchase of their holdings under pressure of actual or threatened eviction, which agreements they intended to repudiate. In one case with which he was acquainted, the landlords had taken proceedings for eviction against the tenant; and the agent waited upon him with an agreement in his hand and with the Sheriff at his back, to enforce the eviction if he refused to sign. The message sent to the tenant was, "Either go out or sign." All sorts of wheedling was practised by the landlords against the more ignorant of the tenants, and all sorts of coercion was used to influence the more intelligent to compel them to sign purchase agreements. When these evicted tenants signed a purchase agreement, they, in a great measure, lost their status. In many cases they were compelled to sell their cattle and get rid of what little money they might have accumulated, and they were so poor that they could not be looked upon as likely to afford security for the repayment of the advances made by the State. As a matter of fact he (Mr. Edward Harrington) did not care, when the British taxpayer made himself a party to a Bill of this kind with his eyes open, whether he got a penny of the money back or not; but he thought the House should not allow this cancer to be established in order that it might strike its roots in the social condition of Ireland. The valuator of the Purchase Commission did not go down to the holdings of the tenant to see whether the bargains entered into were fair between man and man, but to make inquiries as to whether or not the tenant owed money, what were his improvements, and whether or not they were security for the money

about to be paid by the Court. The words suggested by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) were words which he thought the Government might very fairly adopt. He did not propose that purchase agreements should be vitiated because writs had been issued, but he thought they should be declared vicious if they had been entered into in consequence of evictions having taken place or being threatened. He knew of one case in which a man had held out for 12 months against the pressure of his landlord, but was eventually obliged to come to terms owing to the death of two of his children and his miserable state of poverty. Cases of this kind he could give the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary ocular demonstration of, if the right hon. Gentleman would go with him to Kerry, instead of putting him (Mr. Edward Harrington) into prison for a couple of months, as he was anxious to do.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he thought the clause as it stood far too wide. It went further than the speech of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) himself. He thought there was room for a reasonable compromise, and that the proposal should be amended in the sense of the observations of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). So amended, there was a great deal to be said for it. No doubt, cases did occur in which landlords were pressing for arrears with the object of forcing their tenants into the Land Purchase Court. He thought there could be no doubt of that; in fact, he could give his own experience on the point. On the Clanricarde estate it was a fact that the landlord had offered to sell to the tenants at 20 years' purchase of the old rent if they would abandon all proceedings. The tenants had not agreed to that course, but should they agree to it under duress, it was one of the cases where the Land Commissioners should withhold their assent to the purchase. On his return from visiting that part of Ireland he called upon the Irish Government to persuade them to visit a friend of his who was imprisoned under the Coercion Act. The discussion between himself and the important official whom he saw turned upon the important question of land purchase, and he was informed that there was every likelihood of Lord Clanricarde and his tenants coming to an agreement as to purchase. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had pointed out, in reply to this, that his Lordship had issued many notices of ejectment. "Oh, yes," said this gentleman, "that is the way they do things in this country—they open negociations by a declaration of war." That showed clearly that threats were being made use of by landlords of ejectment proceedings for arrears with the object of forcing the tenants into purchasing the land. If cases of that kind did occur, and evidence was adduced before the Land Commission that tenants were being forced into agreements on the subject of purchase, in his opinion the Commissioners ought not to proceed further in such cases, and the negotiations ought to be brought to a conclusion. He did not think it was within the spirit of the Purchase Act that agreements under it should be arrived at through a system of duress.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would suggest to the Government that the words of the proposal should be amended so as to read—

> "No advance should be made to the tenant for the purchase of his holding which it shall appear to the Land Commissioner is made in consequence of, or threat of, proceedings at the suit of the landlord, or otherwise than as a free and voluntary act of the tenant."

That would still leave open the door to any compromise, and would leave to the discretion of the Commissioners whether the mere fact of the issue of writs, or the fact of eviction, should stop a purchase scheme. He would suggest to the Government that they should insert a clause abolishing the present harsh construction of the word "tenant," so as to enable an evicted tenant to purchase the holding of which he had been dispossessed. Such a clause would have a good effect upon the strained relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland, and such a clause would obviate any idea that the mere threat of eviction would compel the tenant to purchase for fear of losing his interest in the holding.

MR. MADDEN said, he thought the powers already possessed by the Land Commission were quite sufficient in this case. They would have to embark upon a very difficult inquiry if they had to decide whether or not an agreement

to purchase was signed in consequence of proceedings taken by the landlord. What jurisdiction did the Commissioners exercise? In the Act of last year there was a provision for enabling proceedings to be taken in cases having reference to the carrying out of specific performance of agreements to purchase. Mr. Commissioner Lynch had laid it down clearly, that in a state of facts amounting to duress—in other words, if it appeared that the signing of the agreement on the part of the tenant was not a free and voluntary act—he would not sanction the advance, but would leave the landlord to institute proceedings under the section giving power to the Commissioners to decide upon applications for specific performance. In this way the tenant had protection, but he submitted that if the House were to lay down a hard and fast rule that there should be no proceedings pending, and no threat of proceedings, it would be going too far.

MR. SEXTON said, he was surprised to find that the hon. and learned Gentleman held that even though it should be shown to the Commissioners that an application had been made under threat of proceedings, or in consequence of a suit by the landlord, the purchaser might be allowed to proceed. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to imply that it was the proper thing for the landlord to threaten to turn the tenant out on the roadside, and that then the tenant might assent to the purchase, and the Commissioners would be obliged to sanction the bargain.

MR. MADDEN said, a statement or even a threat that proceedings were about to be instituted need not neccessarily be taken as depriving subsequent negotiations for purchase of a voluntary character.

MR. SEXTON said, if he were a tenant, and a threat of eviction were held over his head, he should not consider that he was going through the matter in a voluntary spirit, if, in consequence of that threat, he signed an agreement to purchase. It was clear that the freewill of the tenant was overborne in such a case. It might be considered that the Land Commissioners should have the right to ratify the contract under such circumstances; but let there be no longer any pretence, if such a thing were permissible, that the contract so made by the tenant was free. It was a contract made under duress, and duress of a most painful kind. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said that where the Land Commissioners thought that undue influence had been exercised by the landlord on the tenant they might refuse to sanction the advance, and might call upon the landlord to go to the Court of Chancery to take action for specific performance. Did that not seem to the hon. and learned Gentleman a slow and unnecessarily round-about way of dealing with the matter? Here was a contract in which one of the parties overpowered the will of the other, and the Purchase Commissioners, instead of saying—"We will not confirm a contract made in this way, one of the parties not being free," were to say—"We will confirm this contract though it is not a free one, but, because it is not a free one, we will send one of the parties before the Court of Chancery, or allow them to come before ourselves, and sue for specific performance."

MR. MADDEN said, there was a provision in the Act enabling the Commissioners themselves to take the short cut which the hon. Member seemed to favour. They themselves could decide on the case when action was taken to compel the specific performance of a contract Any rights the tenant might have in the Court of Chancery he would have before the Land Commission itself. The Land Commission, if it saw sufficient reason, might say to the landlord—"You must come to us to enforce specific performance of this contract;" and then, if the tenant proved duress, they might bring the transaction to an end by refusing to enforce the agreement.

MR. SEXTON said, he failed to see why there should be such a round-about process as this. Why should the Government insist upon the landlord coming before the Commissioners to ask for specific performance? What could the Commissioners do in such a case more than they could do in the first place when it might appear to them that there had been duress? Why should they not, on finding out that the tenant was not a free agent, say—"We will not confirm this contract?" He would propose that the words "under threat of" should be left out, as they were rather vague. They had been told right through this controversy that contracts were free,

and now the Government were asked to back their own opinion. They were asked to say that the Commissioners should not confirm a contract where it appeared that one of the parties to it was not a free agent.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, the case stood thus—Up to a certain point there had been agreement, but then one of the parties came to the conclusion that he would not carry out the bargain, on the plea that there has been duress. Either the landlord or the tenant might make that complaint. The aggrieved party might apply to the Commissioners, and they might reply to him—"You may go to the Court of Chancery, or we will consider the matter, and if we find that undue influence has been brought to bear upon you, will no longer allow the agreement to stand." Surely that power was given in the Act of Parliament under which all these transactions were carried out. If the object of hon. Members was to cheapen and facilitate this legal process, all he had to say was that it seemed to him that the process was as cheap and easy as it could be.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman had entirely misunderstood the purport of the section of the Act of last year. In his (Mr. T. M. Healy's) opinion that section was inserted for the purpose of enabling a landlord who had come to an agreement with his tenant, or the tenant who had come to an agreement with his landlord, to sign the contract bond, and if either party refused, the other would have cause of action for specific performance against him. In the case contemplated by this Amendment, however, the bond would have been already signed. Take the Waterford case, for instance. There the bond was signed, but the tenant would not have signed if the writ had not been in the hands of the Sheriff. The land agent said to him: "I have an agreement here, and the Sheriff is behind me with his crowbar; which will you have?" The man, naturally enough, said, "I will have the agreement." The Land Commissioners knew nothing about the proceedings, but it was now contended that if the Land Court had read the agreement to buy and sell signed by both parties, the official valuer should be required to make a report as to whether or not duress had been employed. The Amendment did not go further than that. Specific performance had not a ha'porth to say to the case. The Land Commission would be the judges to decide cases under this Amendment, and their decision would be subject to a Court of Appeal; and in the Court of Appeal would be Lord Ashbourne himself, who certainly would not be regarded as adverse to the interests of the landlords—no one would look upon him as an ally of the Nationalist Members. So far as the tenants were concerned, it was out of the question to imagine that they could take cases before the Court of Appeal, because, as a rule, they would not be able to pay the mere stamps necessary for an appeal, let alone the expense of taking operations in Court. He should think £40 an extremely moderate estimate of what it would cost to take a case before the Court of Appeal. All he asked was, that if it was shown that an agreement had been signed, otherwise than as a free and voluntary act on the part of the tenant, that the Commission should not advance the money. He trusted that the Government would reconsider their decision on this subject.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, that the case that the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had put forward was not one of such duress as would be met in the way suggested Duress must be of a very clear character, fulfilling certain legal requirements, and following certain well understood legal decisions, before it could be entertained in the manner in which the Court of Chancery would entertain it. He took it that the hon. and learned Member had in his view moral duress, which would not amount to legal duress and yet was sufficient to form a moral case for refusing to insist upon the fulfilment of a contract. He did not think this was a question exclusively between landlord and tenant. The Commission should see that a provident bargain had been entered into before they advanced the money of the English taxpayer. Take the Clanricarde case. He did not think if those tenants had signed an agreement, such as the hon. and learned Member referred to, that the duress exercised upon them

would have been duress that could have been pleaded in the Court of Chancery. The moral operation upon the tenants, strengthened by the nature of the fear they would have of eviction, would have compelled them to enter into an unfortunate bargain. He thought the Purchase Commissioners in such a case ought to inquire into the circumstances of the bargain, and see if the tenants were free agents before they advanced the money. The only test they could have was the test of the words of the clause. He thought the words, "or legal proceedings pending on the part of the landlord against the tenant" were too wide, and would cover cases which the hon. and learned Member for North Longford did not wish to touch. If, however, the Amendment were put according to the principle laid down in the hon. and learned Member's last speech, there could be no objection taken to it. It would then be a precautionary measure for the protection of the English Exchequer to see that the money should not be advanced except upon free contracts.

MR. MADDEN said, as he understood the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, it was that the Surveyor of the Purchase Commissioners should inquire into the transactions. Now, he would put it to the hon. and learned Gentleman that, if a charge of duress, either moral or legal, was made between the parties to a signed contract, and the question arose before the Commissioners as to whether the case was such as would justify them in putting an end to the agreement, it would be absolutely necessary that any such investigation should take place in a judicial manner. It was idle to suggest that an Inspector should go down to an estate, and, after hearing the one side and the other, decide upon his own motion, without hearing witnesses upon oath, as to whether the contract should be carried out or not. There must be something in the nature of a judicial investigation. At the present moment, under the 22nd section of the Act of 1887, the tenant would have the power of defending proceedings to enforce contracts before the Commissioners, in which he would have all the grounds of defence which, under other circumstances, he would have had before the Court of Chancery. It had been said that there were a class of cases which would have to be decided of what is called moral duress, of a class which the Court of Chancery could not deal with; but he thought that to go beyond those cases, into what was called moral duress, would be opening the door into inquiries of a very vague and unsatisfactory character.

MR. SEXTON said, his hon. and learned Friend had not asked for a Court of Inquiry, but had merely said that contracts should not be made good if it appeared to the Commissioners that there had been duress; and he did not think it would require any legal training or any exhaustive investigation to come to a conclusion as to whether there had been duress or not. It did not require the training of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, or even of a learned Member, to ascertain whether an agreement had been entered into by the exercise of the free will of a certain individual. That was a point that any man not only of intelligence but of sanity could at once decide. He would ask the attention of the hon. and learned Solicitor General to this point. By declaring in the Statute that where a landlord exercised compulsion upon the free will of the tenant, transactions founded upon such compulsion should not be binding, the landlords, as soon as they became aware of the existence of that provision, would carefully abstain from applying force. He contended, therefore, that, by accepting such an Amendment, they would get rid of all those mean and shabby proceedings on the part of landlords against their tenants—they would clear the air and facilitate the operations of the Act; and the Commissioners, as a matter of fact, would have nothing of the nature of duress to inquire into. The British taxpayer had been frequently referred to. Well, let the British taxpayer note that the Government, by the mouth of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, had now determined that the Land Purchase Commission in Ireland was to advance the money of the State for the purchase of farms without regard to the circumstances whether the contract made between the purchaser and buyer was a free one or not; and that they were to

advance the money even though the seller had used his superior force to coerce the buyer.

Mr. T. M. HEALY said, that in case of a vote for a Member of that House, they provided in every way against undue influence; but where millions of money of the taxpayers of the country were at stake, they would not take the trouble to prevent those persons who laid claim to this money from exercising undue influence in order to obtain it. The Corrupt Practices Act, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) was well aware, took exhaustive precautions against corrupt influence; and he (Mr. T. M. Healy) asked why should not a man who was endeavouring to get their money be put under similar provisions? Was he to be told that the Land Commissioners were to be unable to decide what was undue influence? Three Land Purchase Commissioners were not to be permitted to decide such a point, and yet two Judges were allowed to decide the point in cases of Election Petitions. In the case of the Corrupt Practices Act they did not define all undue influence, but left a great deal to the discretion of the Judges. In this Amendment, however, he simply had suggested a negative precaution under which the Land Commissioners should see that the agreement was a free and voluntary act on the part of the tenant. Were they dwelling in the region of common sense? Did common sense still linger ronnd their precincts? He appealed to the Committee to say that where they passed a Statute, and said that the tenant should act freely and voluntarily, it was only a reasonable thing to say that the Land Commissioners were as competent as Election Judges, or as a Mr. Cecil Roche, to find out what undue influence was.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. and learned Gentleman talked of the desire of the Government to prevent the operation of any machinery that would check undue influence, but that was not the desire of the Government. All they desired was that the Land Commission and not the valuer should be in a position to decide where there had been undue influence or not. The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) talked as though anyone could, at a moment's notice, come to a decision as to whether or not there had been undue influence. Let them take a case. Supposing a man did not pay his rent for one, two, three, four, or five years—and such cases were very common in Ireland. Supposing there were five years' arrears due, and the landlord should say under these circumstances, "I shall proceed to evict this tenant." The tenant, while the eviction process was proceeding, might say, "I shall be glad to purchase your farm." It would be clear that between these two people the relations of landlord and tenant had not been a success, and it was not the landlord who made the proposal, but the tenant who asked that he should be allowed to purchase. Under these circumstances how could the valuer, sent down by the Commissioners, decide as to whether or not there had been duress?

Mr. SEXTON said, it was not the valuer, but the Land Commission who would have to investigate the matter.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Commissioners had absolute power to go into this question already, and he could not understand why more than that should be demanded by any hon. Member. However, they had now discussed this matter for a sufficient length of time, and as there was still a great deal to be done in Committee, and as it was the wish of the Committee generally that they should finish the Committee stage to-night, he hoped that they would now come to a decision upon a point the importance of which he did not deny, but which had been thoroughly threshed out.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, it seemed to him that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was a speech in favour of the Amendment. Not the smallest reason had he given why the Amendment should not be accepted. As he (Mr. Dillon) understood it, his hon. Friends, who supported the Amendment all along, were anxious and willing that the Land Commission should have to decide whether there had been duress or not, and not the valuer. But it was said that according to the judgment of Mr. Lynch, the Commission could suspend the granting of the money, if anything in the nature of duress had happened, and leave the landlord to his remedy of a suit for specific performance. He (Mr. Dillon) wanted to know

why, if the Commissioners decided that something in the nature of duress had taken place, they should not leave the question open then and there, and refuse to grant the money without requiring suit to be taken for specific performance. It should be borne in mind that when a case came before the Purchase Commissioners, in which suit for specific performance was instituted, the Commissioners would be guided by a different Code to that which would guide them when the original proceedings for purchase first came before them. They might be compelled by legal technicalities to give a different decision to that they would give could they decide the question as to duress in the first instance. If, at the first investigation, the Commissioners were satisfied that duress had existed, they ought to be allowed to refuse to grant the money, just as they could refuse if they discovered that there was not sufficient security. At present, if the tenant wished to complain of duress he had to do it through counsel, and he (Mr. Dillon) did not think that that was right. The plea of duress ought to be received by the Commissioners, even though that were made by private communication from the tenant himself, or by neighbours, or gathered from information picked up by the Commissioners. He thought that when duress was complained of the Commissioners ought to be instructed by the Act itself to investigate the matter, not only for the protection of the tenant, but for the protection of the British taxpayer. Moreover, he thought that the action of the Commissioners in such a matter should be without appeal; in fact, that they should decide a case of this kind exactly as they would decide the question as to whether there had or had not been sufficient security offered. He failed to see any reason for not accepting this Amendment. An attempt had been made to devise a roundabout method of allowing the landlord to proceed by an action for specific performance—a method which seemed to be of no possible good, except to be held in terrorism over the tenant, and which might result in the absurd state of things that the Commissioners might be compelled to reverse the decision not because they thought that decision ought to be reversed, but because they were cramped by certain legal forms.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would move to withdraw the clause in order to bring it forward in an amended form.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon and learned Member move the clause in a negative form?

MR. T. M. HEALY replied in the affirmative. He now proposed the following new clause:—

(Advances not to be made pending procee dings by landlord.)

"No advance shall be made under the Land Law (Ireland) Acts to any tenant for the purchase of his holding if it shall appear to the Land Commission that the application for such advance was made otherwise than as the free and voluntary act of such tenant,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 142; Noes 205: Majority 63.—(Div. List, No. 312.)

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he begged to move a new clause—"Advance not to be made to person in receipt of public money." He thought it would be rather unfair that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for instance, should be entitled to receive public money, and, at the same time, receive money under an order of the Commissioners made in the dark, and made without the public having any knowledge on the subject. The Lord Lieutenant himself should be above suspicion, and, therefore, it was as well that an Amendment of this kind should be carried; but it was not distinctly in the interest of His Excellency, nor in the interest of Her Majesty's Government, but it was in the interest of the tenants that this clause should be added to the Bill. He thought that if the Lord Lieutenant was seated upon the Front Treasury Bench he would be extremely ready to second the adoption of this clause. Therefore, without any further observations, he begged to move the clause.

New Clause—

(Advance not to be made to person in receipt of public money.)

"No money shall be advanced under this Act to any person in receipt of salary paid out of the taxes without a special report being made on the subject to Parliament,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he gathered that this clause was directed against the Lord Lieutenant. Personally, he did not think that the tenants of the Lord Lieutenant, or of any other gentleman, ought to be put in a worse position than any other tenants in Ireland. Let him put the matter from the point of view of the tenants. Whilst the Lord Lieutenant was Lord Lieutenant his tenants would be under a special disqualification. Let them suppose that the Lord Lieutenant embodied in his own person all the evils of landlordism, all the evils of Toryism, and all the evils of officialism. There was no reason that he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) could discover why His Excellency's tenants should not receive benefit under this Act. He, therefore, requested the hon. and learned Gentleman not to press the clause.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, that the right hon. Gentleman had been careful enough to absent himself from the House whilst they were discussing the question of the independence of the Commissioners, and, therefore, was unable to follow the thread of the Amendment. Had the right hon. Gentleman been present during the whole of the debate, he, no doubt, would have seen the relevancy of the Amendment, which was that gentlemen who were themselves at the mercy of the Lord Lieutenant in point of place should be relieved of a position of delicacy towards His Excellency in respect of sanctioning any purchase agreements made between the Lord Lieutenant and his tenants. It seemed to him that this Amendment would not put the tenants of the Lord Lieutenant in any worse position than any other tenants. The grants would, no doubt, be made, but they would be delayed, and in the meantime the Lord Lieutenant would be enjoying his 4 per cent, which the Government had refused to cut down. The Lord Lieutenant was not an ordinary landlord. He had not attacked the Lord Lieutenant—indeed, he did not know enough about His Excellency to attack him. He understood that Lord Londonderry played cricket extremely well, and that was all he knew of him, besides seeing his name appended to a number of proclamations dispersing meetings. Therefore, he would not attack the Lord Lieutenant as a monster of iniquity; he was willing to believe the Lord Lieutenant was as good a man as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. Under the circumstances, however, it seemed to him that the Lord Lieutenant ought to be protected from making these inroads upon the public purse. He had expected that his Amendment would receive more support; of course, if it did not, he would withdraw it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the next new clause, "Notice of intended advances," was one which he should certainly press upon the attention of the Committee. He did not think, considering the number of Amendments he had had upon the Paper, they had occupied very much time, or that the Government could complain of their having been moved. This new clause was one providing that the Land Commissioners should give notice to the public generally of their intention to make an advance, and then, if anyone objected to the advance, he might show cause against it. He did not think this was an Amendment which was objectionable from any point of view. To deal with the first branch of the Amendment, let him say that if a Board of Guardians under the Labourers Act, or a tenant under any of the Acts relating to the Board of Works, or under the Land Act of 1881, or any other of the Land Acts, required an advance they must give notice. The Board of Works must give notice; indeed, a whole series of notices must be given to the public. In the same way he thought that proceedings under this Act should not be carried out in the dark, but that some definite notice should be given. Take the case of the London Companies. The Skinners', as they were very properly called, had carried away £800,000 out of the county of Londonderry. No one knew anything about the transaction until the money was gone. He could conceive that there might have been various placards issued by way of caution to the public as to what was going on, and he could well conceive hon. Gentlemen in the House of Commons, such as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dundee

(Mr. Firth) or the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord RandolphChurchill), making a representation to the Treasury that the London Companies were not exactly the landlords who it was desirable should get the public money. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) said very pertinently that night that the London Companies had to invest their money some way, and they were really in as good a position as the State to carry out these purchase agreements without the intervention of the State at all. He thought that was the most forcible observation he had heard made in reference to these Companies. He did not profess to know anything about finance, and therefore he left it to that right hon. Gentleman to further assist him with regard to his present Amendment; but he did maintain that, whether the landlords be skinners or salters, the public should have some notice of the purchase transactions. He did not think it was too much to say that great grants of public money took place in blocks without apprizement being made to those who provided the money—namely, the taxpayers.

New Clause—

(Notice of intended advances.)

"The Land Purchase Commissioners shall not sanction any advance without previous notice having been given of the proposed advance in the same way as in the case of advances made now by law to tenants for the improvement of their holdings under the Land Law (Ireland) Act of 1881; and it shall be lawful for any person to appear before the Commissioners against the granting of any such advance; and the Commissioners may, if they think fit, require evidence from the contracting parties by way of cause for the making of such advance,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. MADDEN said, that there were several objections to this clause. In the first place, it would add considerably to the expense of the proceedings; and, in the next place, he did not see how it would really afford protection to anyone. What had the outside public to do with these contracts between landlords and tenants? It had been argued that night that tenants had been induced unfairly to enter into contracts. From the point of view of the tenant, what protection would this Amendment afford? Suppose a tenant signed an agreement for sale, and notice were given, and other persons were brought in. It could hardly be imagined they could protect a tenant who had been induced to sign a notice of sale.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What about the taxpayers?

MR. MADDEN: The hon. and learned Gentleman had suggested that perhaps the public would come in. Surely, after Parliament had sanctioned the principle of purchase, the bringing in of the taxpayers or their representatives in the case of each individual advance was hardly a proceeding which would commend itself to hon. Members.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought that the gist of the Amendment lay in the words—

"And it shall be lawful for any person to appear before the Commissioners against the granting of any such advance."

A little while ago they heard from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) that the Commissioners inquired into the solvency of the tenant, and also into his competency—into the general probability of his keeping up the payment of the instalments. If it be true, as he was bound to assume it was, that the Commissioners inquired into the solvency of the tenant, or into his competency to conduct the agricultural work of a farm, was it not possible there might be important information in the hands of others which it was essential for the Commissioners to receive in order to judge of the propriety of an application for an advance? First of all, there was the case of the tenant under duress. A tenant might be compelled to sign an unjust agreement. A tenant might be compelled to maintain silence upon the subject, yet other persons in the district—representatives of the taxpayers—might be aware of the duress, and, if this Amendment were passed, they might come forward and inform the Commissioners. There was another case to be taken into consideration, and that was the case where the landlord had put in a man of straw. They had heard to-night of a case on the Macnamara estate in which an Emergency man had been put in, but had disap-

peared immediately an advance was made. Surely the hon. and learned Solicitor General would not deny that, in such a case as that, it was to the interest of the State that the Commissioners should receive information. It was requisite, in the public interest, that in such a case any taxpayer, any member of the community, should be entitled to come before the Commissioners and expose to them the fraudulent nature of the transaction. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, in a most extraordinary speech, asked what had anyone to do with contracts between landlords and tenants? Where did the money come from? It came from the State. Any member of the community had to do with it. If colourable proceedings were taking place he maintained that it was not only the right, but the duty, of anyone cognizant of them to bring the facts to the knowledge of the Commissioners. If this Amendment were not adopted they could not do it.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said, he could not conceive why the Government refused to publish a notice of the borrowing of money from the State. When the Enclosure Commissioners advanced money for drainage purposes it was necessary that the application for the advance should be advertised for three successive weeks in the local newspapers.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said, that the whole of the contracts in the county of Donegal averaged from 23 to 24 years' purchase of the judicial rents. In the Blue Book they were put down as 20·7, but if hon. Members looked into the facts they would find that that was 20·7 of the old unreduced rent. In Donegal, which was the only county in Ulster in which undoubtedly there was, to a large extent, danger of any money being lost on account of the poverty of the tenants, the average of all the sales was from 23 to 24 years' purchase. What were the facts? The rent was £1,026, and the valuation £916. The valuation was in all cases higher than the judicial rent in Ulster, and on the average the purchase was between 23 and 24 years upon the judicial rent. He had himself been consulted by the tenants of a large estate, who were being forced into purchase by the threat on the part of those who were poor of exacting arrears, and by promises on the part of those who were pretty well to do which it was not possible for a landlord to fulfil. When he advised the men to lay the circumstances before the Land Commissioners, he was informed that the holdings had been examined by their valuer, and that the Commissioners were satisfied there was good security. But who did the valuer turn out to be? The valuer was Mr. Murphy, a grand juror of the county, the agent of the large estates in the county, and a man who had been most constantly in connection with, and entirely in sympathy with, the land of the county. He was the man who sanctioned from 23 to 24 years' purchase upon the Government valuation. What was the Government valuation? It was the value put upon the landlords' and tenants' improvements; every house that had been built by the tenant was included in that valuation; every drain and fence came within its purview, and from 23 to 24 years' purchase on the combined interest was what had been sanctioned by the Land Commissioners in County Donegal. He was not aware of this until the whole thing was over. What an example this afforded for the expenditure of the £5,000,000 sterling now to be voted! Had the Land Commissioners been compelled to give notice; had their attention been called to the fact that these sales were manifestly not free sales, and that the prices were manifestly unfair and excessive; did hon. Members think that such a scandal as this would be recorded in the Blue Book? Surely the Committee would be satisfied that notice of these transactions ought to be given, and that the attention of the Commissioners ought to be called, by any person who was interested in taxation, to the fact that the money was being given out without any consideration of the value which was received by the tenant, or of the security which the State was to have.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he appealed to the Government to accept this clause, and thus afford protection to the taxpayers under this Land Purchase Act, as they were compelled to afford protection under the Land Act of 1881, and under similar Acts. The Board of Works were compelled to advertise the loans they granted, and advertisements were also inserted in the local news-

papers of the advance of money to Boards of Guardians under the Labourers' Act. There was not the same risk of corruption or miscarriage in those cases as in this. It was no one's interest to compel the Guardians under the Labourers' Act to borrow money. Under the Land Act of 1881 it was no one's interest, except the tenant's own, for the tenant to borrow money, and yet in such cases they required public notice to be given of the expenditure of State money. Here they had a state of things where an order was made in secret by what was practically a secret Court. An agreement was come to in secret by the parties concerned, and yet hon. Members were to be told that there was to be no right on the part of the taxpayers to know what was going on, or how their money was being dribbled away. The House of Commons must be reduced to an extraordinary condition of plenitude, if they were willing to accept at once the doctrine that public money was to be spent without the public knowing anything about it. Here they had two interested parties making away between them with the public money, and no one was to know anything about it until they read of it in the Blue Book 12 months after date. Was not that the acme of absurdity? Twelve months hence they would know who the sellers and buyers were. By public rumour they knew that certain sales had been made; they knew there were purchases and rumours of purchases; but they would not know until they got the Blue Book what damage had been done. He was unable to detect any valid ground whatever on which the Government refused this Amendment. One reason given was that it would add to the expenditure. Where was the expense of a notice in *The Dublin Gazette?* That paper was the Government's own property, and they could make the advertisement as long or as short as they liked. They could publish *The Gazette* as often as they liked. They already paid an editor, and, except in respect to the cost of the type and paper, he was not aware that the notices would entail any very great expenditure. It was absurd to make the allegation that this would be a costly proceeding. Then it was said that the proceedings would be slow. Slow! The moment the Commissioners sanctioned an advance, or were about to sanction it, they could give notice and go on with their examination of the people. In short, he regarded the opposition to the Amendment by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland as entirely fallacious. Then, as to the second branch of the Amendment—namely—

> "It shall be lawful for any person to appear before the Commissioners against the granting of any such advance,"

he should have expected the Government would have been delighted to have accepted any such proposition. Let them suppose a case in which there was duress. Surely it would be only reasonable, where the tenant's mouth was closed, that someone on his behalf should have the right to go before the Land Commissioners and lay bare the facts. On all these grounds he trusted the Government would accept his Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was far from accusing the hon. and learned Gentleman of having a desire to unduly delay the proceedings, or to put down Amendments which were not in his conscience proper and reasonable, but he could not conceal from the Committee the great disappointment it was to him and his Colleagues that the discussions upon this Bill had been so protracted. The hon. and learned Gentleman had urged them to accept this Amendment partly on the ground of precedent. It was well that he should call attention to the fact that a reason why Parliament decided in the Act of 1881 that there should be notices given of proceedings was that the private rights affected should have some power of seeing what was going on, and should be able to come forward and represent their interests. There was no analogy between this case and the case of the previous Acts. As the Committee were aware, public funds were granted every day for every purpose—drainage, land improvements, piers, harbours, and public works of all sorts, kinds, and descriptions, but he was not aware that in any one of the Acts relating to such matters was there a provision for giving the taxpayer, as a taxpayer, power to appear before the tribunal which allocated the money in order to represent the taxpayers' interest. There were no private rights affected by any transac-

tions which were not amply provided for in this Act as it stood. In the Labourers' Act private rights were affected, and therefore it would be grossly unfair not to give private individuals, whose interests were injuriously affected, some power of appearing before the Privy Council, or whatever the tribunal was, in order that their claims might be considered. There were no such cases under this Act, and it was because there was no example in which the taxpayer as such was represented in which, in other words, it was given to any wandering politician to come forward and say, "I object to this transaction, and my constituents do not approve of it"—it was because there was no example, that he knew of, of such notice as was proposed being required, that he felt greatly indisposed to accept this Amendment. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would see that, so far from the precedents he had quoted being in favour of his proposal, they were really against it, and he trusted at that late hour the Amendment would not be pressed.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, there was great force in what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had said, and he believed the right hon. Gentleman was thoroughly right in his statement as to precedent. He rose, however, to enter his protest against the doctrine which might be deduced from some remarks which fell from the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland. It was this—that the Land Commissioners were a Judicial Body independent of Parliament, and that the decisions they arrived at were to be classified with judicial decisions with which Parliament had no right to interfere. He held that the Land Commissioners were a purely Administrative Body and nothing else; that they were a Judicial Body as between landlord and tenant in reference to the points confided to them; but that with reference to the advances of public money they were responsible to Parliament, Parliament being the supreme and final Judges of the advances made. He was quite prepared to second the right hon. Gentleman's appeal to the hon. and learned Member for North Longford not to press this Amendment, because he did not think they could admit the general right of the public to interfere in all these transactions. What they wanted to preserve intact was the right of Parliament to review these accounts, and the right of Parliament to censure the Commissioners if they did wrong; the right to bring home to the Commissioners the fact that there was a House of Commons and a Parliament to which they were responsible. He thought his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) might, at any rate, be content with the first part of his clause, which required the publication of what was being done.

MR. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) said, he wished to make a few observations upon this clause, particularly as he desired earlier in Committee to move the insertion of a clause which would have compelled the placing on the Table of the House all schemes of purchase involving the advance of a larger sum than £50,000. The object of that clause was similar in spirit and character to the object of the clause now moved by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford. The clause gave an opportunity to the taxpayers, or to Parliament as representing the taxpayers, to review the advances of public money for the purchase of the large estates in Ireland. Some days ago the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) remarked, with great justice, that the case of the London Companies stood upon a footing of its own. There were one or two other cases which also stood upon a footing of their own—for instance, the purchase of the holdings of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he believed was now in contemplation. He would be glad if there were some means of bringing to the public notice the arrangement which had been entered into by the Land Commissioners for the purchase of those holdings. He therefore thought the principle which his hon. and learned Friend advocated in this clause was one which Members on the Opposition side of the House should be prepared to support, meaning, as it did mean, that there should be some opportunity on the part of the House of reviewing the application of these moneys in the interest of certain great landlords in Ireland. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would not be disinclined to proceed to a Division, not that they would have the satisfaction of carrying the clause, but

because it was extremely desirable there should be an opportunity of asserting in an emphatic manner that the House of Commons ought to be apprized of the way in which the money was going to be expended before the money was absolutely advanced, so that, if need be, objection might be raised to the advances being made.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said, that the strongest argument in favour of this and similar Amendments—namely, the security they would afford against the creation of fictitious tenancies for the purpose of getting hold of the public money—had not been grappled with at all by the Government. The danger of these collusive transactions was first pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), but the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland doubted whether such cases as were suggested ever occurred; he admitted that if such cases did occur, a gross fraud on the Exchequer would have been perpetrated. Immediately after the right hon. Gentleman sat down, the hon. Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy) cited a number of cases in which such a gross fraud had been perpetrated. He (Mr. Bryn Roberts) asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary if he proposed to provide any safeguards against a repetition of what he himself admitted was a gross fraud on the Exchequer? This clause would afford, in some degree, a safeguard, because the immediate neighbours of the parties who were perpetrating the fraud would become aware of the fraud, and would be able, if not to appear before the Commissioners, at least to give an intimation to the Commissioners of what was going on. Under the circumstances this clause, or something analogous to it, ought to be adopted.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said he did not see how any private interest would be affected by a loan advanced under this Act. It did not require a very great stretch of imagination to suppose a case. Suppose there were two properties adjoining each other, which consisted of land of almost the same value, and that the tenants of one property were being forced under duress to buy at an exorbitant price. The price to be paid would, to a large extent, fix the value of the other property. If notices were inserted in the local papers of the price to be paid by the tenants, who were actually under compulsion, it was not difficult to understand the readiness of the tenant on the adjoining property to send information to the Land Commissioners as to their objections to the price to be paid. By the adoption of this clause protection would be given to the tenants on the adjacent property. He mentioned that the tenants on the adjoining property had a perfect right to interfere between the buyer and seller, because they themselves were directly interested in the amount which was being paid on estates where the tenants were compelled under duress to buy. By the adoption of this clause they would secure two things; they would secure that the tenants on an adjoining property should not be compelled to pay a price beyond the value of the land, and they would secure a number of voluntary guardians of the public purse. He hoped that, both in the interest of the tenant farmers and of the taxpayers, his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) would press the clause to a Division.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, his objection to the Land Commission Court was that it was a secret Court. He was, however, willing to accept the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) and drop the latter part of the clause, that part which provided that it should be lawful for the people to appear before the Land Commission to show cause why an advance should not be made. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked them to show that more than 22 years' purchase had been sanctioned. He found that, as a matter of fact, the average purchase in County Longford was 23·1 years. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary spoke about wandering politicians. He (Mr. T. M. Healy), as a wandering politician, would be very willing to wander into Court and object to 23 years' purchase being paid by his constituents. If they had notice of what was being done some effort would certainly be made to prevent the unfortunate bargains which were being entered into. These two Commissioners simply put their heads together in a

private office and decided whether they would or would not allow 23 or 24 years' purchase. But such a transaction ought not to be of a private character; it should take place in a public Court after notice in which the Commissioners should announce their intention, on a specified day, of giving their reasons why, in regard to purchases on an estate, they allowed so many years' purchase. He objected to these private proceedings altogether. Why, the Inquisition was not in it for secrecy. The first thing known about the proceeding was that the money was gone. To tell him that he was not entitled to know what had become of his money, what arrangements had been carried out with it, was one of the most preposterous courses ever brought forward by a Government in regard to any public Board. There was not any Board in the land under which it would be possible—not even with the Metropolitan Board of Works. Was it desirable that £5,000,000 should be voted away, and the first thing known of the disposition of the money be that it was all gone? It was an absurd contention. He would be contented if the Government would accept the first branch of the Amendment; he would forego the second part—that was to say, notice should be given of the proposed advance, and striking out the reference to showing cause for the advance. But he protested in the strongest way against this secret Court of two gentlemen putting their heads together and saying how much of his money should go to the Lord Lieutenant—for every taxpayer supplied a portion of the money—he objected to two gentlemen thus making away with public money without the House knowing anything about it until, twelve months afterwards, they got the whole thing cut and dried in a Blue Book. He should have thought a Government would be anxious to give the names, but they seemed to fear there would be something shady in the transactions, or there would be no difficulty about it. To say that in future Members must be content with Blue Books the Irish Executive should be good enough to give was to make the most arrogant claim ever put forward by a Tory Government for any Department. He trusted the Government were not entirely without some spirit of concession. Throughout these discussions there had been but one small concession, and that was merely declaratory of the existing rules of the Land Court. The Amendment now proposed would effect a slight improvement, and he trusted that the Government, if they were anxious to finish the Bill, would give some momentum to the spirit of concession by accepting the first branch of his Amendment.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, to show the necessity of some publicity, he appealed to the recollection of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland of what took place on the last day of last Session. On the Motion for Adjournment he was able to give information which prevented a very gross scandal under this very Purchase Act. It came to his knowledge that tenants on the Verner estates in Armagh were being pressed to buy by Mr. O'Sullivan, a London solicitor. Mr. O'Sullivan sent notices to the tenants saying that he and the Land Commissioners had arranged and settled terms of purchase. That proved, as he believed at the time it would prove, absolutely false—of course the Land Commissioners had made no such arrangement. Then Mr. O'Sullivan said there would be no further bargain with the tenants, and that in case of any tenants refusing to purchase on the terms he named, there was a Land Company in London ready and willing to purchase their holdings. He (Mr. Mahony) was able to show that this Land Company was a bogus Company, and consisted of Mr. O'Sullivan himself. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would allow that the information given was of some service and prevented a public scandal. The Land Commissioners communicated with Mr. O'Sullivan, and it would be satisfactory to have a copy of the correspondence that then took place, because he understood that negotiations for the sale of the Verner estate to the tenants were still being conducted by Mr. O'Sullivan. This instance showed the necessity for some publicity. It was by the merest accident that he knew of any sale on the Verner estate at all, and it was by the merest accident that a friend of his happened to discover the means by which Mr. O'Sullivan was bringing pressure to bear upon the tenants. Surely when a case like that could be cited there was fair reason for

asking, at any rate, that the opportunity should be given of knowing if a sale was going to take place.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) said, he joined in the protest against the unreasonable attitude of the Government. The only two reasons given why the Government should not accept this reasonable and necessary clause were—first, that it would be open to every wandering politician to appear before the Court and show reasons why the sale should not be carried out. But had not right hon. Gentlemen a better opinion of the Commissioners than to suppose that they would necessarily be influenced by the words of the wandering politician appearing before them? The other reason given was that private rights might be affected under the Act of 1881. But how would private rights be affected? He could tell the right hon. Gentleman how private rights might be affected under the purchase proposals existing. Take the case of a tenant who died intestate, leaving one son in Ireland and other members of his family abroad. The son would be accepted by the landlord as tenant, and he might become a judicial tenant. The Land Commissioners would not make any inquiries, but would look upon him as the tenant; his brothers in America or elsewhere would have no notice of the sale, and the State would have the security of the person only entitled to an interest in the estate. In such a case it was necessary that notice should be given, so that neighbours, or those acquainted with the circumstances, might inform the Commissioners that the man was not entitled to be tenant at all, only taking an interest in the estate of his father. He regretted, therefore, that his hon. and learned Friend proposed to withdraw the second part of the clause, because it was absolutely necessary. It should be open to any person interested in the expenditure of public money—and all were more or less interested—to come forward and assist the State in making the transaction an honest one. He could not understand, if the transaction was an honest one, why there should be any hesitation in making it public. It was in itself suspicious to withhold the names of the gentlemen in whose favour the money was advanced, and those suspicions were intensified by the attitude of the Government. Against this obstinate attitude he hoped his hon. and learned Friend would protest by carrying his Motion to a Division.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, he thought that some reply to this was due. The point raised was one of increasing importance in the North of Ireland. On some of the estates there it was a common practice to take one son and make him the tenant, though there might be other sons in America, in England, or elsewhere; and, if this tenant bought his tenancy under the Act, there was nothing to prevent the other brothers coming over and taking out administration of the estate of their deceased father and making claims upon the property. Some guarantee ought to be taken against this state of things, for the security the State was supposed to have for itself did not exist at all.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, he had known such instances in Kerry, and if there had been any notice of the transaction somebody would have stepped in to prevent it. He complained that in the fourpenny-halfpenny Blue Book there were no names of the landlords who had obtained the £5,000,000, nor even the names of the manors or townlands in which tenants made the purchases. Intimation of the sales should be given in *The Gazette* before they actually took place, and when they were sanctioned, so that vigilant eyes might guard against any shady transactions. From his knowledge of the county he represented he ventured to impeach this Blue Book, as not giving an accurate and true account of these transactions; and he ventured to prophesy that when names and particulars were given—and he understood such was promised—it would be found that the information in the Blue Book was quite misleading. The public should know beforehand what was intended, and afterwards what the expenditure had been. The request was reasonable in itself, and should be backed by the general opinion of the Committee.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 97; Noes 165: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 313.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The first section of the clause, "Exception of Minerals," standing in the name of the hon. Mem-

ber for Cork (Mr. Parnell), the reservation of minerals, is within the scope of the Committee; but the latter part, proposing to vest mineral and other rights in the Commissioners of Works in Ireland, is beyond the scope of the Committee, without special instruction from the House.

MR. PARNELL (Cork) said, he understood that if he moved the first part of the clause, and it was agreed to by the Committee, it would simply reserve all mineral rights to the landowners. That was not his meaning in giving Notice of the clause. He did not think that would be any improvement upon matters as they stood. He thought it better that these rights should be in the hands of the tenant than the landlord. His object was to raise a discussion on the more advantageous plan—as he thought it—of transferring such rights to the State. But as that could not be done under the terms of the Amendment, as modified by the suggestion of the Chairman, he preferred not to move the clause at all.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, the object of the clause he was about to move was two-fold. First, it seemed that the State should have every available security for the repayment of the money advanced; and, secondly, that there should be purchased from the landlord only that which the landlord in equity had the right to sell—in other words, that the tenant should be protected from having to buy from the landlord houses and other improvements which were the work of his own hands. So far as the protection of the State was concerned, he might claim the support of hon. Members opposite. He knew that they had not much the interest of the tenant at heart, but they might consider their own interests—the interests of the British taxpayer. It was contended the other night that these £5,000,000 were not the taxpayers' money, because they did not, in the first instance, come out of their pockets, but he could show the absurdity of that contention by a homely illustration. If a friend asked him for a loan of £200, the chances would be very strong that he would not have that amount to lend; but, if he were very anxious to let his friend have the money, he might go to a bank and raise it. If he did so, and then lent it to his friend, would it not be his money? That was exactly what the taxpayer did in this case. Of course it was the taxpayers' money, and the contention that it was not was absurd. If so, then he might claim the support of hon. Members opposite. One hon. Member he might except, who, in 1886, issued an address calling upon electors to—

> "Vote for justice to Ireland, but not for Samuelson, who would increase taxes on the poor by giving millions of English money to rich Irish landlords."

These were the gods the Irish landlords worshipped. These were the gentlemen they now went cringing to for £5,000,000, and who had accused Liberal opponents of the wish to give millions of English money to rich Irishmen. A noble Lord's father, it was understood, had had a very good pull at the last £5,000,000. Irish Members had done their best to prevent rich Irish landlords getting the benefit of a second £5,000,000, though they had not succeeded. They had endeavoured to secure that these £5,000,000 should be used in buying out those Irish landlords who were not in a position to be liberal to their tenants. Applied to such a purpose the money would do a great deal of good, but this did not suit the policy of the Government; they were anxious to reserve the fund for gentlemen like the Duke of Abercorn, Lord Londonderry, the Marquess of Bath——

THE CHAIRMAN asked the hon. Member to address himself to the Amendment.

MR. MAHONY said, he acknowledged he had wandered a little in these introductory remarks, and would keep strictly to the Amendment. Was there a necessity for obtaining for the State the best possible security? They had been told the Commissioners would take such very good care before the money was advanced that there was really no danger. Then the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) told the Committee that the tenants' interest in Ireland was as large or larger even than the landlord's, and that this was an additional security. But he thought he could show it was not an additional security—but as regards the necessity of seeing that the security was first-rate, he would refer to page 12 of the Blue Book and the case of the holdings of two defaulting purchasers; the guarantee deposits were, with the concurrence of

the guarantors, applied in discharge of the amount due thereupon. What he would lay down distinctly was, that in no case would the Commissioners touch the guarantee deposits until they had made every effort to sell the purchaser's interest. Had it then come to this already, that in two cases under this Act the Commissioners had been unable to sell the tenants' interest? That must be the case; they were unable in these two cases to realize anything by the sale of these purchasers' interests, therefore, they had already begun to eat up the guarantee deposits. That showed the necessity of having a guarantee deposit as real security. The latter part of his Amendment endeavoured to secure that. At present—he did not say the Commissioners had done it—but they might consider themselves compelled to do it or justified in doing it. Suppose a holding valued at £500 and the Commissioners' valuer valued it at £500, why should they not advance £600, because they could have the holding with £500 and a fifth of the purchase money, another £100; therefore they would have security for £600, and as the Act stood he did not see why in some cases they would not find themselves compelled to advance £600. He wanted to guard against the possibility of that by his Amendment. It was known how valuable tenants' improvements were. Were they ever purchased by the tenant under this Act? He maintained that undoubtedly they were. On page 12 of the Report, it appeared that in 519 cases the Commissioners refused to sanction purchases amounting to £243,000, but that they subsequently sanctioned the terms agreed upon, the purchase money being reduced to £200,000; that was, they sanctioned the terms when the landlords consented to take a fifth less than the tenants had agreed to pay. That was distinct and clear evidence of two things—first, that there must have been strong pressure put upon the tenants to force them to pay £43,000 more than the holdings were worth; and, secondly, he maintained that in these cases they must have purchased to the last farthing their own improvements. Gentlemen who knew the circumstances of Irish tenure would know that in nearly all these cases the buildings and improvements must have been provided by the tenants, and these improvements the tenants must have purchased; because the Commissioners advanced all that they possibly could. When they sent down their Inspector to value in these 519 cases, he saw land, buildings, and improvements as a whole, and made no effort to separate them, for that was no part of his duty. He valued the holdings as they stood, and, therefore, in these cases the full value was put upon them. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) said that in no case would the Commissioners, advance the full value; but could he point to any single word in the Act that bore out that statement? Did he think the landlords made a present of a portion of the property to the tenants? It could not be contended that that was the case. Unquestionably the Commissioners would be justified in advancing the full value—he was not saying a word against the Commissioners, who, so far as he was acquainted with their proceedings, had performed their duties in an admirable manner. What he was trying to secure was that they should be directed to perform those duties in a manner that was fair to the tenant; and he maintained that as the Act stood, they were not called upon to protect the tenant's interest—in fact, they said themselves it was no part of their duty to do so—they had to take the full value of the holding as it stood, and that value must include a large portion of the property that belonged to the tenant. This was a gross injustice, that the tenant should be required to buy his own property; and he appealed to the Committee to secure that in future the Commissioners should be directed to see that the tenant paid a fair price only for what he was supposed to be buying—the property of the landlord—and that under no circumstances should he be called upon to buy his own property.

New Clause—

(Security for Advances.)

"The Land Commissioners, in considering the security for the payment of the annual instalments, shall not take into account as a security improvements executed by or acquired by the tenant or his predecessors in title, or any guarantee deposit within section three of "The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885."—(*Mr. Mahony,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) said, he thought it was rather cruel for his hon. Friend to revive the election address of the noble Lord opposite. They read in Sacred Writ, "You must not seethe the kid in its mother's milk," and it seemed equally reprehensible to roast a Tory with his own election address. When the Bill was introduced it was said in debate that land in Ireland had been sold at an inflated price, but this was objected to, and it was declared that while land was selling in England at 20 years' purchase, the average in Ireland was only 17 years' purchase. But then, when they considered the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this 17 years' purchase represented only one-half of the interest, it appeared that really the Irish sales had reached the inflated price of 34 years' purchase. For his own part, he could endorse the statements of his hon. Friend, though it was not so much the case in the North, where tenants had liberty to meet and consult with their advisers, but in other parts of Ireland such meetings were forbidden, and a Member who presumed to advise his tenant constituents was consigned to prison after being tried before the "removables" for intimidating tenants. For any pacifying influence the Act should exercise it should be carried out in a very different spirit. It was a mistake to suppose that Nationalist Members opposed the Bill because of its pacifying influence. The operation of the Act was very much like throwing a stone into a pond—the circles created by every purchase widened the feeling of discontent among men not able to purchase, who had not the opportunity; while they saw men who probably had less need of it than themselves becoming purchasing tenants.

THE CHAIRMAN reminded the hon. Member he was not speaking to the Amendment.

MR. PINKERTON said, he was very sorry he had exceeded the lines of the Amendment. Having a somewhat similar Amendment on the Paper, he need scarcely say he fully supported and sympathized with its object, and hoped the Government would act wisely in making this concession.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member, by a very singular lapse of logic, appeared to consider that one result of the Bill would be to spread discontent, where there were purchasers, among those who were not purchasers.

MR. PINKERTON: Where purchases were carried out on an equitable basis.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the whole purport of the Amendment went to show that purchases were not carried out on an equitable basis. The hon. Member went on to say there was a distinction in Ulster, where combination was not allowed, as in other parts of Ireland. But, as a matter of fact, figures proved that the prices given in Ulster were higher than in those other parts of Ireland — surely a very curious illustration of the argument advanced. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment dilated on the hardships existing, but there was no evidence whatever that tenants ever had purchased that which was their own property. If they had purchased their own interest it would naturally be expected that the price of holdings would consist of 18 or 20 years' rent, plus as many years' value of the tenant right. But there was no case in Ireland of 30 years' purchase being given. It had not happened, and therefore he pointed out to the Committee that the injustice the Amendment was supposed to redress was not one that there was any reason to suppose existed. The whole basis of the Bill rested upon freedom of contract between landlord and tenant—it was the very essence of the Bill. [An hon. MEMBER: It ought to be.] Landlord and tenant agreed upon a price, and then they came to the Land Commissioners for money to be advanced. A great deal had been said tending to show that the landlord was in a position to compel the tenant to accept terms higher than the market rate, and it had been argued by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the landlord was in a better position than the tenant to make a bargain in the matter; but the correlative fact had never been advanced, the fact that the landlord was reduced to one purchaser, and not allowed by the Act to go into the open market and put his wares up

to the highest competition price, but he was compelled to go to one single person and agree with him for a price; and he was bound to say that, under these circumstances, one would naturally expect that the turn of the market would not be in favour of the landlord, but in favour of the tenant. Then he would point out, as a practical objection to the Amendment—an objection which, if there were no other, would be conclusive—that it would compel the Commissioners to revise the decisions of the ordinary Land Commissioners under the Act of 1881. It was the function of the Commissioners under the Act of 1881 to settle the comparative share of the landlord and tenant in the holding, and adjudicate upon the fair rent. If the Amendment were accepted, the Land Purchase Commissioners would have to revise the decisions already arrived at by the Commissioners under the Act of 1881, and there would be a conflict of jurisdiction extremely inconvenient. The Amendment really struck at the root of the original Act, of which he had earnestly hoped the Committee would consider this a Continuance Bill merely, and not think it necessary to revise the machinery, but that hope grew fainter as the hours passed. This Amendment would upset the whole principle of the Act, and it was absolutely impossible for the Government to accept it.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) said, the right hon. Gentleman had fallen into an extraordinary misapprehension of the question. He said the landlord was compelled to go to a single purchaser, but the fact was there was no market for land in Ireland, and that by the Act the single purchaser was compelled to come to the landlord, so that the right hon. Gentleman had stated the exact contrary to what existed. The right hon. Gentleman said he never heard of a case of 30 years' purchase. But what rent was in question? It might be imagined from the right hon. Gentleman's remarks that all purchases were conducted on the basis of judicial rents, but that was not so. Of 600,000 tenants, not a third had judicial rents. Aware of this fact, why did the right hon. Gentleman argue as if only judicial rents were in question?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he assumed that no tenant was forced to purchase.

MR. SEXTON asked, had the right hon. Gentleman never heard of threats to take away the right of turbary, or of prosecution for arrears? It was notorious that tens of thousands of tenants were kept out of Court by such proceedings. In those cases where tenants had not gone into Court at all, 20 years' purchase on the old rent might actually mean 40 years' purchase at a fair rent. No distinction was made between fair rent and old rents. In 1,200 cases the Commissioners had refused to ratify contracts between landlords and tenants, because they held that for the repayment of advances they had not sufficient security in the holdings, and in 700 cases landlords refused to reduce their price, and 500 gave way to the directions of the Commissioners. These 500 landlords had prevailed on their tenants to agree to purchase their farms for £240,000, and the Commissioners held that this price was excessive, and reduced it to £200,000, but it should be observed that the sum the Commissioners had to secure was £160,000, because they held £40,000 of the purchase money; therefore, the interest the tenants agreed to buy at £240,000, the landlords' interest, was in respect to holdings which the Commissioners declared were not, landlords' and tenants' interest combined, security for more than £160,000. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland said what all knew to be true—except, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—that the interest of the tenant was equal to that of the landlord, and usually much larger, and, moreover, the tenant had a market while the landlord had none. Assuming that in these cases the interests were equal, then the tenants would buy interests representing £80,000, and for this they had actually been induced to agree to pay £240,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do better to attempt to answer those figures than to merely laugh in a fantastic manner. The demonstration seemed complete that the tenants were compelled to offer three times the value of what they wished to buy, and the purpose of his hon. Friend was to secure that the Commissioners should endeavour to protect not only the State, but the tenant. No doubt they did effectually protect the State, but the figures cited proved that under

the system in force in Ireland the tenant might be obliged to give three times the value of the article he purchased.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary complained of time lost, it was the attitude of the Government that was the cause of this, and especially the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman himself, abounding in fallacies and misquotations. He declared that land fetched higher prices in Ulster, but figures did not bear out that. Taking the average number of years' purchase of the net rental, perhaps it was a trifle higher, but in comparing counties he found that in Londonderry, where large transactions had taken place, the number of years' purchase was 17·5, while on poor land in Clare it was 18·6, and in Cork 16·3. In Londonderry the tenant paid 17·5 for what was practically the landlord's interest, but it was not so in Clare and Cork, for, as compared with the valuation, it was shown that the rental was 50 per cent over the valuation, while in Londonderry it was actually less than the valuation. So that it came to this—that in Clare the tenants bought at 27 years on the valuation, and in Londonderry at 17 years on the valuation. In Cork, though the purchases were in 262 cases 16·3 years' purchase on the net rental, they were 21·2 on the valuation. He contended, from absolute knowledge of the estates, that the taxpayers had not security for these advances in Cork, and he could tell the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that repudiation of a number of the instalments was inevitable, not owing to dishonesty on the part of tenants, but from utter inability to pay. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary made many wild and loose statements; his knowledge of Ireland did not improve with the length of his tenure of Office. He said the Purchase Commissioners would, if the Amendment were adopted, be called upon to revise judicial rents. Nothing of the kind; they would be called upon to give reports on the value of what was offered for sale, to see to the value of the tenant's interest as compared with the valuation. The difference in some parts of Ireland was enormous. In his own constituency he found that a landlord had suggested to a number of tenants an agreement to purchase at 20 years of the unreduced rack-rents. A few of the tenants, not satisfied with the transaction, came to him, and he went with a competent farmer to view and value the property, and he showed the tenants that on the average the rents were 40 or 50 per cent above the valuation, the land being very wet and boggy, and, owing to the fall in prices for what it produced, the value of the land had fallen below Griffiths' valuation. Whatever value the farms had had been given to them by the tenants; else it had nothing more than prairie value; it was "made" land out of boggy mountain slopes. Yet they were about to sign an agreement for purchase on 20 years of unreduced rent, though the landlord had given 30 per cent reduction in the previous year, and still they were unable to meet their obligations. He represented this to the tenants, and they replied—"Well, sure, we must get out of our present difficulties. Mr. So-and-so has ejectments against us, and we shall be turned out at Christmas." Then he reminded them that they would have to pay the county cess and other rates, and the reply was—"Well, sure, we'll get along for two or three years, and then we must have another pull at the instalments." He pointed out the dishonesty of the course they were prepared to take, and was glad to say he broke down the arrangement, not out of any platonic affection for the British taxpayer, but out of regard for the honour of his countrymen, who were entering upon a bargain they were unable to carry out. The Amendment was one the Committee ought to accept without reluctance. There was nothing in the Bill to show that the Commissioners should have regard to anything but the value of the holding, landlords' and tenants' interests combined; he had shown that 27 years' purchase had actually been paid on poor land as compared with 17 years' on better land in Londonderry, and if such an Amendment were not introduced the taxpayers would, in the long run, have good cause to regret it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not intervened in the discussion. When his hon. Friend proposed the Amendment he was under the ingenuous expectation that the right hon. Gentleman would second the pro-

posal with his powerful support. It would be remembered that in an earlier debate, when the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) was discussing the stability of the security, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that what was bought by the tenant was only the interest of the landlord, and, therefore, as security for the repayment of the advance made for the purchase of the landlord's interest, there remained both that interest and the tenant's improvements. If that were so, then the Amendment merely carried out the idea of the right hon. Gentleman. It was to be regretted that the debate had not occurred at an earlier hour, and if he thought it would conduce to a more favourable consideration of the proposal he would move to report Progress. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that the Amendment went to the root of the whole question, and, if it were accepted, there would be protection for the property and some assurance for the solvency of the Irish tenant as well as security for the British taxpayer. On the other hand, if it was rejected there was every prospect of the tenant being robbed in the present, and the British taxpayer stood a very good chance of being robbed in the future. Under the circumstances it was unreasonable that, in consistency, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should sit silent when an Amendment was moved carrying out his own statement in regard to the land purchase scheme. He purposely refrained from noticing the statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, for they had been abundantly controverted by his hon. Friends. He was disinclined to move to report Progress, even at such an advanced hour, knowing the desire of the Government to get the Bill through, but on this Amendment it was desirable to concentrate the attention of the Committee, and he should be obliged to take that course unless the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer accepted the challenge to show how he could reconcile his own words with the rejection of the Amendment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, he hoped the hon. Member would not make a Motion to report Progress. He entirely associated himself with the view of his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, whose arguments had not been shaken in the slightest degree by the views expressed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Nor did he find in these arguments anything in contradiction of the statement originally made, that it was the landlords' interest that was bought. He could not see how, in the slightest degree, that established the case for the Amendment.

MR. MAHONY said, that the right hon. Gentleman still maintained his position that the tenant only bought the landlord's interest. But it had been proved beyond yea or nay that when the Land Commissioners sent down their valuer he valued the holding as it stood —landlord's and tenant's property together. The Commissioners reported that in 519 cases tenants had agreed to pay £40,000 more than the whole property was worth, and when they ultimately paid the value fixed by the Commissioners—£200,000—was it not clear as daylight that the value included both landlord's and tenant's property? But this was a point both the right hon. Gentlemen had altogether evaded. There was the greatest danger, amounting to almost a certainty, that a gross injustice would be done to tenants in their being compelled to purchase their own property. With that there would be created a feeling of soreness among tenants who would know they had been forced to buy at an unnaturally high price, and this would lead to repudiation of instalments. Experience guided in this matter. There was an Act under which tenants bought at a high price—the Church Act—and the consequence was shown in the Report of the Commissioners under that Act for 1887, in which, as illustrating the difficulties they had to contend with, they mentioned what had taken place in County Louth. Failing to obtain instalments, and failing to make any compromise, the purchaser was at last evicted. The farm was set up for sale, but the sale was Boycotted, and the Commissioners were obliged to buy in the farm, which remained on their hands, though it was most desirable land, and situated near the town of Ardee. In addition to the other heavy costs, the Commissioners had

to pay a caretaker to take charge of the property. Then the Commissioners went on to state the certainty they felt that the same result would follow wherever they endeavoured to effect the sale of a farm from which they had dispossessed the purchaser for non-payment of liabilities, and had seriously embarrassed them in the administration of the Church Estates. That was to say, the fear of the same result following prevented the Church Commissioners from exercising their powers of sale. Then in the Report for the present year there were two cases under Lord Ashbourne's Act in which the Land Commissioners had not dared to exercise their powers of sale, but had come down upon the deposit, so that the fifth deposit would gradually disappear, and the British taxpayer would have to keep possession of the land, paying a band of Emergency men as caretakers. It was said his Amendment would be going back upon the Act of 1881. But did not the Purchase Commissioners send down their Inspector even in cases where a judicial rent had been fixed? Why, if they were to be satisfied with the action of the Commissioners under the Act of 1881, did not they take it for granted that the land was worth the value of so many years' judicial rent? Simply because that security was not considered good enough for the British taxpayer; and all he asked was that a distinction should be made between the landlord's and the tenant's property, and that the tenant should be secured against outside pressure forcing him to buy what was already his own property. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary doubted the fact of such pressure being applied, but any number of cases might be proved in which threats of prosecution for arrears had prevented tenants going into the Land Court. One instance he might mention from County Meath. A tenant held under lease at a rent greatly in excess of the Government valuation. When the Act of 1881 was passed he applied for a fair rent, and the following Quarter Sessions he was served with an ejectment, and a writ was issued against him in a Superior Court, immediate proceedings being taken for arrears at the instance of Mr. M. P. Lynch—a Commissioner under the Land Act for fixing fair rents. That was the way in which the Act was administered against his own tenant. The moment a tenant tried to take advantage of the Act he was served with a writ, and thus pressure was applied to keep the Irish tenant out of the Land Court. Many holdings had been sold to evicted tenants, to men not actually in occupation at the time the bargain was made, but put in nominal occupation so as to be brought within the Act. Would the right hon. Gentleman maintain that when a man had lost his right of occupation, when there was nothing but the landlord's will or the workhouse between him and starvation, that such a man could make a fair bargain between himself and the landlord? An abundant case had been made out to show that the tenant required protection in these purchase transactions. He did not suppose it was any use making any further appeal to the Committee, but he should certainly carry his Motion to a Division to mark his protest against the Government refusal to give this protection to tenant and taxpayer.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, it being now almost 2 o'clock, and many Members of the Committee asleep, he would ask how much longer it was intended to protract a Sitting that had now extended over 11 hours with the prospect of reassembling 10 hours later? Ten new clauses remained on the Paper, and would it not be wiser to leave them to be finished on the morrow? [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Though hon. Members might be ready to sacrifice their own rest and health, some consideration was due to the officials of the House; and, for hon. Members themselves, it might be desirable to take a Division against further discussion for the sake of the awakening effect of a walk through the Lobbies.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he understood the hon. Member to suggest, though he did not actually move, an adjournment, but he would earnestly press the hon. Gentleman not to persist in the suggestion. He complained, with a certain amount of reason, of the enormous labour thrown upon hon. Members, and certainly no hon. Member felt that more than he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did. But he appealed to hon. Members to consider the general position of Business. It would be acting like children to consider this isolated Amendment by itself without relation to the

Bill—its position, and the Business remaining to be done in the short time remaining in which to do it. The hon. Gentleman himself was one of those who desired an early day for the discussion of Scotch Estimates, but how was it possible for the Government to comply with that wish, or, indeed, to give an early day for anything at all unless hon. Members would really make some sacrifice of rhetoric. [*Cries of* "Oh! oh!"] He did not complain of any hon. Member. No doubt every hon. Member who spoke thought his observations were of vital importance for the elucidation of the question before the Committee. But the Committee would recognize that a great amount of time had been spent upon what, after all, was but a Continuance Bill; and he thought, in connection with the suggestion which had been thrown out, the Committee ought to make a serious attempt to finish the Committee stage of the Bill at the present sitting.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman sometimes obliged him to doubt whether he really had at heart the purpose he professed. He made an appeal to Members to promote the facilitation of Business in connection with this Bill, but he had scarcely completed a sentence before he delivered himself of an offensive sneer. He said that hon. Members were unwilling to make a sacrifice of rhetoric.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not say that he appealed to hon. Members, and implored them to make such a sacrifice.

MR. SEXTON said, that meant that Members were pursuing a course different to that suggested. He complained that the labour of the Committee fell heavily upon himself, but there was one Member upon whom the burthen was much heavier—the Chairman. The Chairman could say whether there had been a needless display of rhetoric, and he would admit there had been a most business-like discussion. There had been no callings to Order, and the Chairman had not felt himself called upon to abbreviate the speech of any Member. Every Member, however humble his position, had public duties to perform, and should be credited with purity of motives, not treated with sneers. It was now coming to a question of physical endurance; the Sitting had been a prolonged one. He had no desire to delay the Bill unduly, but it was for Members themselves—many of whom were reduced to a state of physical incapacity beyond his own—to consider whether they could, and in fairness to the Chairman, proceed further and resume their duties again at noon.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, in reference to the remaining Amendments he found, among others, one standing in the name of the hon. Member for East Bristol (Mr. Handel Cossham), which would have to be pressed most strongly on the attention of the Government. It was an Amendment restricting advances to judicial rents. With this and other Amendments remaining it would be impossible to close the Committee without at least some four hours' discussion. [*A laugh.*] An hon. Member regarded that prospect with unconcern, but he might be reminded that most Members had private duties to perform, and did not desire to commence the morning's work utterly exhausted. Were the Government prepared to go on for some four or six hours longer? ["Hear, hear!"] He did not appeal to the rank and file of the Party opposite, whose contribution towards the facilitation of Business was compatible with the assumption of recumbent attitudes.

The CHAIRMAN: This discussion is quite apart from any Amendment before the Committee.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would move to report Progress. He had expressed his unwillingness to do so, but the tone of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's observations since had done a great deal to remove his hesitation. The manner of his address, his studied wanton insults, were not to be tolerated. So long as the debate was conducted in a spirit of good feeling on both sides he was unwilling to do anything to inconvenience the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues, but since he had chosen to exacerbate debate by the language he had employed, they were not called upon to consult the feelings of right hon. Gentlemen.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

MR. GOSCHEN said, surely hon. Members opposite did not consider the speech of his right hon. Friend was of

an aggressive character. [An hon. MEMBER : Yes, certainly.] There was not the slightest intention on the part of his right hon. Friend to say anything in the slightest degree offensive to any hon. Member. He was only anxious to promote the progress of Business, and he appealed to every impartial Member whether there was anything in the speech of his right hon. Friend to irritate the feelings of Gentlemen on the other side. He appealed to the Committee to proceed with a certain discussion of the Amendment before them.

DR. CLARK asked, when would Progress be reported? Was it a question of time or of getting the Bill through Committee? [*Cries of* "Bill through!"]

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had a hope that the Bill would pass through Committee. But it was not in the power of hon. Members to prevent that course except by imposing a heavy strain upon the labours of all the officials of the House, for which he was not prepared to take the responsibility.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, he was led to support the Motion by the character of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. His hon. Friend had mentioned one sneer, and there was another in the observation that every hon. Member considered his remarks vital to the elucidation of the clause. There was another insult. If it was not intended then it would seem the right hon. Gentleman was incapable of anything else. There was one alternative to reporting Progress now. It would be remembered that they had obtained one small concession during the night, and that was when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer were absent, and the Bill was in charge of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, who, with common sense and legal learning, had the courtesy of an Irish gentleman, not the manners of a Scotch philosopher. While that hon. and learned Gentleman conducted the Government Business, argument obtained a small concession of some importance; the most friendly relations prevailed between the two sides of the House, and there was not the slightest tone of irritation. He suggested, therefore, that in the hope of the discussion being continued in a harmonious spirit, the two right hon. Gentlemen he had mentioned should take their departure.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he supported the Motion for reporting Progress, not from any exasperation that anybody on those Benches might naturally feel at the diatribes of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, but, like the proverbial eels, they were accustomed to the skinning by the right hon. Gentleman. He hoped that Progress would be reported out of commiseration for the dilapidated condition of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer's voice. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He appealed to hon. Members; did not the condition of his vocal organ indicate the fatigue the right hon. Gentleman was suffering? ["Order, order!"] Members had returned refreshed from the land of "Nod."

Mr. Bartley rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put;" but the Chairman withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate *resumed.*

DR. TANNER, continuing, urged that Progress should be reported, for in all conscience the Sitting had been sufficiently prolonged, in view of the early Wednesday Sitting, and there were important matters still remaining for discussion. The rank and file of the Irish Party had hitherto left the discussion to their Leaders, though, for his part, he might have mentioned several facts illustrative of the matters under discussion. He hoped Progress would be reported and discussion resumed under calmer conditions.

MR. SEXTON said, if the right. hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary so ingeniously excited temper in the Committee, he should not have objected to go on for a limited time, but the time had come for the Government to decide what they would do. It must be apparent the Committee could not close discussion of the Amendments in time to return to the House at mid-day, and if the Government would name a time up to which they should continue he would be ready to go on. [*Cries of* "No,

no!" "Bill through!"] He was probably far more familiar with these scenes than hon. Members who interrupted him. He was ready to make some personal sacrifice—not, perhaps, to make a sacrifice of rhetoric entirely—and proceed for a while longer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, if he had been so unfortunate as to let fall anything that tended to excite feelings of exasperation he expressed regret, and could assure hon. Members he had no intention of wounding the feelings of the most sensitive Member. If he might now venture to make a suggestion—the hour was late—he hoped he was right in interpreting the wish of hon. Members to make progress with the Bill and end the Session as soon as possible. If so, then he hoped his suggestion would be favourably received, that the Committee stage should now close, and that the remaining Amendments should be discussed on the Report stage on the morrow. There would be opportunity for full discussion, and he hoped the plan would reconcile the Members of both sides as to the present sitting.

DR. CLARK suggested that if the Committee now reported Progress, and if the six o'clock Wednesday rule was suspended, the Bill might be finished by midnight. Let the Committee give over work now, take the rest nature required, and return on the morrow like giants refreshed for work for which they were now physically incapable.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, the proposal just made by his right hon. Friend had more than once been made and acted upon in carrying important Bills through the House. Such proposals had been accepted by hon. Gentlemen who felt the strongest interest in Amendments remaining for discussion in Committee. He remembered, during the progress of the Local Government Bill, there were several important Amendments remaining to be discussed when a general desire was expressed that the Committee stage should be brought to an end, and the suggestion was made that certain of the Amendments should stand over for Report. In that way considerable time was saved without any sacrifice on the part of any hon. Member who desired to press his Amendment. He hoped he might be allowed to join with his right hon. Friend in pressing the suggestion that Members should now allow Committee to close, and discuss remaining Amendments on the next stage.

MR. SEXTON said, if Irish Members had to deal with a Minister like the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board the progress of Business would be more harmonious; but they were too much accustomed to the platform measures of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He (Mr. Sexton) remembered the occasion to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, and he remembered also that Members gave way out of regard to the courteous manner and uniform good temper with which the right hon. Gentleman had conducted the Local Government Bill through Committee. He was prepared to recommend to his Friends the adoption of the course suggested, in response to the appeal of a Minister whose intervention in business was unfortunately usually confined to British affairs.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he did not think he would be justified in pressing his Motion. But, at the same time, if the proposal of the Government were accepted the Government should give an assurance that the debate on the Report stage should not be closured.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not give any undertaking in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith); but he could not conceive that hon. Members would not find ample time for discussion between 12 o'clock and half-past five.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, he had given notice of an Amendment which many of his hon. Friends considered of importance, and which he desired should be discussed in a calm spirit. He had always noticed that at the end of a protracted Sitting there was a disposition all round to become irritable. He, therefore, willingly accepted the suggestion to postpone the discussion of his Amendment to Report stage.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, the Amendment before the Committee went to the root and principle of the Bill as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said; but it would be only fair to the Committee if an attempt

were made at the next Sitting to meet those facts and arguments with which the Amendment had been supported.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question, "That the Clause be read a second time," put, and *negatived.*

MR. SEXTON asked, would it be necessary for each Member to renew his Notice to the Clerk of the remaining Amendments, that they might appear for the Report stage?

THE CHAIRMAN: On the general understanding the Amendments will be set down again.

MR. CONYBEARE asked, would the Amendment under discussion be included?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment last under discussion has been negatived, and no longer remains. Of course, it will be competent for the hon. Member to put it down again.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

LAND CHARGES REGISTRATION AND SEARCHES BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 356.]

(*Mr. Haldane.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

On the Motion of Mr. HALDANE (Haddington) the following Amendments made:—Clause 6, page 3, line 1, after "every," insert "such;" line 1, after "land," insert "as is mentioned in Section 5;" Clause 7, page 3, line 20, in title of Part, leave out "Receiving Orders and;" line 22, leave out "Receiving Orders and," and insert "deeds of;" line 24, leave out "Receiving Oorders and," and page 3, leave out Clause 8; Clause 9, page 3, lines 33 and 34, leave out "Receiving Orders and," and insert "deeds of;" Clause 11, page 4, line 11, leave out "of Receiving Orders and," and insert "deeds of;" Clause 19, page 5, line 24, leave out "bankruptcies and," and insert "deeds of."

Bill to be read the third time upon *Thursday.*

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENT OF WAGES (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 381.]

(*Mr. Randell, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Llewellyn.*)

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. Illingworth

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) said, he did not object to the second reading, but he would ask that a considerable interval should pass before taking Committee.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) Bristol, W.) said, he thought the House might fairly agree to give the Bill a second reading; but there were several matters that would need amendment in Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday, 6th December.*

COUNTY COURTS APPEALS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 367.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Chance, Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he believed this Bill had the approval of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and of the Law Officers of the Irish Executive.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, the Lord Chancellor, he understood, was of an opinion in which he shared—that the passing of the Bill would be an improvement in the administration of justice in Ireland.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) said, before this Question was put he should like to ask what were the intentions of the Government in regard to the Irish Land Purchase Bill, the first Order standing on the Paper for the day, and which had been very fully discussed in Committee.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. BYRON REED said, many hon. Members were interested in the speedy passage of the Bill he had mentioned, in order to proceed with other Business interesting to English Members, Business that had been long delayed by the factious obstruction of hon. Members opposite. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must not make use of the phrase "factious obstruction."

MR. BYRON REED said, he apologized for using an un-Parliamentary term. He would say opposition prolonged beyond all precedent and propriety.

MR. T. M. HEALY rose to Order. Was the hon. Gentleman in Order in discussing a debate which had just taken place in the House?

MR. SPEAKER: I understand it is the hon. Gentleman's intention to ask the intention of the Government in regard to the Bill.

MR. BYRON REED said, he desired to know what was the Government intention as to the future progress of the Bill, seeing that night after night hon. Members had been brought down to assist the Government in passing the Bill through.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) said, the hon. Member did not seem to be aware that a few minutes before the Speaker took the Chair the future course of the Bill was discussed and arranged between three Cabinet Ministers and Members from Ireland. He would advise the hon. Member not to attempt, on his own initiative, to revise the arrangement arrived at.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked, when the third reading was to be taken?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, it was hoped the third reading would be taken this day.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, in his experience there had been nothing more ungenerous than when they had, at the request of the Government, agreed to postpone Amendments in order that the Committee might close, they should be treated to a speech like that of the hon. Member (Mr. Byron Reed).

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) said, he hoped it would be understood that the hon. Member was only speaking for himself.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he protested against the outburst of the hon. Member, after what had passed. In the arrangement arrived at, nothing at all was said about taking the third reading of the Bill on Wednesday.

MR. SEXTON said, he appealed to the Speaker. Was it in Order to discuss when the third reading should be taken, when the Report stage had not yet been reached?

MR. SPEAKER said, such a course would be irregular.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 28th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Trustee Savings Banks [Inquiry not completed] [No. 406].

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886, Amendment (No. 4) * [389].

Committee—Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory (*re-comm.*) [403]—R.P.; County Courts Appeal (Ireland) [367]—R.P.

Considered as amended—Land Purchase (Ireland) [385].

Withdrawn—Burials * [111].

QUESTIONS.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—MR. E. HARRINGTON, M.P.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he was aware that two constables had left Ireland, bearing a warrant issued by Mr. Cecil Roche, R.M., for the arrest of the honourable Member for West Kerry; and, whether the Government will allow the attendance of the honourable Member upon the House during the transaction of Irish Business in the present sittings to

be interrupted by the execution of the warrant?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): It is not, I believe, true that two constables have left Ireland bearing a warrant for the arrest of the hon. Member referred to. As I informed the hon. Member yesterday, he need be under no alarm that his Colleague will be prevented by arrest from taking part in the discussion of Irish Business next week.

MR. SEXTON: Then the arrest will not be carried out?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, of course, if the hon. Gentleman was arrested he would be prevented from attending to Irish Business.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman does not mean that the hon. Member will be taken to Ireland and allowed to come back?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, no, Sir.

METROPOLITAN POLICE — APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONER.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it was true that Sir Henry Blake, the rejected of Queensland, had been appointed Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, in the room of Sir Charles Warren?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am sure the hon. Member must be aware of the utter absurdity of his question.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Will the right hon. Gentleman say if it is true, as reported in the morning papers, that Mr. Monro has been appointed Chief Commissioner?

MR. W. H. SMITH: It is true.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.*)

[BILL 385.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.), in rising to move the following Clause:—

(Security for Advance.)

"The Land Commissioners, in considering the security for the payment of the annual instalments, shall not take into account as a security improvements executed by or acquired by the tenant or his predecessors in title, or any guarantee deposit within section three of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act 1885,'"

said, he wished to make the security of the British taxpayer a real one, and not a sham one. The Land Commissioners had reported that in 519 cases tenants had had to pay £40,000 more than the property was worth to them—in other words, they had purchased property which was already their own. A number of tenants had purchased their holdings under the Church Act, and only three-fourths of the purchase money was advanced under that Act. Yet the Land Commissioners now reported that they found a difficulty in enforcing the payment of the instalments because the purchasers were convinced that they had not been fairly treated, and that they had had to pay too high a price. In cases in which they had been obliged to take legal proceedings they had not been able to effect a sale of the purchaser's interest against his will. Therefore the Commissioners had been seriously embarrassed in dealing with the property. The one-fifth deposit under the Ashbourne Act was only security for a few years' instalments, and when the one-fifth was exhausted there was no security for the remaining instalments. In two cases the Commissioners had tried to sell the property and had failed to do so. Already there was a strong public feeling in favour of men who were believed to have been pressed into making unfair bargains. The evidence of this was that if a man failed to pay his instalment and his interest were put up for sale a purchaser could not be found. At all events, those who advanced these arguments were entitled to have them fairly met by the Government.

New Clause (Security for Advance)—(*Mr. Mahony,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that surely the Land Commissioners had a most efficient security in the retention of one-fifth of the purchase money. The farm was worth more than the money advanced by the State, and at the end of five years the

value of the holding would be greater than before. Another argument which had been laid before the House more than once was that under the Act tenants were practically compelled by their landlords to buy that which was not the landlords', but their own. This would not stand examination. What was sold was the landlords' and nothing but the landlords'. The very essence and spirit of the Act was that the tenant was left to say how much should be given for the property. In no case had more than 18 years' purchase been given, while the average was below it. But, supposing that there were a few cases in which 18 years' purchase had been exceeded, if it were said that in these cases the tenants had been robbed by being compelled to purchase what was already their own, it must also be admitted with even greater readiness that in cases where 12 or 13 years' purchase had been accepted the landlords had been robbed. Free contract was the essence of the Bill, and the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman struck at the root of it. The Land Purchase Commissioners were administering public funds as servants of the British taxpayers, and they were making loans in the manner of the Board of Works. They were not fitted to carry on the judicial functions which were given to the other branch of the Land Commission. If the Amendment were carried into effect there would be a double jurisdiction of the two halves of the Land Commission, one half reviewing the decisions come to by the other. He did not believe that the Amendment would in any respect save the interests of the tenants, nor did he believe, on the figures given to the House, that the tenants had otherwise than largely gained in every single case where purchase had been effected.

MR. ARTHUR WILLIAMS (Glamorgan, S.) said, that if this direction were not given to the Commissioners, if it were not imposed on them as a duty, then the struggling tenants, whose rents were still exorbitantly high, would be forced by irresistible circumstances to make dishonest bargains with their landlords, afterwards suffering the confiscation of their entire interests.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland admitted that what the Commissioners ordered their valuers to do was to value the farm as it stood, with every stick upon it. But in the opening days of the debate it had been frequently asserted from the Government Bench that these valuations were a protection to the tenant. What had become of this protection now? In no fewer than 519 cases the Commissioners refused to sanction the amount asked for on the ground that the purchase money was excessive. He had always maintained that the practice of holding one-fifth of the purchase money was a mistake, and did not increase the security of the Treasury. The one effect it had was to increase the price. The protection which the Treasury ought to look for was that the tenant should not pay for more than the landlord's interest. If you could secure that the tenant should not be forced or wheedled into accepting whatever terms the landlord offered, you would obtain perfect security for the British taxpayer and would reduce the terms of purchase. It was on the sole ground that the tenant might be compelled to pay more than the landlord's interest was worth that the whole of his opposition to this Bill was based. It was because he had seen a system going on under which the tenant was coerced to pay for more than the landlord's interest, a system under which the tenant knew he was buying at too high a rate, and was smarting under a sense of injustice, and consequently that there was a condition of things which might end in an agitation for the reduction of the instalments—it was on these grounds he considered there was insecurity for the taxpayer. It was because the Irish tenant's interest in the soil was so great that he always felt you might advance the whole of the money for the landlord's interest and obtain perfect security.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, that under existing conditions in Ireland, whether proper security existed depended mainly on this—Did the man who bought believe that he paid a fair price or not? His hon. Friend the Member for Meath (Mr. Mahony) had shown that in 519 cases, involving about £250,000 purchase money, it was found that when both the landlords' and tenants' interests were taken into account the security was not sufficient, and the Commissioners reduced the amount of purchase money. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had not

answered that objection. There was a certain complication in the matter owing to the fact that the landlords' and tenants' interests were in respect of the same subject. But if the tenant had a house—say in London—and the valuers took that into account, and, notwithstanding that, came to the conclusion that, the value of the landlord's and tenant's interests was not sufficient security, it would be seen at once that the tenant was paying too much. Now that we were called upon to deal with £5,000,000 more, we had no guarantee whatever that, as in the 519 cases, the tenants might not be called upon to pay for more than the landlords' interest in the land.

MR. W. P. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.) said, that the object of the Ashbourne Act had been apparently forgotten throughout the course of this debate. It was to enable one of two dual owners to become possessed of the part belonging to the other dual owner. It must be remembered that in this case, unlike most others, there was only one purchaser, the occupying tenant. The man on the next farm, the stranger, the outsider, could have nothing to do with any transaction under this Act. The State, who advanced the money, had full security —first, the land on which the advance was made; then the tenant right and improvements of the buyer; and, thirdly, one-fifth of the purchase money from the seller, for it had been arranged that 20 per cent of the money advanced should be retained by the State as an additional security. It was in the nature of transactions of that kind that the seller should have a right, which he ought to exercise, to obtain a little higher price than he would otherwise get from the buyer. [*Ironical Cheers.*] That was only pure commercial morality. While he would deprecate that the additional sum should be so high as to be equal to the total amount of the tenant right or anything approaching it, he thought when the security was to be found by the seller he should obtain something in the nature of a higher price than he otherwise would be bound to accept. It was found from the Reports of the Commissioners that where the interest of the landlord had been settled by the State in the form of judicial rents, the number of years' purchase money was greater than where it had not been so settled. He believed it was on an average 18 years' purchase money where there were judicial rents, and 15 years' purchase money where judicial rents had not been fixed. The price to be paid was arrived at by what was called the "higgling of the market," and had to be approved by the Commissioners before any advance of money was sanctioned. He thought it might be admitted that the action of the Land Purchase Commissioners had been fair between landlord and tenant, seller and purchaser, and that the scales had been held evenly between the two. All the evidence before them pointed to the satisfaction of the tenant who had bought. It was only the other day that he received a telegram from his old constituents in Ballymoney urging him to do everything in his power to promote this Bill, and that telegram had the assent of the late Gladstonian candidate. He was himself returned originally to that House in opposition to the landlords as the tenants' Representative. He hoped he still might be regarded as the tenants' Representative—["No, no!"] —and it was because he was in some sort still a tenants' Representative that he asked the House to reject the Amendment and pass the Bill into law.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, he was of opinion that the arguments opposed to the Amendment were not worthy of intelligent beings. This was the most important Amendment which had yet been moved. Its basis was that the tenant in Ireland stood in an exceptional position. The Chief Secretary had frequently said from platforms that the land laws in Ireland were more favourable to the tenant than in any other country. He did not admit it, but it would be quite reasonable that they should, since the tenants of Ireland had a greater property in the soil than the tenants of any other country. He would remind the House that 44 years ago the Devon Commission reported that every tangible improvement on three-fourths of the Irish holdings was the work of the tenants. That view was affirmed by the Richmond Commission, a Tory Body, and still later by the Bessborough Commission. For years, therefore, the tenants had been paying for their own improvements; and the object of the clause was to prevent the continuation of that injustice. It seemed to him that the Chief Secretary had

given away his whole case. The Chief Secretary said that the purchases were based on judicial rents, and if the tenants had not had judicial rents fixed it was their own fault. That was a most amazing statement. There were 100,000 leaseholders who could not have their rents fixed up to the beginning of this year, and even many tenants who entered the Court two years ago were still without their rents fixed, and it was the Chief Secretary who was responsible for that. He regarded this Amendment as of such vital importance that he did not think it would be too much to devote a whole day to its discussion. Under this Bill, during the next 49 years, the tenants might be called upon to pay twice over for their own improvements.

MR. SEXTON said, he believed that the transactions under the Act of 1885 and this Bill would involve the State in turmoil and trouble hereafter, and if that should be so it would not be without abundant warning from the Irish Members. He at least wanted that placed on record. The number of years' purchase was no test of the equity of the bargain, the character of the rent not being defined. Why had the Chief Secretary avoided entering into figures on this question? They did not know whether it was the old rent or the new rent—the rent which was notoriously unjust or the judicial rent. In every case in which they allowed the old rent to be made the basis of purchase they would oblige the tenant to enter into a bargain the security for which was not based on the surplus produce of the farm, but on the actual means of subsistence of the tenant himself. In the 519 cases in which the landlords asked an aggregate of £240,000, and the Commissioners would not allow the tenants to give more than £200,000, the farms were not secured for more than £160,000, so that, on the theory that the tenants' interests were worth as much as the landlords', the interests of the landlords were worth only £80,000, and the tenants had made themselves responsible for 2½ times the value of the property bought. The deposit was simply security for one-fifth so long as you held it. In these 519 cases the Government were accomplices in handing over public money to landlords for that which they had not to sell, and they were confederates in imposing on the poor tenants a financial burden for 49 years, because they compelled them to buy something that was not the property of the landlords, but of the tenants themselves. The Government, therefore, had become assentors to a policy that would involve hereafter most dangerous consequences to the State.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) had advanced an able argument from his point of view; but he did not propose to follow his reasoning, and he hoped the discussion would be allowed to close, for if the 13 new clauses on the Paper were to be discussed at length, it would be impossible to get the Bill through the House this Session. The clause might be discussed as a rival to the Act of 1885, but the object of the Bill was simply to continue and renew the Act of 1885. The one-fifth was to be treated not as a substantial security but as a collateral one. The security of the State was the value of the thing bought and sold. The general reply of the Government had already been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he adopted what they had said. The principle of the Land Act of 1885 was that an agreement should be entered into between the landlord and the tenant which should be checked and revised by the Commission in the interest of the State. This additional clause was mainly intended to operate in cases in which judicial rents had not been fixed, and therefore it would impose on the two Purchase Commissioners the most delicate of all the duties at present intrusted to the other Land Commissioners and to their Sub-Commissioners—namely, that of deciding between the tenants' and the landlords' interests. The practical answer to the demand was the low rate at which the purchases had hitherto been made and the general satisfaction produced.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 74; Noes 139: Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 314.)

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.). in moving the following new Clause:—

(Restriction of advances to tenancies where judicial rents have been fixed.)

"That the Land Commissioners shall make no advance under this Act where the judicial rent has not been fixed under the Irish Land Act of 1881,"

said, the Bill meant the recognition of the very worst elements of socialism, and the object of his Amendment was to protect the Irish tenant from being made to pay too high a price and the English taxpayer from being involved in a losing transaction.

New Clause (Restriction of advances to tenancies where judicial rents have been fixed,)—(*Mr. Handel Cossham,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read the second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the object which the hon. Member had in view—namely, to increase the security of the British taxpayer—was a very proper object. He did not think, however, that that object would be attained by the present Amendment. If it were agreed to he did not understand that the tenant would be precluded from making a bad bargain any more than he was now. He perfectly understood the object which the mover of the last Amendment had in view. The hon. Member for North Meath (Mr. Mahony) thought that the tenants might be induced to make bad bargains for themselves. The Committee had rejected that Amendment, and the tenants, therefore, could make bad bargains. The security which the hon. Member believed the British taxpayer would derive from his Amendment was wholly illusory. What would occur if the Amendment were agreed to? It would absolutely preclude all those tenants from getting the advantage of the Act who happened to be contented with the rent which they were now paying, and it would render it necessary for them to go into Court. In fact it would stigmatize and disqualify precisely those tenants and landlords in Ireland who had been able to live together in peace and amity, and who could settle their contracts without going into Court. He hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment to a Division.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) admitted that the right hon. Gentleman had hit a blot in the Amendment. As it stood the Amendment would preclude a tenant from going before the Land Commissioners because a fair rent had not been fixed. He suggested that the Amendment should be amended by the introduction of words to the effect that the Commissioners should have the power before they sanctioned a purchase to consider the rent which the tenant was paying and which was to be the basis of the purchase. It was largely owing to the dilatory tactics of the Chief Secretary and his Colleagues that there was now an extraordinary block in the Land Courts, and everyone knew that the Irish Members, by Question and every mode open to them, had impressed upon the Government the necessity of increasing the staff of the Land Commission in order to reduce the great mass of cases. No fewer than 61,000 tenants had to make their choice between paying unfair rents and buying at exorbitant prices.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON (Devon, South Molton) said, he was opposed to the Amendment. He did not profess to have any knowledge of the relations between the Lord Lieutenant and his tenants, but it seemed to him that the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had not strengthened his case by bringing forward statements as to the management of the Lord Lieutenant's estates. The hon. Gentleman had stated that the Lord Lieutenant had granted an abatement of 20 per cent on his rents, and that the tenants had demanded that that abatement should be permanent. In reply to that, Lord Londonderry said his tenants might either go to the Land Court or purchase their holdings.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: My point was that the Lord Lieutenant refused the tenants the alternative, and would not allow them to go to the Land Court.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON asked, how Lord Londonderry could prevent his tenants going into Court? Whether tenants ought to give as much as 20 years' purchase was a matter of voluntary arrangement between the landlord and the tenant, and the bargain would be reviewed by the Commissioners on behalf of the English taxpayer. Putting it on the ground of security alone, he should be sorry, in the interests of the English taxpayer, if the Amendment of

his hon. Friend were accepted. It was to the interest of the taxpayer that tenants who paid small rents, and lived upon properties which were well and generously managed, should purchase their holdings. The very small properties would have to be dealt with on a totally different basis. The effect of the Amendment would be that all those estates where the landlords had been anxious to avoid friction and trouble with their tenants, and had met the tenants out of Court, would be excluded from the operation of the Act. The point was the security for the English taxpayer, and in that regard it was well to encourage the operation of the Act among the most prosperous tenants, and on the most prosperous properties in Ireland. He failed to see why the Commissioners should be instructed, before agreeing to any sale, to fix a judicial rent. The number of years' purchase must depend upon the rent paid. If it were a high rent the number of years' purchase would be small, and *vice versâ*. The Commissioners were bound to consider whether the price asked was one that could be easily recovered, and consequently there was no need to fix judicial rents. It was for these reasons that he hoped, in the interests of the tenants, and in the interests of the British taxpayer, the Amendment would not be accepted.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) hoped that no restriction would be put in the Bill to prevent tenants whose rents had not needed revision from purchasing their holdings under the Act.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) remarked that the noble Viscount could not have been in his place when the Chief Secretary stated that the tenant was at liberty to make a bad bargain. He should support the Amendment.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) contended that it was possible for landlords to prevent their tenants going into the Land Court. Moreover, the Courts were closed to a considerable number of tenants of various classes, and especially to tenants in arrear. In his opinion very little danger would result if the Amendment were left as it stood.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said he would venture again to appeal to hon. Members to make progress with this Bill. The Government had previously given an indication of their desire, as far as possible, to meet hon. Gentlemen from Ireland in modifying the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, and, in order to show that they were still desirous of doing so, he might state that they had a Bill already drawn to deal with the questions proposed to be raised by the hon. Member for the Eastern Division of Northamptonshire (Mr. Channing) (certificate of title to be issued to tenant purchaser in lieu of a conveyance, such certificates to be recorded under Record of Title Act, and estates so placed on the record of title to become recorded estates), and they were prepared to accept substantially the first clause to be moved by the hon. and learned Member for Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) (referring to sub-lettings to labourers and others), and that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) (providing for notice of applications in certain cases). Hon. Gentlemen with any knowledge of law would know that to attempt to deal with questions of the registration of title in a Bill of this character would be utterly unsatisfactory. He made this announcement in the hope of economizing the time of the House, because they had a great deal of other business, for which, he feared, adequate time would not be allowed if the discussion of this Bill were to be further prolonged. He recognized the gratifying spirit which was exhibited last evening when an understanding was come to that the measure should be disposed of to-day. [MR. SEXTON: There was no such understanding.] While the Government desired, as he had said, to meet hon. Members below the Gangway opposite as far as it was possible to do so, they also asked, in return, facilities for the transaction of Public Business which they themselves would not be unwilling to render.

MR. SEXTON said, he must repudiate the statement that there was an understanding come to last night; all the Irish members agreed to was that the remaining Amendments in Committee should be taken upon the Report stage, and the Chief Secretary expressed a hope that the Amendments on Report might be disposed of to-day.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, he agreed with the First Lord of the Treasury that it was very

desirable indeed that progress should be made with the Bill, because there were other subjects of very great importance awaiting discussion, notably in reference to military transactions into which we were about to enter, as to which there ought to be very ample opportunity afforded for the House to declare its opinion. That being so, he agreed with the First Lord of the Treasury in hoping that they might make good progress with this Bill. As far as the particular Amendment before the House was concerned, he should himself feel considerable difficulty in supporting it on the ground that it would preclude some most desirable tenants on some of the most satisfactory properties in Ireland from taking advantage of the funds which the Bill would provide. But whether his view was right or wrong, he thought this particular clause had been adequately discussed. The First Lord of the Treasury had announced very considerable and satisfactory concessions to hon. Gentlemen who had Motions on the Paper. It was most satisfactory to learn that the Government were prepared to bring in a measure dealing with the proposals of the hon. Member for the Eastern Division of Northamptonshire, and, as far as possible, carrying them out. The clauses of the hon. and learned Member for Longford and his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford were both clauses of very great importance, and there, too, the Government had, he thought, most satisfactorily given way. In these circumstances he himself should not be sorry if his hon. Friend below the Gangway would do his best to stop further discussion upon his clause, and if, with the clauses which remained after the concessions which were to be made, the Bill should be allowed to proceed deliberately but still with distinct progress.

MR. SEXTON, with a view to facilitating business, asked whether the clause he had put down at the request of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork reserving minerals, mining rights, and foreshores, and vesting them in the Commissioners of Works, in the case of holdings sold under the Act, would be accepted by the Government.

MR. SPEAKER said, it would require an Instruction.

MR. SEXTON said, he had given Notice of an Instruction.

MR. SPEAKER said, it would be beyond the scope of the Bill to allow such an Instruction, and, therefore, it was entirely out of Order.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked if the Government would introduce a Bill this Session for the purpose of vesting the mineral rights in the Crown.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it would be impossible to enter into an undertaking of that kind.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the discussion was irregular.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he entirely concurred with what fell from the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast that there was no undertaking on the part of the Irish Members that the Bill should be finished to night, though a strong hope to that effect was expressed on the part of the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he was ready to do everything he could to facilitate the desire of the Government to get the Report stage finished to-night. The third reading Division might then be taken early to-morrow evening.

Question put, and *negatived.*

New Clause (Amendment of s. 3 of Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885), —(*Mr. Murphy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the said Clause be now read a second time," put, and *negatived.*

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) said, that, as he understood the Government were going to introduce a Bill embodying the principle of the new Clauses he had proposed to move with reference to registration and certificates of title, he should not press those clauses; but he would suggest that the Bill should be brought in at as early a period next Session as practicable, so as to place the new owners in the best possible position. He would also ask whether the proposed Bill would have a wider application than to purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act, and would extend the system of registration of title to other properties?

New Clause (Certificate of title to be issued to tenant purchaser in lieu of a

conveyance,)—(*Mr. Channing,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, he welcomed the Amendment of the hon. Member. He had a Bill in course of preparation, which he hoped to bring in at a very early period next Session. The purport of it was to provide for the purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act and the amending Acts a cheap system of registration of title as distinguished from registration of deeds. They had at present in Ireland an excellent system of registration of deeds; but that was too onerous, expensive, and cumbersome for those small holdings.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, in framing his Bill, to consider the effect of the tenant purchaser's interest being converted from personal into real property.

MR. MADDEN said, he would consider the point.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. T. M. HEALY moved to insert the following new Clause:—

(Sub-lettings to labourers and others.)

"Where a holding is sold subject to a sub-tenancy or sub-letting of any kind, the Commissioners may prescribe such terms as to rent and otherwise with regard to the part sub-let as the Land Commissioners are empowered to do in the case of sub-tenancies under section 4 of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887, and this section shall extend to, and apply to, all sub-tenancies under the principal Act, as well as this Act."

He understood the Government would accept it in an amended form.

New Clause (Sub-lettings to labourers and others,)—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first and second time.

MR. MADDEN moved to amend the clause so as to read as follows:—

"Where the Land Commissioners shall, after the passing of this Act, sanction an advance for the purchase of a holding which is agreed to be sold subject to a sub-tenancy or sub-letting of any kind, they may prescribe such terms as to rent or otherwise with regard to the part sub-let as they think fit."

Amendment *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *added* to the Bill

New Clause (Notice to be given when the existing fund will be exhausted,)—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre,*)—*brought up*, and read the first and second time, and *added*.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.), in moving the following new Clause:—

(Advances to be proportionate to valuation.)

"The total amount of money advanced in any county by the Land Purchase Commission shall not bear to the total £10,000,000 a greater proportion than the agricultural tenement valuation of such county bears to the total agricultural tenement valuation of Ireland. Provided that this rule shall not apply retrospectively,"

said, the object of the Amendment was to give practical effect to the principle of equal distribution of the money throughout Ireland.

New Clause (Advances to be proportionate to valuation,)—(*Sir William Plowden,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not accept the new clause as it would substitute another principle of allocation for that which now existed, and which had met with general approval in all parts of the House.

MR. T. M. HEALY urged that the Commissioners should wait a specified time and take into consideration the general needs and requirements of the country before they allocated the money.

Question put, and *negatived*.

MR. T. M. HEALY, in moving the following new Clause:—

(Notice of intended advances.)

"The Land Purchase Commissioners shall not sanction any advance without previous notice having been given of the proposed advance in *The Dublin Gazette*,"

said, he thought it was only reasonable that they should know from time to time how much money was being spent and how it was being applied. There ought to be an opportunity for bringing Parliamentary criticism to bear upon the proceedings under the Act when there was any suspicion as to their *bonâ fide* nature. In his opinion, if the

landlords were to be bought out, it was far preferable that the money should go to Irishmen rather than to City Companies.

New Clause (Notice of intended advances,)—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. MADDEN said, he did not see any necessity for the Amendment, and it was contrary to all precedent. In his opinion, the Return which the Chief Secretary for Ireland had promised would supply all the information which the hon. and learned Gentleman wanted.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) said, he was sorry that the Solicitor General for Ireland had not taken a more favourable view of the Amendment. The hon. and learned Gentleman had not given a single valid reason why the Amendment should not be put into the Bill; it could do no possible harm, but, on the other hand, it would be likely to do a great deal of good. The value of those notices in *The Gazette* would be that the Irish people and all persons interested in watching the distribution of those £5,000,000 would be able to know what was done. Each transaction would be examined and canvassed by the Irish Press, and the Irish public and the Commissioners themselves might find in those notices a great security against being led into sales which ought not to take place. He confessed that he was a little nervous that in some of the transactions under the Bill there might at times be attempts at collusion on the part of landlords and tenants for the purpose of completing a transaction which ought not to be completed, and thus to prevent transactions which were desirable. They knew that in regard to arrears there had been many cases in which transactions between landlord and tenant applying for public money in discharge of arrears would not bear strict investigation. He thought that this Amendment might to some extent tend to check collusive practices; and it might be useful if the transactions under that Act were brought under the notice of the public. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would reconsider the question involved in that Amendment.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) thought that a general public notice such as the noble Lord had indicated ought to be given in regard to those transactions. The Irish intelligence published in the newspapers that morning as to a flagrant attempt on the O'Kelly estate to get a large sum which was intended to go into the pockets of London money lenders by the creation of "bogus" tenancies entirely justified the remarks which the noble Lord had made. Publicity was most valuable in respect to the transactions that were about to take place, because the public interest would suffer if public money was taken away by the creation of fictitious tenancies with no intention whatever of discharging those payments. The Chief Secretary had promised a quarterly Parliamentary Return giving information which the Solicitor General for Ireland thought would be quite sufficient. But what, he asked, was the information that was offered to them in lieu of that suggested by this clause? They ought to have an undertaking that such information would be supplied as would make the nature of the transactions, whether contemplated or completed, comprehensible to the minds of ordinary Members of the House.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said, he earnestly hoped that the Government would not accept the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Longford. It was impossible not to recognize the fact that there were other motives besides anxiety for the pockets of the British taxpayer which governed the political action of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite. The proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Longford, as he understood it, was that notices should be published giving the names of tenants who wished to purchase their holdings. ["No!"] If the hon. and learned Member's proposal were adopted, the names of those who were intending to buy would be submitted to the public. [An. hon. MEMBER: No; the properties.] That was a distinction practically without a difference. Now, he objected to that on the ground of the statements which hon. Members below the Gangway had made on that subject. He would take the hon. and learned member for Longford

himself. Speaking at a meeting of the National League held in Dublin in September last, the hon. and learned Member for Longford said—"No Irish farmer ought to make a treaty of peace on his own account, and the man who purchased under Lord Ashbourne's Act, was making a treaty of peace behind the back of the nation as a whole." Now he ventured to say that the House ought not to recognize such a principle as that. There did exist in Ireland, he was sorry to say, an organization which had great power and influence over the tenants—no one could deny that; and if the names of those properties were given, as the hon. and learned Member proposed, and if that organization set its face against transactions under that Act, it could bring its power of intimidation to bear on tenants in order to prevent them from availing themselves of the great boon offered to them. On the part of the tenants, who would undoubtedly be placed in extreme peril, the House ought not to assent to a publication which would enable the National League to fix upon the very holdings on which it was proposed to carry out that Act. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would not assent to a proposal which, in many cases, would vitiate and destroy the boon which it was sought to confer on the Irish tenants.

MR. W. McARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell) urged that it was the duty of the House to insist, as far as possible, on every scrap of information that would elucidate the working of the Act being given to the House and the country.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought that it was almost worth while throwing that £5,000,000 away to get the admission which had just been made by the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) as to the continued existence and power of the National League in Ireland, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Coercionist Government to crush it. They had just heard from the lips of the spokesman of the landlord party in Ireland the verdict that the National League possessed undiminished power and influence over the people of that country. Why, he asked, was the hon. and gallant Gentleman afraid to have the transactions under that Act published? They might have expected—apart even from the chivalry that was characteristic of the military profession—that he would have risen superior to those fears, and withdrawn his opposition to that harmless and reasonable proposal.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, a question had been asked as to what "tenement" valuation was. It meant Griffith's valuation. He did not think any valuable information was to be derived in any particular case from knowing what Griffith's valuation was, unless you also knew the year in which it was made, the value of the property on the farm at that time, and what improvements had been made since. Griffith's valuation was made between 1852 and 1857 for the purpose of taxation alone. It was undoubtedly misleading as to the value of the land, and no distinction was made between the property of the landlord and that of the tenant. In some parts it was now far in excess of, and in other parts clearly below, the fair value of the holdings. No doubt there should be some sort of watch kept on what was done by the Land Commission. He confessed he did not think anything would be gained to the taxpayer of this country by having the transactions published before they were completed. All the useful information that could be obtained in that way was to be had from the people on the estate itself, and the Commissioners were fully alive to the danger of collusive bargains. There was no ground for believing that the information would be increased in amount if the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member were carried out, or that that information was not now available. On the other hand, he saw danger of considerable injury from such a publication as that proposed. A question had been raised as to the power of the National League. He did not propose to enter into that thorny question. He wished, however, to correct once more a misquotation from a speech of his which had been repeated hundreds and hundreds of times. He had never said that the National League was a thing of the past, but that it was so in those districts where it had been proclaimed. Whatever might be the truth about the National League, it was extremely possible that a most *bonâ fide* and beneficial transaction might be interfered with if it were the interest, he would not say of

any particular side or party, but of some isolated agitator, to keep up a disturbance in a particular district, and, were he to go down to that district, and bring to a sudden and unhappy termination a transaction which was in process of completion, and which, if it had been allowed to reach its natural conclusion, would have been a benefit, not alone to the landlord or the tenant, but to the whole district where the purchase was being effected. For those reasons he strongly deprecated the publication of these transactions before completion. He would, however, be ready to suggest that the Land Commissioners should state in the next *Gazette* any transactions which had been completed. This would enable hon. Members to follow what was being done, and, while it would not open the door to the dangers which had been foreshadowed, it would, he thought, legitimately satisfy all requirements.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, the Chief Secretary was wrong in saying the tenement valuation had not been altered since it was made. It was true that there had been no alteration made in the valuation of the land itself, but additions had been made to the value of the buildings upon it. He hoped that his hon. and learned Friend would not accept the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, as what was wanted was information while the transactions were in course.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, that in the course of the debate a number of cases of fraud had been brought forward of which day and date had been given. There were, doubtless, numerous cases of a similar kind which had not been brought before the House owing to the absence of information from the Government and want of time in which to collect it. That being so, there was reason to believe that in future operations like cases might occur. The only way in which a check could be put upon such practices was by publicity; but publicity after the fact was of no use, it would be like shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen. He hoped his hon. and learned Friend would press the Amendment, which was a most important one, to a Division.

MR. DILLON said, he thought the opposition of the Government to the clause was really due to the Lord Lieutenant. The Chief Secretary had raised the objection that influence might be brought to bear to break up these sales if they were made public. But on the Hammond estate, when the sales were on the point of completion, the local branch of the Land League had interfered to such purpose that the Commissioners recognized the impropriety of the sales and they were broken off. Some of the highest rents were paid in the Counties of Donegal, Tyrone, and Monaghan—and especially on the Duke of Abercorn's and the Marquess of Bath's estates. It was, therefore, most important that such a clause as that under discussion should be inserted in the Bill, if only for the protection of the tenants who might be compelled to buy their holdings at an excessive price. In Donegal, during the three years of the operation of the Act, the net rental on which the sales were completed was £1,026, while the Government valuation was only £916; and on this rental, which was 10 per cent above the Government valuation, the price was 20·7 years' purchase. Now, in Donegal, judicial rents of £2,130 were fixed on a Government valuation of £2,592. Thus the rent on which the sales were arranged was 30 per cent higher than the judicial rents, and the price paid was thus 28 years of the average of judicial rents. In the County Monaghan equally unfair sales of holdings had taken place under the Land Purchase Act, the average purchase money of a holding amounting to 26·7 years of the unrevised rents. To his own knowledge the rents in that county had been reduced fully 30 per cent by the Land Commissioners; yet people bought their holdings at the old rents, the average number of years' purchase being in excess of 26 years. He had thought that the Government would have agreed to the new clause of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, if only to protect the tenants from such proposals as those made by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to his County Down tenantry. He did not mention this case in order to gratify any ill-feeling against Lord Londonderry. What the Viceroy proposed to his tenants was this: He said that he could not continue to allow them the 20 per cent reduction, which he felt they were entitled to, and therefore he offered to sell them their holdings at a price which would give them a reduction all round of

20 per cent on their present rents. No objection could have been made if the tenants had taken the initiative. But it was Lord Londonderry himself who pressed the tenants to buy—and the tenants, who had been blocked in their access to the Land Courts, had to buy on the old rents. He did not think that in this matter Lord Londonderry had acted in a proper manner; but, be that as it might, the fact was that it was only fair that such publicity should be given of transactions under the Purchase Act that the tenants would not be compelled to enter into transactions which would be ruinous, not only to themselves, but to their fellow tenants throughout Ireland.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he wanted to know what the Government proposed to do?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that he would agree to the second reading of the clause if the following Amendment were accepted:—To leave out the words after "shall," and insert in their place "publish in the next *Dublin Gazette* notice of every completed transaction."

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he did not care for the Government compromise; but it was better than nothing, and he was willing to accept it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *added* to the Bill.

New Clause (Duress shall prevent advance,)—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR thought that the object of the hon. and learned Member was sufficiently carried out by the anxiety of the Commissioners to prevent anything like duress taking place, and by the provisions of the existing law, by which duress would practically invalidate any bargain in which it was used.

MR. SEXTON remarked that the point was that, after the tenant had signed the agreement, and before the Commissioners sanctioned the advance, it should be open to the tenant to show that duress had been exercised. The present mode of proving duress was both slow and costly.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, that following up what his hon. Friend had just said, he would like to state that the Amendment was in the interest, not of the tenant only, but also of the taxpayer. It was a most important Amendment, and would cast no slur whatever upon the Commissioners.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) suggested that the Amendment should be slightly modified, so as to make it provide that if the Commissioners should be satisfied, before sanctioning the advance, that there had been duress the advance should not be made. During the debate on this Bill it had been stated that private and coercive arrangements might be made under the Act, and he desired that the Government should provide a simple and costless, instead of a circuitous and costly, remedy against the possibility of any such arrangements being carried out. He thought, too, that as repudiation had been spoken of, the existence of such a pretext should be provided against.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 143; Noes 194: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 315.)

Amendments made.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped the third reading would be taken before the House adjourned. ["No, no!"] If it were postponed a general delay of Public Business would be caused. Of course, the third reading would have to be taken some time; and if it were not taken that day, the Government would have to obtain precedence for it next day, and that would interfere with the progress of Supply, which the Government were most anxious to make in the interests of the country.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the right hon. Gentleman need be under no serious apprehension that the discussion on the third reading would take any long time. The only question he wished to bring forward would be as to the amalgamation of the Land Purchase Commission and the Land Commission, and upon this matter they were entitled to have a Cabinet statement; but that could not be given at a moment's notice, though it would not occupy any time on the following day.

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

WALTHAM ABBEY GUNPOWDER FACTORY (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 403.]

(*Mr. Brodrick, Mr. Secretary Stanhope.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Definition of Quinton Hill Farm).

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for War to allow the Bill to stand over for a day. He had told the hon. Gentleman opposite that there was a very strong objection to the Bill, and only to-day he had handed in a number of Amendments, which he was sure hon. Gentlemen who represented the War Office would feel dealt with matters he was fully entitled, at any rate, to bring before the notice of the House. There were very important principles involved in the Bill; and while the Amendments he proposed did not involve the rejection of the Bill, nor even the alteration of its principle, they offered opportunity for the satisfactory solution of questions pertinent to the Bill. He would move that Progress be reported, and would not trouble the Committee at the moment by referring to the various points to which he took exception; but he would ask the Government to recognize the fact that there were the strongest reasons for the request he made on behalf of people who would be enormously affected by the measure. He had reason to object to the manner in which the Committee had been selected. It was distinctly understood that the interests of the people he referred to should be fully represented.

It being half an hour after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

COUNTY COURTS' APPEALS (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 367.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Chance, Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Madden) (Dublin University) moved to report Progress. The principle of the Bill he approved of; but it might be necessary to propose certain Amendments.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Madden.*)

Motion *agreed to*.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* next.

ATTACHMENT OF A MEMBER (MR. GENT-DAVIS).

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received the following Letter, relating to the Attachment of Mr. Gent-Davis:—

Nov. 27, 1888.

Mr. Speaker,

I have the honour of communicating to you, for the information of the House of Commons, that I have this morning directed an attachment to issue against Robert Gent-Davis, Esq., the Member for Kennington, for contempt of Court in appropriating to his own use, and neglecting to pay into Court, a large sum of money which was received by him in a fiduciary character as receiver and manager appointed by the Court, and has not been paid by him into Court in pursuance of my order to that effect.

I have thought it right to make this communication to you for the purpose of accounting for the probable absence of the honourable Member, and testifying my profound respect for the honourable House.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Ford North,

One of the Judges of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice.

To the Right Hon.
The Speaker of the House of Commons.

The LORD MAYOR of DUBLIN (Mr. Sexton) (Belfast, W.): May I ask whether that notification vacates the seat, or what effect it has on the seat?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a question which it is not for me to answer. I have only done my duty in communicating to the House the letter of the learned Judge.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) This letter from the learned Judge creates a very grave aspect of affairs. I think it is usual in such cases for the House to move in reference to them. This letter contains a grave imputation

upon an hon. Member, and I presume that the Leader of theHouse will deem it to be his duty to submit a Motion to the House on the subject. Unless the right hon. Gentleman is prepared to take such action as will purge the House of the stain or stigma which rests upon it at present, I am persuaded that action of another kind will be deemed necessary by those sitting on this side of the House.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. and learned Member will not expect me to make any statement on this subject without any Notice whatever. I was not aware of the letter which has just been read having been received, and therefore I am wholly without information as to the facts of the case, beyond those communicated to the House. It appears to me that this is a matter which rests with the Courts of Law, and that I have no duty to discharge in reference to it. I will consider what the hon. and learned Gentleman has said, and if I find it necessary I will make a statement on the subject.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I will put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman on the subject to-morrow.

QUESTIONS.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL — THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX.

SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK (Kensington, S.) said, he did not know whether the First Lord of the Treasury was now prepared to name a day for the discussion of the Van and Wheel Tax, or whether, considering the congested state of the Public Business, it might not be better to abandon the Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, the Question was put without Notice; but he thought the House must have seen that, during the last few days, the delay in the progress of Public Business had been so serious that the Government were obliged to give up any hope of passing any contested measure during the course of the present Session. The Government had had every reason to believe the Bill would have been read a second time, but, beyond the second reading, there were other stages; and, looking at the opposition which had been offered to the Bill, he and his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had most reluctantly come to the conclusion that a sufficient number of days did not exist between this and Christmas during which they could proceed with the measure with any reasonable hope of passing it. He was, therefore, obliged to say that the Government saw no hope whatever of pressing this measure on the House in the course of the present Session.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked whether the statement of the right hon. Gentleman applied to the Scotch University Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I did not mean to convey that. I said we could not hope to pass a measure which was hotly contested. I understand that in the case of the Scotch University Bill there is a very strong desire on the part of Members that that Bill should be brought on this Session, and the Government will give an opportunity for discussing it.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked whether the House was to understand that the Van and Wheel Tax Bill was definitely abandoned—dead, and would not be revived again?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have distinctly said the Government could not proceed with it.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked whether it was proposed to press the Scotch University Bill with all the power of the Government against the Scotch Members?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think hon. Members are unreasonable in the interpretation they put upon my statements. I have said I understood the Scotch Members desired to have this Bill discussed, and I will give them an opportunity of doing so.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Having regard to the very definite and oft-repeated pledges given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would not abandon this Bill, may I ask whether the First Lord of the Treasury contemplates that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will resign his position? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W): As we understand that it is the difficulties of the moment, inside and outside the House, which have prevented the Chancellor of the Exchequer from proceeding with this Bill, may I ask whether it will be one of the earliest measures the Government will propose to deal with next Session?

MR. W. H. SMITH: It is somewhat too early to make any statement of that sort. We have already entered into sufficient engagements for next Session.

MR. C. W. GRAY (Essex, Maldon) asked whether the Government would take into consideration the advisability of making some compensation to the agricultural interest for the loss of the Van and Wheel Tax?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I do not regard that as a contribution to the agricultural interest. The proposal was one for the relief of rates which went as much towards the towns as the country, and it will be for the House to consider whether some measure of the kind in relief of the ratepayers ought not to be carried into effect.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked when the Employers' Liability Bill would be taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government is under the necessity of proceeding with Supply. The necessities of the Exchequer require that we should have the Votes for Classes V. and VI. and the remainder of Class IV. before any other Business is taken. If the Committee of Supply will give us those Votes in the course of Thursday and Friday, we should proceed with the Employers' Liability Bill on Saturday. I understand that is an arrangement which will be convenient to hon. Members interested in that Bill. If that is so, and if we obtain those Votes on Friday evening, I should be disposed to take that course; if not, it must stand over till after the Irish Estimates.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) said, that since the communication was made to the right hon. Gentleman, he had learnt that some of his hon. Friends had made other engagements for Saturday which they could not forego, and had the strongest objections to the Bill being brought on in their absence.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I can only say that the suggestion came from the hon. Member himself, or I should not have made it. Under those circumstances we shall proceed with Supply on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, and after the Irish Estimates we will take the Employers' Liability Bill.

MR. MUNDELLA asked, if Supply would be taken in the order in which it stood?

MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir. I have already said that we require the money on Class VI.

In answer to a further Question from Mr. BROADHURST,

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Employers' Liability Bill would be mentioned again to-morrow.

MOTION.

—o—

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT (1886) AMENDMENT (NO. 4) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Clark, Bill to amend the twenty-third section of "The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886," *ordered* to be brought by Dr. Clark, Mr. Lyell, Dr. M'Donald, and Mr. Mackintosh.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 389.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 29th November, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 29th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — *Report*—Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks [348].

Third Reading—Land Purchase (Ireland) [385]; Land Charges Registration and Searches * [356], and *passed*.

Withdrawn—Weights and Measures * [321]; Excise Duties (Local Purposes) * [204].

QUESTIONS.

—o—

LAW AND JUSTICE—RIGHT TO APPEAR — HAMMERSMITH POLICE COURT.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, on November 22, at the Hammersmith Police Court, on the hearing of a summons against one Meyer, for an alleged offence under the Vaccination Law, Mr. Paget, the sitting magistrate, refused to allow J. W. Proudman to appear for the defendant, on the ground that Mr. Proudman was not a solicitor, though Mr. Proudman was stated to be a person authorized by Meyer to appear for him on such hearing?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E): I am informed by the magistrate that the defendant appeared in person to answer the summons, and the magistrate heard all that he had to urge in his own behalf. The defendant did not desire to call the other person, who was present as a witness, and the magistrate refused to allow him to interfere in the case. The magistrate seems to me to have acted rightly under the circumstances.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARREST OF JOHN HICKEY, WITHOUT WARRANT, AT KILCROHANE, CO. CORK.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that John Hickey, residing at Kilcrohane, County Cork, was arrested without a warrant by Constable Timmins, when returning to his home on October 16, was detained in custody until the afternoon of the next day, and was then conveyed to the Durrus Petty Sessions; whether Mr. Bird, a local landlord and J.P., stated, without any application from the Crown, that the charge against Hickey should be dealt with under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, and further remanded Hickey, and required sureties for his appearance; whether, when Hickey appeared to answer the charge at the Durrus Petty Sessions Court, District Inspector Crane, at whose suit he was charged, failed to put in an appearance; whether he will state by what statute Hickey was arrested and detained in custody under the circumstances; and, whether the Government will recoup Hickey to the amount he has paid counsel for appearance at the Durrus Petty Sessions?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the case referred to was still *sub judice*, having been adjourned to the 12th of December. It would, therefore, not be proper to enter into details. He might, however, say that Mr. Bird did not make any suggestions as to the statute under which the accused was dealt with. The case is to be tried under the ordinary law. The adjournment took place through the non-attendance of the local magistrates. The police, in making the arrest, acted under the Common Law.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): May I ask whether an ordinary Justice, not a Resident Magistrate, has the power to declare that a prosecution which has begun under the ordinary law shall be continued and proceeded with under the Coercion Act?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): No, Sir.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXTRA POLICE FORCE IN THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.

MR. LALOR (Queen's Co., Leix) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that an extra police force is employed in the Queen's County; and, whether, in view of the fact that the Judges of Assizes have frequently congratulated the county on its freedom from exceptional crime, and that, at the county at large Sessions, held at Maryborough on November 17, the magistrates and cesspayers unanimously rejected the application for a presentment for extra police, he will direct the removal of the extra police force from Queen's County?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): It is the case that there is an extra police force of 13 men employed in the Queen's County. This force is not there on account of any prevalence of crime; but is necessary over and above the free quota of police assigned to the county for the ordinary discharge of police duties. In 1882, the

extra force in this county numbered 40 men. It has since been reduced, from time to time, to its existing number. No further reduction is at present practicable.

THE TRUCK ACTS—DEDUCTION FROM WAGES, BALBRIGGAN.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Inspector of Factories for the Dublin District has had brought to his notice deductions from the wages of *employés* of Messrs. Smyth and Co. (Limited), Balbriggan, resulting in a strike which has now lasted six weeks; and, whether any proceedings have been taken against the employers under the Truck Acts; and, if not, what course the Government intend to take in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): No proceedings have been taken. The question of the legality of such deductions as the firm in question gave notice of is now under the consideration of the Law Officers of the Crown.

COMMISSIONERS OF INLAND REVENUE —REMOVAL OF AN OFFICER.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, during the past 12 months, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have punished, by removal, an officer of Inland Revenue, although he had not neglected his official duties, nor broken any Departmental Regulation; whether such officer was granted any inquiry or explanation as to the grounds upon which he was removed; and, whether this is in accordance with the practice of the Commissioners?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): It is the fact that an officer of the Inland Revenue Service has been removed from one locality to another; but the removal was not a punishment, inasmuch as the officer was sent to a post quite as good as that from which he was taken. No explanation of the reasons for his removal was given. I must uphold the right of the Government to move officers of the Revenue Service from one place to another without reason assigned, provided such removal does not entail any loss either of present pay or future prospects. No such loss was involved in the present case.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CLAREMORRIS, CO. MAYO—MR. LONGBOURNE.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the conduct of Mr. Longbourne, R.M., in a case of trespass at the suit of Edward Cuffe against P. J. Gordon, Martin Prendergast, and Patrick Donnellan, heard at Petty Sessions, Claremorris, County Mayo, on the 22nd instant, at the commencement of which Mr. Longbourne refused to allow the case to be proceeded with, and called Head Constable Murray to the Bench; whether it is correctly reported that Mr. Longbourne declared from the Bench that the lands were "the scene of an intended eviction," and that there should be a prosecution under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act against the defendants, and that when Mr. Gordon protested in open Court against this treatment, orders were given to the police to have him removed from the Court; whether he is aware that Mr. Longbourne is prevented by illness from attending regularly at the Petty Sessions; and, whether Mr. Longbourne had any authority for preventing the complainant from proceeding with the case of trespass, and for developing it into a Crimes Act prosecution?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): From a full Report which I have received it appears that this Question does not accurately represent the facts; but the case being still *sub judice*, I am unable to enter into the details of the charges to be tried. I may, however, observe that Gordon was ordered to leave the Court for deliberately insulting the Bench after the case had been adjourned; but it was not necessary for the police to remove him. The Resident Magistrate has never been prevented by illness from attending Petty Sessions, which he attends regularly, except when prevented through more important duties. In the course of the case the evidence showed that the charge before the Court did not represent the true character of the case; and the magistrates adjourned

it, with the view of having the real offence properly brought forward.

INDIA—NATIVE STATES—HYDERABAD.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can give any further information as to the manner in which the Viceroy has dealt with certain actions of Colonel Marshall in connection with the Hyderabad scandal; whether it is the case, as stated by *The Deccan Times* of October 4, that—

"The Viceroy, though condemning the connection brought about by the private secretary (Colonel Marshall) between the Hyderabad Government and his relative, Mr. Watten, has accepted Colonel Marshall's explanation of the financial position to which public attention was recently drawn;"

whether he will inform the House what Colonel Marshall's explanation was; and, whether he will state what steps have been taken to re-imburse the Nizam's Treasury of the large sum of money which has been lost to it?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The matters referred to in the Question are, as I stated in August last, such as it is the function of the Viceroy and Government of India to deal with. No Report of any such circumstances as are alluded to in the Question has been made by the Government of India to the Secretary of State.

CRIMINAL LAW — CONVICTION OF GEORGE TAYLOR FOR POACHING.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the conviction of George Taylor, a bricklayer, for poaching in Her Majesty's preserves and killing two pheasants, for which offence he was awarded by the Windsor magistrates three months' imprisonment with hard labour, and at the expiration of the time ordered to find sureties not to repeat the offence for 12 months; whether the Government will direct this extreme punishment to be partially remitted; and, if not, will the Government state what were the circumstances, beyond one previous conviction for trespass in pursuit of game, which called for so severe a punishment?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have received a Report from the Clerk to the Justices on this case. The magistrates considered it a serious case of poaching armed at night. They also observed that the prisoner had committed three other offences—namely, killing game on Sunday, killing game without a certificate, and having a gun without a licence. The requirement as to finding sureties seems to be imperative under the Statute. Should the prisoner be unable to find sureties at the expiration of his sentence, I will then consider whether the circumstances of the case justify me in advising any remission.

SCOTLAND—COURT OF SESSION AND SHERIFF COURTS.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he is aware that summonses, so numerous as to attract general attention in the Parliament House, have recently been taken out in the Court of Session, at the instance of Lady Gordon Cathcart, against crofters in the Islands of Benbecula, South Uist, and Barra; whether, in many cases, the amounts sued for in name of rents and arrears are under £50; and, whether, having regard to the institution of local Sheriff Courts within counties in Scotland, intended to protect poor persons summoned thereto who might appear in person, or employ a procurator for a few shillings to answer for them, in place of being called hundreds of miles from their homes, and put to the expense of employing counsel and agents, he will, before next Session, consider as to the advisability of introducing a Bill excluding prosecutions for ordinary debts in the Supreme Courts of Scotland for sums under £100 sterling?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): Thirty-four such summonses have been taken out. Of these 13 are for sums above, and 21 for sums below, £50, the average amount being a little under £50. The power of the Court of Session to withhold costs, or to give costs only on the scale of the inferior Courts, is generally found to prevent litigants resorting to its jurisdiction with cases which ought properly to go to local tribunals. The proposal to exclude from the Court of Session actions for ordinary debts under £100

seems to me to be uncalled for and inexpedient.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 — ARREST OF FOUR FARMERS IN KERRY.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has seen the Reports in *The Cork Examiner* and *Herald* of the 22nd instant, to the effect that four farmers named John and Daniel Scannell, John Cahill, and Humphrey Moynihan were arrested on the 21st instant, taken before Mr. M'Dermott, R.M., at Rathmore, County Kerry, and remanded for eight days to Tralee Gaol, bail being refused, and that the District Inspector R.I.C. stated that they would be brought up this day week in Tralee, and a further remand would be then applied for, and the trial would probably take place on December 13; whether, in view of the fact that these men are of respectable character, he can state why they were not proceeded against by way of summonses instead of being summarily arrested; and, why bail was refused in all these cases, they being able to give bail to a substantial amount?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I regret that I cannot go into the details of the charges against these men, the matter being still *sub judice*. The District Inspector, however, did not say that he would oppose bail on the second remand. As a matter of fact, the accused are being admitted to bail to come up for trial.

MR. FLYNN: What charge has been made against these men? Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the practice is growing up in this district of arresting men without any warrant or specific charge, and confining them in gaol without mentioning the charge against them?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware that an illegal practice is growing up in this or any other district.

MR. FLYNN said, that was no answer to his Question.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): We want to know what the charge is. Surely the right hon. Gentleman can inform us what it is?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member must give Notice of any further Question.

ARMY CONTRACTS (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT) — MANUFACTURE OF BAYONETS AT ENFIELD.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state the number of men actually employed in the bayonet department at Enfield during the last fortnight, distinguishing the nationalities of the men, and showing the amount actually earned and paid to such workmen; and, if such amount varies, stating the lowest amount paid to any workman?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The number of men employed at Enfield exclusively on bayonet work during each of the last two weeks was 136, and they were all either British or Irish. Their earnings for last week averaged £1 6*s.* 6*d.*, and the lowest amount received by any man was 2*s.* 11*d.* for piecework. Besides the men referred to above, others are employed in polishing the bayonets; but they have other duties, and their wages cannot be properly discriminated.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman had seen in the papers that great excitement prevailed at Enfield, where a meeting was held on the previous night? Fears were expressed that English workmen were being superseded by men of other nationalities. Could the right hon. Gentleman give an assurance that there was no ground for this apprehension?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that there never had been the smallest idea of having men of foreign nationality, unless it was absolutely necessary for the Public Service; the subject had never been even suggested. The excitement, he thought, was fostered by the local Liberal Association, and had arisen out of the knowledge that certain German workmen had been employed by Messrs. Wilkinson, contractors for sword bayonets. It was absolutely untrue that English labour was being displaced to make room for foreign labour. It was true, however, that certain German workmen were brought over by Messrs. Wilkinson for the purpose of teaching English workmen

how to carry out a certain particular class of work; but these men had been employed only because they were unable to get the necessary skilled workmen in England. When the English workmen had been taught the Germans would go back to Germany. In a recent case a small contract was given to an English firm; and it was found, in practice, that they were not able to complete the contract in England, and that the swords were manufactured at Solingen.

LAW AND POLICE—ARREST OF LUNATICS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Walter Thompson, who on June 4 last was charged in custody before the Gravesend magistrates with being drunk and disorderly, and who, after evidence given by the police which raised grave doubt as to Thompson's sanity, was remanded in custody as an ordinary prisoner; whether he was raving and violent, and received severe injury whilst in the cells, and, after having been visited on June 5 by a magistrate, was removed to Barming Heath Lunatic Asylum, where death ensued on June 18; whether, under 48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 52, ss. 2 and 3, Thompson might on June 4 have been placed in the care of the master of the Gravesend Workhouse, who has accommodation for lunatics; and, whether, to avoid the risk of lunatics being again confined in police cells without proper care, the Government will issue a Circular to magistrates' clerks drawing attention to the statute?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): My attention has been called to the case of Walter Thompson, who died in Barming Heath Lunatic Asylum on June 18 last. The Report of the Justices on the case shows that, from the statements of the police sergeant made when the case came before the Justices as to Thompson's conduct since he had been in custody, it was thought by the Bench that he had been suffering from *delirium tremens;* but inasmuch as he answered questions that were put to him with the object of ascertaining his state of mind quite rationally, and gave the correct address of a man from whom he was expecting employment, he was remanded, with directions that his statements should be investigated, and that he should be visited by the police surgeon. He fell down accidentally in the cell and cut his head; but I do not gather that he was raving and violent. He was visited regularly by the police surgeon, who was not able to pronounce him insane till June 7, when he was removed to the asylum. The Justices had no power, under the statute quoted, to send him to the workhouse on June 4, as they then considered him sane. I have no reason to believe that magistrates act in ignorance of the law in these cases; and I do not think there is sufficient ground for issuing a Circular to magistrates' clerks calling attention to the statute referred to.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—AUDIT OF ACCOUNTS.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the accounts of the Receiver General of the Metropolitan Police are independently audited; and, if so, by whom?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, that the accounts were audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General of the Exchequer.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would lay the Report on the Table?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he would make inquiry.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER believed that it would be found that the accounts were audited technically by the gentleman mentioned, but not literally. They were not laid before the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Sir Charles Warren was in conflict with the Receiver General——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—DUTIES OF THE POLICE.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is the duty of every police officer to take every step in his power to discover the guilty party when a case of murder or homicide occurs in his district; whe-

ther it is the duty of the representatives of the Crown at a Coroner's inquest to produce any available evidence as to the cause of the death of the deceased; and, whether there are any exceptions to the General Rules for the guidance of such officers that would justify their refusing to perform such duties; and, if so, what are the exceptions?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the answer to the first and second paragraphs of the Question was in the affirmative, and to the third in the negative.

MR. LANE: May I ask whether, considering the reply to the first two paragraphs of my Question, he will order an investigation into the conduct of Inspector Creagh, of Midleton, and of Inspector Seymour, who have both declined to perform their duties at the inquest recently held into the murder of Patrick Ahern; and whether he will order these two officers, who have neglected to perform their duties, to be suspended until after the investigation?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, no evidence had come before them that these officers had neglected their duty.

MR. LANE asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman had seen the Cork papers containing full reports of this inquest, and copies of which he (Mr. Lane) now held in his hand, that these officers stated positively that they declined to perform these duties? If the right hon. Gentleman did not believe what he (Mr. Lane) said, perhaps he would believe what he read in the papers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe what the hon. Gentleman says; but what I do not believe is what the Cork papers say.

MR. LANE: Does the right hon. Gentleman not believe the shorthand Report of the inquest which appeared from day to day for 13 days, and which could have been contradicted by the police officers themselves if untrue?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he understood the evidence was not in accordance with what, as he gathered from the hon. Gentleman, appeared in the Cork papers. The papers did not always report accurately.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The evidence in this case was taken by deposition. Has the right hon. Gentleman had the deposition before him; and will he endeavour to obtain the depositions of these Inspectors, in order to see whether or not they have declined to do their duty in the manner stated by my hon. Friend (Mr. Lane)?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he must ask for Notice of any further Questions. He did not think, from the information which had been laid before him, that even a *primâ facie* case had been made out.

MR. LANE: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay on the Table of the House a copy of the Report made by the Government reporter who was present at the inquest? If he does not believe the report in the Cork papers, surely he will believe his own reporter.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was not aware that there was a Government reporter present.

IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL DEFENCES—SINGAPORE.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to a recent speech of the Governor of the Straits Settlements to his Council, when he used these words—

> "The defences of Singapore yet remain, I am concerned to have to report, in an incomplete state. The War Office has, I learn, been unable to furnish the remaining portion of the armament, owing to the heavy guns supplied by the manufacturers for the forts not having stood the severe tests now required. Some months will, therefore, elapse before those guns are received in the Colony;"

whether this is an accurate statement of facts; and, whether Papers will be furnished to the House explaining the circumstances?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I am sorry to say that it is quite true that the heavier armament for Singapore has not yet been furnished. All the remainder has gone out except some quick-firing guns, which go next month. The 9·2-inch breech-loading guns for Singapore were among those whose liners were condemned this year after the failure in the liners that then occurred. They are now being re-lined as rapidly as possible, and are expected to be ready in February. The two 10-inch guns will be rather later.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Were the guns made at Woolwich?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I am almost certain, speaking without Notice of the Question, that they were.

TRADES AND MANUFACTURES—THE NAIL AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, having regard to the recent report of the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on the condition of the nail makers and small chainmakers in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire, the Government intend to introduce legislation next Session dealing with the subject; whether his attention has been called to the statement in the Report, that—

"The result of the small domestic workshop system is, undoubtedly, the root of many if not all the evils from which the nail workers suffer;"

if so, what course the Government intend to take in reference to those workshops; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to deal with the question of female labour in those districts?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, this was a matter that came within the scope of the Home Secretary's Department rather than his own, and he had directed a copy of the Report to be sent to his right hon. Friend, calling his special attention to the suggestions contained in the Report, and asking him to consider them. The subject was one which was full of difficulty, and he hoped that any persons with local knowledge of these industries would communicate their views as to the suggestions made in the Report.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would institute an inquiry?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, this question had already been the subject of more than one inquiry.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM asked, whether the House was to understand that there was to be no legislation on this subject?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Certainly not.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM said, he would move the Adjournment of the House to-morrow in order to discuss the subject.

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE—SEIZURE AND RELEASE OF SLAVES ON THE ZANZIBAR COAST.

MR. A. E. PEASE (York) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any confirmation of the announcement in *The Times* of November 17, to the following effect:—

"The Belgian steamer *Brabo*, taking 400 slaves intended for the Congo, was boarded off the Zanzibar coast to-day (November 16) by a party from H.M.S. *Griffon*, and two slaves were taken from her who swore that they had been forcibly kidnapped. She was then allowed to proceed. Had she been arrested, the *primâ facie* evidence against her was very strong. There is a great scandal about this incident, especially as all the arrangements were made through a former Belgian Consul;"

if so, whether the labourers who were not taken off the vessel were slaves, who had been transferred from their masters to the persons who hired them for transport to the Congo; whether it was the duty of the commander of H.M.S. *Griffon* to arrest the vessel, in order that she might be adjudicated upon in Belgium, according to the terms of Slave Trade Treaties with that country; and, whether Her Majesty's Government intend to take any steps in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Information has been received by telegraph that Her Majesty's ship *Griffon* boarded the Belgian steamer *Brabo*, carrying a cargo of contract labourers engaged on behalf of the Congo Free States, and took out of her two men who declared that they had been embarked against their will. The ship then proceeded on her voyage. No further details are known; but the ship was not liable to capture under the Treaty as being engaged in the traffic of slaves, or being fitted out for purposes of slave-trading. The Belgian Minister has communicated copies of the labour contracts, which contain every requisite provision against compulsion. Accordingly, instructions have been sent that the two men shall be handed over to the Belgian Consul.

MR. A. E. PEASE asked the right hon. Gentleman if he could inform the House how many slaves a vessel might

have on board in order to come under the designation of being a ship carrying slaves?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON replied that no limit had been, or could be, stated. A vessel engaged in slave trading within the terms of the Treaty would be condemned; but there was no ground for supposing the *Brabo* so engaged in any sense.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONSTABLE EDWARD SWINDELL, &c., MIDLETON, CORK.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Constable Edward Swindell, against whom a verdict of wilful murder has been found by a Coroner's Jury in Midleton, has been placed under arrest; whether it is correctly reported that, at the inquest, District Inspector Creagh, of Midleton, swore that he did not consider it any part of his duty as a police officer to take any steps to discover who killed Patrick Ahern, and that District Inspector Seymour, representing the Crown, stated that he would not produce any evidence as to how Ahern came by his death; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will give the Crown Prosecutor for the district special instructions to take the necessary steps to have Swindell brought to trial at the next Cork Assizes?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The constable has been placed under arrest upon the Coroner's warrant. The District Inspector did not swear that he did not consider it part of his duty to take steps to discover who killed Ahern. When these officers made inquiries from persons in Midleton they were met with a flat refusal to give information. The whole case will be laid before the Attorney General, who will give such directions as the case warrants.

MR. LANE inquired whether the Inspector did not refuse to parade the men the next morning for the purpose of identification?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked the hon. Gentleman to give Notice of the Question.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.) asked whether or not every one of the persons examined against the police at the inquest had not since been served with summonses under the Crimes Act?

MR. COMMINS (Roscommon, S.) asked, if it was usual to consult the Attorney General before proceeding in such cases?

MR. W. O'BRIEN said, he must press the right hon. Gentleman for an answer to the important Question he had put—namely, whether every one of the witnesses who gave damaging evidence at the inquest against the police, and convicted one of them of murder, had not since been served with summonses under the Crimes Act?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Gentleman must be aware he knew nothing about the matter. If the hon. Gentleman would give Notice of the Question he would, of course, make the requisite inquiries.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the right hon. Gentleman, if he would undertake that the Law Officers of the Crown would not enter a *nolle prosequi*, as was done in the case of the boy O'Hanlon, who was murdered by the police at Youghal?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Commins) was under a misapprehension. He did not say he was going to consult the Attorney General. This was a matter in which the Attorney General had absolute discretion, and, of course, he would not interfere.

NAVY—COASTGUARD STATION ON BERE ISLAND.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether preliminaries for the erection of a Coastguard Station on Bere Island commenced some years ago; and, if so, what is the cause of the delay in its erection?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk) (who replied) said, he had nothing to add to the answer given by the First Lord of the Admiralty to the hon. Member in September, 1887. The present Coastguard Station on Bere Island was held on lease, and its transfer to another locality had not yet been definitely settled, no agreement having been come to with regard to a new site.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL—CLAUSE 3.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is correctly reported in *The Times* of Tuesday last to have stated, in reply to a deputation with regard to Clause 3 of the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill, that he proposed to abide by the clause, and use what influence he had "in the House of Commons to carry it into effect?" The hon. Gentleman also asked whether it was true, as stated in *The Daily News* of that day, that the Home Secretary was determined to stand by Clause 3 of the Bill; and whether he intended to make certain alterations in Committee?

MR. AINSLIE (Lancashire, N., Lonsdale) asked if representations had been made to the Home Secretary by hon. Members on both sides expressive of their readiness to support him in carrying the Bill through the House in the form in which it was now presented?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I stated, in reply to the deputation referred to, that I proposed to abide by Clause 3 of the Bill, and would ask the House of Commons to adopt it. I have placed upon the Paper Amendments to that clause to carry out a pledge which I gave to the Standing Committee. I have received representations from both sides of the House to persevere with the Bill; and I hope that thus the passage of the Bill may be made easier.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—ADJUSTMENT OF JUDICIAL RENTS, 1888.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will grant a Return showing the particulars of the prices of the stock and articles of produce on which the temporary adjustment of the judicial rents for 1888 is based?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he had consulted with the Land Commissioners; and, in their opinion, the giving of such a Return would not be advisable.

METROPOLITAN POLICE COURTS—NON-ATTENDANCE OF MAGISTRATE AT DALSTON POLICE COURT.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that there was no magistrate in attendance at Dalston Police Court on Tuesday last for several hours after the time appointed for the commencement of business; to what cause was this due; whether a similar irregularity occurred only a fortnight ago; and, whether, in order to avoid great public inconvenience and loss, he will take such measures as will secure the punctual attendance of the magistrate at this Court?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chief Magistrate that Mr. Horace Smith, the magistrate at Dalston Police Court, was suddenly taken ill and confined to his bed for several hours. He telegraphed to a magistrate to take his place, and the required assistance was supplied after some unavoidable delay. A similar irregularity occurred on the 15th instant. This arose from an unfortunate misunderstanding among the magistrates responsible for the service of the Court. The non-attendance of a magistrate was thus in each case due to an accident. I hope it may be found possible, under existing arrangements, to make provision for the proper service of this Court. If it is not possible, I must consider what new arrangements can be made.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—PLEURO-PNEUMONIA IN NORFOLK.

MR. GURDON (Norfolk, Mid) (for Sir EDWARD BIRKBECK) (Norfolk, E.) asked the Vice Chamberlain, Whether the attention of the Privy Council has been called to five outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia in the County of Norfolk during the present month; whether four of these outbreaks originated in store cattle recently imported from Ireland; and, whether he will at once order further precautionary measures to be taken with regard to the removal of cattle landed from Ireland?

THE VICE CHAMBERLAIN (Viscount LEWISHAM) (Lewisham): Six

outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia have been reported during this month in the County of Norfolk, and in four the Inspector states the animals were bought on Norwich Hill, and that they were Irish. The Chief Travelling Inspector has been engaged since Monday in making inquiries in Norfolk; but has not yet been able to ascertain when the cattle were exported from Ireland, or what markets they had been in previously to their arrival at Norwich. Owing to the very stringent measures which have been adopted by the Irish Government for extirpating the disease, Ireland is more free from pleuro-pneumonia than Great Britain.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS — CHILDREN UNDER 14.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What is the number of children under the age of 14 years now undergoing sentences of imprisonment in Great Britain?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I could only obtain the exact figures asked for by means of a Circular to all the prisons, and by an examination of every commitment; but perhaps the Return given in Appendix 8 of the last Report of the Prison Commissioners will be sufficient for the purposes of the right hon. Gentleman. It shows that on the 31st of March, 1888, there were in prison 223 prisoners between 12 and 16. Of these a small proportion would be awaiting trial, and the number under 14 would probably be less than 100.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER asked, if in case of imprisonment of young children the Home Secretary personally investigated the causes for which they had been incarcerated?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION ACT, 1887 — RULES IN SOUTH WALES COLLIERIES.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Glamorgan, Rhondda) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in the Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Breconshire Collieries included in Mr. Inspector Robson's District of South Wales, the old Special Rules for collieries under the Mines Regulation Act, 1872, are still in force; if so, why; and, if not, what are the Special Rules now applicable to those collieries since the passing of the Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Act, 1887; and, how soon may it be expected that the New Rules will be finally settled and established; and, when established, will he order that they should be translated into the Welsh language and posted up at the collieries with the English Rules?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The old Special Rules under the Act of 1872 are no longer by law in force in the collieries referred to; because, after the passing of the Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Act of 1887, new Special Rules were submitted by the owners under Section 52 of that Act, and, by the lapse of 40 days without objection, they were, under the Statute, established as the Special Rules for those collieries. Since then I have proposed to the owners certain Amendments of those new Special Rules. The proposed Amendments were objected to by the owners, and, consequently, two arbitrations have taken place. The award in one case is now ready, and in the other nearly so. As soon as the necessary arrangements for payment of the costs are completed with the Treasury Solicitor, the award now ready—that is, for East Glamoganshire—will be published. The Government have met the cost of a Welsh abstract of the Coal Mines Act, including the General Rules; and it appears to me that the cost of translating the Special Rules should be met by the owners, by whom they are proposed.

SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS—SAMOA.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to recent occurrences in Samoa; and, if it is the intention of the Three Guaranteeing Powers to take measures for the restoration of order in those Islands?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have been informed of the occurrence of civil war in Samoa. They have observed an attitude of neutrality in regard to it; and Her Majesty's Consul would, according to his instructions, abstain from intervention except for the

protection of British life and property. I am not able to state at present what means the Treaty Powers may be disposed to adopt for the restoration of order in those Islands, which Her Majesty's Government are most anxious to promote.

PRISONS (SCOTLAND)—TREATMENT OF AN INFANT IN GLASGOW PRISON.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been drawn to the report in *The North British Daily Mail* of Monday last, that an infant 10 months old, which was taken to Duke Street Prison, in Glasgow, on Wednesday the 21st instant, with its mother, Mrs. M'Kenzie, who was sentenced to a term of imprisonment, had been stripped, bathed in cold water, and put into prison clothes; and, if true, under what Rule was this infant so treated?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The child was not bathed in cold water, but in warm water, the temperature being about 100 degrees. The child was supplied with the clothing provided under Instruction 541, Scale 5, of the Rules for prisons in Scotland. These clothes are prison clothes only in the sense of being the property of the Prison Commissioners, and are such as are ordinarily worn by children of the working class.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—DECREES FOR RENT.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, on the hearing of a process of ejectment for non-payment of rent, at the suit of the Drapers' Company, against John Bradley, at Magherafelt, before Mr. Neligan, Q.C., in January last, it was held by the Judge that he had no power to extend the payment of instalments beyond one year, and that this decision was afterwards reversed on appeal, whereupon Mr. Neligan, Q.C., extended the instalments over four years, making the first instalment payable in November, 1888; whether over 100 processes of ejectment entered by the same landlords at the same Sessions were adjourned pending the result of the appeal in Bradley's case; whether decrees were, notwithstanding, obtained against these tenants, and notices of eviction served on 73 of them in May last; whether decrees for possession were granted against 41 of them at Draperstown Petty Sessions on the 20th instant; whether, at the last Sessions held before Mr. Neligan, at Magherafelt, the Judge declined to follow the ruling of the Supreme Court, when applied to on behalf of about 100 tenants on the same estate, and ejectment decrees without extension of time for payment of arrears were accordingly granted against them; whether he is aware the Drapers' Company have refused to settle with these tenants unless they sign agreements to hold subject to or purchase on the basis of the old rents, notwithstanding that in cases where fair rents were fixed on the estate there was an average reduction of 20 per cent; and, whether he will consider the propriety of introducing a Bill to make it compulsory that such extension of time for payment of arrears of rent shall be granted as the tenant shall reasonably require to enable him to pay the same?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) replied to the first paragraph in the affirmative, and to the second in the negative. In 33 cases further time was given to pay by instalments within a period of 12 months. Decrees were taken in the usual course by the plaintiff's solicitor. The Recorder did not refuse to follow the decision of the Supreme Court. On the contrary, he followed it the last Session. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had no information as to the matter of the sixth paragraph. The existing law provided for all cases coming under the last paragraph.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that County Court Judge Waters had declared that the clause dealing with arrears in the Act of last year was a perfect farce, and useless to the tenants of Ireland?

[No reply.]

POOR LAW—REMOVAL OF SCOTCH AND IRISH PAUPER LUNATICS.

MR. ALLISON (Cumberland, Eskdale) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is the case that the provisions of 8 & 9 *Vict.*

c. 117, and 10 & 11 *Vict.* c. 33, in reference to the removal of Scotch and Irish paupers to their place of settlement in their own country, do not apply to pauper lunatics; and, if so, whether he will consider the propriety of amending the law in this respect, either by a clause in the Lunacy Bill, to be re-introduced next Session, or in some other way?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The view which I believe is generally held is that the statutory provisions relating to the removal of paupers to Scotland and Ireland do not extend to authorize the removal of pauper lunatics whose condition is such as to require that they should be sent to a lunatic asylum. In the case of pauper lunatics who have no settlement in England, the cost of maintenance in an asylum is a charge on the county, and not upon the particular union. I cannot undertake to propose any alteration of the law which would extend the powers as to the removal of paupers.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—GRANTS TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If an opportunity will be given to the House of expressing an opinion on the matter before the Government commits itself to the renewal of large grants to the National Gallery for the purchase of pictures, contrary to the arrangement that the grant for the Blenheim pictures should first be made good?

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) inquired, whether the arrangement referred to by his hon. Friend was communicated to the National Gallery authorities before the purchase of the Blenheim pictures under the deliberate authority of the House of Commons?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I gather that that was not done, and that it was not communicated to the authorities of the National Gallery before the purchase was made. In reply to the former Question, there is no proposal for the renewal of large grants to the National Gallery for the purchase of pictures. It was a part of the understanding, at the time when the usual annual grant of £10,000 was suspended until the sum spent upon the Blenheim pictures had been made good, that during the suspension of the grant the Treasury would consider any proposals which the Trustees of the Gallery might make for the acquisition, under exceptionally advantageous circumstances, of works important to complete the representative character of the collection. Several proposals for such purchases have been made by the Trustees; but in no instance —though admitting the case of the Trustees to be strong—have the Treasury regarded it as so overwhelmingly strong as to justify a special grant and a Supplemental Estimate. But the controversies which have arisen between the Trustees and the Treasury have convinced me that the present arrangement is unsatisfactory; and therefore, regarding the Treasury as pledged to some relaxation of the suspension of the Vote, I have agreed to £5,000 being put down in next year's Estimates for the purchase of pictures. Of course, this concession will be subject to the approval of Parliament when the Estimate comes on. I must remind the House that, of the £87,000 given for the Blenheim pictures, £40,000 have been made good by the suspension of the annual grant for four years.

JAMAICA—EXPENDITURE ON RAILWAYS.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can state the total amount of outstanding loans raised for the purchase and construction of railways in Jamaica; whether the Colonial Government of Jamaica has entered into negotiation for the sale of the Government Railways in Jamaica to an American Syndicate; and, if so, what are the terms offered by such Syndicate; and, whether the Secretary of State has yet come to any decision in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The total amount raised for purchase and re-construction of railways in Jamaica is £800,300. The amount provided for by Sinking Fund and otherwise is £140,327, leaving a net liability of £659,973 at the end of 1887. An offer has been

made by an American Syndicate, as reported by the Governor in a despatch received on the 27th instant. This offer has not yet been considered by Her Majesty's Government, and they are not at present prepared to give the particulars.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS ACT—APPLICATION IN DUBLIN.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Who is responsible for the carrying out of the provisions of the Workshops Regulation Act in Dublin; whether complaints have reached him that in many houses the Rules of the Act are not complied with; that the workshops are overcrowded, and the *employés* forced to work overtime; and whether he will take steps to ensure a more searching inspection of the Dublin workshops and factories in future?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chief Inspector of Factories, whose duty it is to see that the provisions of the Factory Act are carried out in Dublin, that very few complaints have been made to the resident inspector in Dublin, and in each case they have been most fully investigated. Prosecutions have followed when young persons or females were employed beyond the legal hours. Careful regulations have been made and insisted upon as to the proper cubic space for each person employed. If the hon. Baronet will bring to my notice any violation of the law, full inquiry will be made.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the right hon. Gentleman to call the Inspector's attention to the fact that numerous complaints had been made in the public Press, especially in regard to girls employed in workshops?

MR. MATTHEWS promised that due attention would be given to the hon. Gentleman's statement.

BURIAL ACT, 1880—PARISH OF LAMESLEY, GATESHEAD.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has seen in *The Newcastle Daily Leader*, of November 19, a copy of the following letter, addressed to George Felton, by the Rev. R. W. Snape, Vicar of Lamesley, Gateshead, in reply to a notice of a burial under the Burial Act of 1880:—

"Lamesley Vicarage, Gateshead-on-Tyne,
"October 30, 1888.

"George Felton.—As, by 'The Burial Laws Amendment Act, 1880,' the funeral which you propose to hold in Lamesley Churchyard on Thursday, November 1, is required to take place between the hours of 10 a.m. and 3 p.m., I hereby give you notice that your burial party must be at the entrance gate of the churchyard not later than a quarter before 3. If you come after that time the interment could not be completed by 3. Not upon any consideration whatever will I allow you, or any person belonging to you, to enter my churchyard for the purpose of burial, either at 3 or after 3 o'clock. The sexton has instructions to receive from you the usual fee of eight shillings (8*s.*) before beginning to make the grave.

"R. W. SNAPE, Vicar of Lamesley.

"George Felton, Allerdean;"

whether the vicar was required by law to give, or was justified in giving, such a notice; and, whether he acted legally in insisting on the payment of a fee before the opening of a grave for the burial of a parishioner?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I have seen the letter in question. The law does not require such notice to be given as was sent by the vicar; but I am not aware that such notice is illegal. There is nothing in the Statute as to the manner in which the fee is to be collected. It is a question of Ecclesiastical Law, whether the vicar acted legally in insisting on the payment of the fee before the opening of the grave; and I must decline to give an opinion on that point. It is one over which I have no jurisdiction. The Statute says that he shall be entitled to the same fee as if the burial had taken place with the service of the Church of England.

MR. BURT asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that a Select Committee in 1882 inquired into the subject of burial fees, and reported that clergymen were not entitled by law to exact them beforehand?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am quite aware that a Report was made to that effect.

EDUCATION DEPATMENT—SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether it is a fact that, at the Slea-

ford Street Polling Station, in the West Lambeth Division, during the School Board Election on Monday, several hundred persons who presented themselves between the hours of 6 and 8 o'clock in the evening were prevented from recording their votes owing to the insufficient accommodation provided; whether some of the electors who were unable to record their votes arrived at the polling station before 7 o'clock; and, whether this practical disfranchisement of a large number of duly qualified electors will render the election invalid?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, he was not aware of the facts alleged; but the Education Department was not responsible for the conduct of the School Board Elections. The only way to test the validity of an election was by legal proceedings taken in order to test the right of those elected to serve on the Board.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government will take any steps to facilitate the release of Thomas Moroney, now imprisoned for contempt of court, having in view the fact that Thomas Moroney has now been imprisoned for more than one year and ten months, and that the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in England has on more than one occasion strongly pronounced against indefinite imprisonment for contempt?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman will probably agree with me that it would be in the highest degree inexpedient, even if it were possible, for the Executive to interfere with the action of a Court of Law. I cannot admit the propriety of the epithet "indefinite" in the last line. Moroney can bring his imprisonment to a termination whenever he pleases.

MR. BRADLAUGH: In consequence of that answer I beg to give Notice that I shall, at the conclusions of the Questions, ask leave to move the adjournment of the House.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR.

MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN (Merthyr Tydvil) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Government will, before another appointment of Governor of Queensland is made, make inquiries, or otherwise ascertain from the Cabinet of Queensland or the Agent General for the Colony, whether the appointment would be acceptable?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): As I have explained on previous occasions, Her Majesty's Government do not feel able to take the course suggested, involving, as it would, a serious Constitutional change, in the expediency of which they do not concur.

POST OFFICE—EXTRA DUTY.

SIR JOHN PULESTON (Devonport) asked the Postmaster General, If any estimate has been formed whether, under existing circumstances, the amount of extra duty to be performed in the Post Office Savings Bank during the next five or six months will be largely in excess of that performed in past years; whether his attention has been drawn to the remarks of the Royal Commission on the subject—namely, that—

> "The average amount of extra hours of 360 of the staff of the Savings Bank Department since the 31st of December last are five hours per day per man;"

and, whether he is making any arrangement by which a large proportion of the work can be performed other than by means of extra duty; and, if so, whether he is in a position to state the nature of the arrangements, and the date on which they will come into operation?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Judging from the Returns which I have had before me of the rapid increase in the work of the Post Office Savings Bank, there is no doubt that there will be a large augmentation of business in the period referred to by the hon. Member, and it is estimated that there will be a proportionate increase of extra duty unless it is otherwise provided for. My attention has been given to the remarks of the Royal Commission on the subject. The matter is receiving my earnest attention

and that of the Treasury, and I am in hopes that a decision may be arrived at soon.

METROPOLITAN POLICE — THE NEW CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

MR. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, By whom the announcement of the appointment of the new Commissioner of Police was communicated to some of the newspapers; and, whether it was forwarded to all the newspapers and News Agencies through the usual channel; and, if not, why an exception was made in this instance?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The appointment of the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police was formally completed at a late hour on Tuesday evening, and was, I believe, generally known in the Lobby that night. I have no reason to suppose that any exception was made to the usual course in making the matter known to the Press.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—TRIAL AND CONVICTION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the prosecution of the men who have now been convicted of the Edlingham burglary was conducted or watched by himself, or by the Director of Criminal Prosecutions; whether the law of England admits of evidence being led and a case tried out when the prisoners plead guilty; and, if so, whether, having regard to the peculiar circumstances of this case and its great public interest, the prosecution pressed that the trial should go on or acquiesced in stopping at the plea of guilty, and so avoiding any judicial inquiry; whether the prosecution, in fact, compromised the case by accepting the plea of guilty of burglary only, and did not lead evidence to show that the persons who committed the burglary committed still graver offences, as shown at the former trial, when Branaghan and Murphy were convicted of the more heinous offences; and, whether any steps can be taken to prevent a similar avoidance of a judicial inquiry in such cases?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The prosecution of the men in question was conducted by the Director of Criminal Prosecutions and by counsel nominated by me. The law of England does not permit of a case being tried out when a plea of guilty is persisted in. I believe that Branaghan and Murphy were convicted of burglary and of shooting with intent to murder. There was no sufficient evidence, either from the confession or otherwise, to justify the charge of shooting with intent to murder being pressed. The punishment inflicted would have been the same in both cases.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, whether the Attorney General was aware that evidence was given before the magistrate as to shooting with intent to murder?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Of course, I cannot tell what information was communicated to the hon. Gentleman; but neither in the confession, nor from the evidence submitted to the Public Prosecutor, was there sufficient evidence of shooting with intent to murder.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman had any objection to lay on the Table the information which was in the hands of the Public Prosecutor as to this case? because he would have observed that these men were allowed to plead guilty of a minor offence.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The hon. and learned Gentleman is entirely misinformed. In the first place, he suggested—I am sure quite unintentionally—that the plea of guilty to the minor offence was put in by arrangement with the Public Prosecutor. That is entirely without foundation. Until the trial, the Public Prosecutor did not know what plea the prisoners would plead. A special plea was put in by Mr. Digby Seymour, who defended. With regard to the other matter, the previous prisoners were tried and convicted of both offences.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman could state whether the police who gave evidence in the former case, as to shooting with intent to murder, were produced in this case?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The evidence as to shooting with intent to murder depended, not so much upon the

police evidence, as upon the evidence of persons in the house, and also upon circumstantial evidence which was not forthcoming. The learned Judge expressed the opinion that the conduct of counsel for the prosecution in not pressing the charge of shooting with intent to murder was perfectly right.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will re-consider the statement which he made on Tuesday relating to the Business of the House, by which the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill is not likely to be taken till the end of the Session; and, whether he will, having regard to the importance of the measure, and the definite pledge he gave to the House on the 22nd instant, take the Bill immediately after the conclusion of the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The arrangement I desire to make is that this Bill should be taken on Friday next week. I hope the Irish Estimates will not last more than four days.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE DRAINAGE (IRELAND) BILLS.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, in view of his statement that all Railway and Harbour Bills for Ireland connected with the late Royal Commission must be postponed until the House has decided on the Drainage Bills, Whether he would name an early day on which the sense of the House might be taken on these Drainage Bills?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. and gallant Gentleman has failed to notice that these Bills were withdrawn last week. Therefore, they are at an end so far as the present Session is concerned.

COLONEL NOLAN: Are we to understand, then, that all important works in Ireland are to be indefinitely postponed?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I do not know that that is the question. The Government were most anxious to bring forward these Bills, but they met with opposition; and it was not possible, under the circumstances of the Session, to press them in the course of the present Session, and therefore they have been withdrawn.

COLONEL NOLAN: Has the right hon. Gentleman ever given a single day for the second reading of any one of these Bills?

MR. W. H. SMITH: It would be exceedingly inconvenient that we should get into a wrangle. These Bills have been discussed at considerable length.

COLONEL NOLAN: No, no; only on the first reading.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had repeatedly stated that an adequate discussion of these Bills must be in Committee, and that when they came back from the Committee an opportunity would be afforded for their discussion in the House. Hon. Gentlemen did not agree with that view, and therefore there was no option but to withdraw the Bills.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Are we to understand that on no occasion are we to have the opportunity for an adequate discussion of the principle of a Bill on the second reading?

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): As a matter of fact, have these Bills ever been brought forward before 12 o'clock at night?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, they were.

DR. TANNER: On what date?

MR. SPEAKER: Order! order!

EGYPT—SUAKIN — REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS—THE COST.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, From what source it is proposed to defray the cost of sending British troops to Suakin?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): So far as the Government are aware, the cost of the moving of the troops from Cairo to Suakin will be extremely small. The Egyptian Government finds the transport, and I am not really aware that any other expense will be incurred.

MR. DILLON: It is widely rumoured that this operation will lead to a very great expenditure. Am I to understand from the answer of the right hon. Gentleman that the Government have not yet decided who is to bear the contingent expenses which may result?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I wish to be perfectly frank with the hon. Gentleman and the House. He appears to think there is something in reserve, and something mysterious which is kept back. There is nothing of the kind. A battalion—a few troops—are being moved from Cairo to Suakin, and will be moved back again from Suakin to Cairo. No serious or important movement on the part of Her Majesty's Government is contemplated.

MR. DILLON: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered my question. The troops may be moved from Cairo to Suakin and back again; but what if they are beaten and defeated? Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the plain question, who is to bear the cost of this expedition; whether it be a small expedition; or whether, as stated in *The Times*, it is to be practically a reconquest of the Soudan?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have stated to the House what the expedition is. It is to move a few troops who are in garrison in Egypt from Cairo to Suakin, and as soon as the operations there are completed to move them back again. [*Cries of* "What operations?"] The operations are confined exclusively to the defence of Suakin from the attacks to which it is now subject.

An hon. MEMBER: Who pays the piper?

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): Two or three days ago, in answer to a Question of mine, I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that to-day he would make a statement. [MR. W. H. SMITH: No.] I asked him whether he would lay Papers on the Table before we had a discussion? He then said he would make a statement; and that statement has now reduced itself to the very simple proposition apparently that the troops are to go from Cairo to Suakin, and then from Suakin to Cairo. Is that the statement which he promised to make?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am not aware that I did promise to make a statement. The right hon. Gentleman asked me if there would be any objection to produce Papers, and I said there would be no objection if there were any Papers. Certainly, there will be no objection to give the House full information if it is desired as to the removal of the battalion from Cairo to Suakin and from Suakin to Cairo. That is the whole matter.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The Papers which I think the House and the country will be anxious to have are the Papers relating to those communications which passed between the British and Egyptian Governments, of which the right hon. Gentleman has informed us.

MR. W. H. SMITH: If the right hon. Gentleman wishes to have them, and will ask the Question on Monday, I will tell him whether I can produce them.

MR. DILLON: I wish to ask whether, in view of the statement the right hon. Gentleman has now made, which conflicts with general rumour abroad, he can definitely state on Monday whether the Government will give an undertaking that the troops will not go beyond a certain radius outside the walls of Suakin?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): May I ask whether the cost of this operation or movement is to be included in the specific sum per annum which Egypt pays for the English troops that are in Egypt, or whether it is to be an extra?

MR. W. H. SMITH: If the hon. Gentleman wishes me to be exactly precise, and will ask me on Monday, I will give him the precise information; but whether it will cost a few pounds more or less I am not able to say. I have told the House that Egypt bears the whole cost of transport to and fro, and I really do not know what other expense there can be.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is intended to reinforce the Army of Occupation in Egypt in consequence of the dispatch of British troops to Suakin.

MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir. It is not in the opinion of the responsible officers in Egypt necessary to reinforce the Army of Occupation there.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND—RETIREMENT OF AGED AND INFIRM BISHOPS—LEGISLATION.

MR. HOWORTH (Salford, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that three Bishops in England and Wales are over 80 years of age, and two others are over 77 years of age, and in view also of the increased duties imposed upon Bishops, and the

consequent demand for an increase of the Episcopate, the Government propose to introduce a Bill at an early date for the superannuation and retirement of Prelates and other ecclesiastical dignitaries when no longer able to perform their duties?

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, may I be permitted to ask whether the age of the right rev. Prelates in question appreciably exceeds that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), concerning whose vigour and vitality there can be no doubt?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I do not think my hon. Friend who asked the last question will expect an answer to it. With regard to the Question on the Paper, I believe that my hon. Friend is within the mark in his statement as to the ages of some of the members of the Episcopal Bench; but I am informed that the most aged of the Bishops is also the most active in the discharge of his duties, and retains the full possession of every mental faculty. An Act was passed some years ago (the 32 & 33 *Vict.*, c. 3) providing for the superannuation and retirement of Prelates and other dignitaries of the Church when no longer able to discharge their duties.

PRIVILEGE — ATTACHMENT OF A MEMBER (MR. GENT-DAVIS).

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What steps he intends to recommend the House to take with regard to the communication from one of Her Majesty's Judges affecting the character of one of its Members? My Question has particular reference to the passage in the letter of Mr. Justice North read yesterday to the House, charging the hon. Member for Kennington (Mr. Gent-Davis) with appropriating to his own use, and neglecting to pay into Court, a large sum of money received by him in a fiduciary character.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have considered the Question which the hon. and learned Member put on the Paper, and I do not see that it would be my duty to ask the House to take any action in the matter. I am not in possession of any information which would justify me in taking that course. I wish to remind the House and the hon. and learned Gentleman that I should take a very serious responsibility upon myself if I were to proceed, even on the statement of the learned Judge, to ask the House to pronounce a judgment upon the financial transactions, or even the fiduciary relations of an hon. Member of this House.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Can the right hon. Gentleman give any information as to the probable date of the release of the hon. Member; and whether it is true, as reported, that the sum required to be paid by the order of the Court was found by the Tory Party, and paid into Court yesterday?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have no information whatever on the subject. It appears to me to be no part of my duty to answer questions of that kind.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, before coming to the conclusion he has just announced, he consulted the precedents on the subject, in particular those referred to in Sir Erskine May's book on *The Practice of Parliament*, in which it is shown that, among the causes for which expulsion of Members has been decreed in this House, are those of having been guilty of forgery, perjury, frauds, and breaches of trust; and, whether this case does not come within, at least, the *primâ facie* description of frauds or breaches of trust.

MR. W. H. SMITH: With all respect to the hon. and learned Member, I think it is unreasonable that I should be called upon to answer a question of that kind without any Notice whatever. It is most undesirable that the person holding my position in the House should act hastily or rashly in any question affecting the honour and character of any Member of this House.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has consulted—["Order!"]

MR. T. M. HEALY: Unless action is taken by the Government in the meantime, I beg to give Notice that on Tuesday I shall move—

"That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a writ for

the election of a Member to serve in the present Parliament for the Division of Kennington, in room of R. Gent-Davis, esq., who, since his election, has been found guilty by a Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of appropriating to his own use, and neglecting to pay into Court, a large sum of money which was received by him in a fiduciary character."

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with regard to the announcement made last evening by the First Lord of the Treasury in relation to the proposed Van and Wheel Tax, Whether, considering the great loss and inconvenience already suffered by those upon whom the tax would have fallen, he could not now state definitely that the proposal was not merely postponed until next Session, but absolutely withdrawn without any intention on the part of the Government to re-introduce a similar measure?

MR. HERMON-HODGE (Lancashire, Accrington) inquired whether the withdrawal of the Bill would involve the abolition of the proposed tax upon race and pleasure horses?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I think I may inform the hon. Member opposite that, through the great pressure of business which there has been, and through the loss during last week of the day which was intended for the field-day to which the hon. Member had looked forward, it has become perfectly impossible for the Government to hope to carry this Bill—which includes, of course, the tax upon race-horses—through its various stages during the present Session. Under the circumstances, the Bill is withdrawn. With regard to the future, I should look upon the best course to be pursued to be this. Before the Government can deal definitely with a subject of this kind next Session, the County Councils will have been established; and it appears to me that the Government may then take the opinion of the County Councils and local representatives as to what means may be taken to reinforce local taxation by £700,000 which the ratepayers lose by the unfortunate fact that it has not been possible for us to pass the Bill.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) asked, whether the Government would consider the effect of the abandonment of the Bill upon the London County Council, whose finances would be completely disorganized; and whether they would introduce some measure to relieve the County Council from this embarrassment, as otherwise a fresh tax would have to be imposed in accordance with the provisions of the Local Government Act?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. Member must know that it is impossible to proceed with any fresh measures of this kind this Session.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION OF THE COMMITTEES OF SUPPLY AND WAYS AND MEANS FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.), with reference to the Motion in the name of the First Lord of the Treasury for suspending the 12 o'clock rule, asked, Whether it was intended that no new opposed Vote should be taken after that hour, and the power only taken advantage of to conclude debate on the Vote then under consideration?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that, undoubtedly, the Government did not intend to tie their hands, for if they were to take no Opposed Business after midnight they should accomplish very little by asking the House to suspend the 12 o'clock Rule. Clearly the Government could not ask the House to continue the Committee of Supply longer than the general sense of the Committee would warrant. He believed the House was anxious to make progress at that period of the Session with Supply; and it would be a very great misfortune if they were prevented from going on with Votes, practically unopposed, after 12, or even after 1 o'clock. He thought the feeling of the Committee would be that all Parties in the House should co-operate as cordially as they could, with all the differences that must exist between different sides, in affording facilities for the transaction of Public Business.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked if the Government would guarantee that, in the event of the Motion for suspending the Rule being agreed to, no Votes would be taken after 12 o'clock except such as were practically unopposed?

MR. W. H. SMITH repeated his answer, pointing out that to undertake that no opposed Vote should be taken after 12 o'clock at night would be equivalent to surrendering all the advantages gained.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) gave Notice that, in consequence of the unsatisfactory answer of the right hon. Gentleman he would oppose the Motion.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Why the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, to which six clauses had been added in Committee and on Report, had not been reprinted before the House was asked to read it a third time.

THE FIRST LORD (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) in reply, said, he was really not responsible for the Bill not being printed. There was no expression of opinion on the part of the House that it was desirable to reprint it, and he gave no direction on the subject. The Amendments which had been accepted were very well known; but, nevertheless, had there been an expression of desire that the Bill should be reprinted, undoubtedly the Government would have made every exertion to have it done.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER asked the Speaker on whom the authority rested to decide whether a Bill which had been altered on the Report stage should be re-printed.

MR. SPEAKER: The House itself would decide when a Bill should be reprinted.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER, supposing the case where there was no direction by the House, and as it was clearly the general rule of the House, asked on what official then the authority rested?

MR. SPEAKER: It could then be done on Motion.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—SERVICE OF CRIMINAL PROCESS.

MR. FORREST FULTON (West Ham, N.) asked, Whether the Executive Government in Ireland possessed any power or authority whatever to regulate and control the time or manner of service of criminal process either in this country or in Ireland, as recently suggested by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton); and, if so, from what source was so dangerous a dispensing power derived.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I am not very learned in these legal matters; but I believe the Attorney General, who is responsible for the administration of the Criminal Law, has power to regulate the time of service of legal process.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, if it was not the case that all persons executing process in Ireland were not under the control and supervision of the Executive?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—TRIAL OF MR. E. WALSH.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, with reference to an answer he had given on Tuesday last as to the trial of Mr. Walsh, of Wexford, Whether that gentleman had been tried on Wednesday before the same Resident Magistrate whose previous conviction of Mr. Walsh on another charge had been quashed; and what steps the hon. and learned Gentleman had taken to prevent the second trial taking place before this same gentleman, who had now passed sentence of five months' imprisonment?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. MADDEN) (Dublin University), in reply, said, he did not give a promise. He said that there was no reason to assume that the magistrates were not perfectly competent to try this case because the Superior Court had differed from them in the former case on a difficult point of law. Not that, probably, the magistrates themselves would prefer that the Court should be differently constituted; and he would have inquiries made, and endeavour that it should be so arranged, if it were practicable. His answer was sent over to Ireland, and, he presumed, that as a change was not made, it was found impracticable, probably because there was not sufficient time

MR. T. M. HEALY: Who arranges the constitution of these Courts, and is there any rota?

MR. MADDEN: They are arranged by the Divisional Magistrates. I believe no exact rota exists.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1882—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE).

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

MR. BRADLAUGH, Member for the Borough of Northampton, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House, for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance — namely, the continued indefinite imprisonment of Thomas Moroney for a criminal offence—namely, (the Contempt of Court), to the actual serious injury of his health, and possible peril of his life; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified,

MR. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than 40 Members having accordingly risen:—

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he quite agreed that the Government should not be asked to interfere with criminal proceedings except for very good cause. But he contended that such cause did not exist here, and asked the attention of hon. Members, because their adverse judgment might be a sentence of death to this unfortunate man, and he begged them not to depend on the usual sources of information at the end of a debate, but to hear the matter themselves. On the 14th of January, 1887, Thomas Moroney was summoned to show cause why he should not be adjudicated a bankrupt, and on that account was sworn and examined, and answered the questions put to him to the satisfaction of the presiding judge, and was then made bankrupt on the 28th of January. At the first sitting under that bankruptcy Moroney was put into the box to be sworn; but he refused to be sworn and examined. His advocate then stated the grounds of his refusal as follows:—That he was in no real sense of the word a bankrupt, and that he had been made a bankrupt in his capacity of shopkeeper by reason of a debt due in his capacity of tenant-farmer. He stated that the action brought against him in this Court was a vile and infamous attempt to crush him as a tenant-farmer and shopkeeper, and therefore he refused to be examined and sworn. Now he (Mr. Bradlaugh) was not going to justify Mr. Moroney's refusal to be sworn and examined; he admitted that legally the man was wrong, but Moroney claimed that he was morally right, and on this he should venture to suggest that at least Moroney might honestly think so. Proceedings were taken against Moroney to recover a sum of £85, which represented one year's rent, including the hanging gale, of 20 acres of land. At that time, and also when the petition for adjudication in bankruptcy was presented, Moroney had on his land and in his shop goods and chattels far exceeding the whole amount of the landlord's claim; and he suggested to the House that the object of the proceedings was not to recover the debt due to the petitioning creditor and to secure the proper distribution of Moroney's assets, but to obtain information as to other tenants, neither debtors or creditors of the bankrupt, but who happened to owe rent with which Mr. Moroney was unconnected. The intent, he contended, was to use Moroney as an informer against his co-tenants as to what disposition they might have made of any of their means, which the landlord desired to trace and recover. He contended that the House ought not to make itself a party to an offensive proceeding of this kind. The endeavour to examine Moroney was really an endeavour to examine into the Plan of Campaign. But the taking part in the Plan of Campaign was alleged by the Government to be an offence under the Coercion Act, 1887, and therefore an inquiry might have been held before a magistrate under the special powers given by the first section of that Act; and if Moroney so examined had refused to answer he undoubtedly might have been imprisoned, but for how long? This House had decided by incorporating in the Coercion Act Section 13 of the Petty Sessions Ireland Act, 1851, that the whole imprisonment for refusing to answer should not exceed one month. So that in an inquiry into a murder, the refractory witness could only be imprisoned for one month. If Moroney had been brought up under the Crimes Act and had refused to

answer questions, the sentence could not have exceeded one month; but the unfortunate man had already been in prison for 23 months, and might stay there for his whole life, for refusing to answer questions in the bankruptcy proceedings—questions which, he submitted, ought to have been put under the Crimes Act. He was not asking the Executive to interfere between a plaintiff and defendant, but in a criminal case. The man, for the legal crime of refusing to answer, had been punished in excess already, and the indefiniteness of the punishment had shaken his mind and imperilled his health. If the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) doubted his statement that contempt of Court was a criminal offence, he could quote authorities to support his contention. In *re* Pollard (5 Moore's Privy Council Cases, N. S. 111) the judgment was distinct that contempt of court was a criminal offence. He might say that, in a judgment of a recent date, delivered by Mr. Justice Mathew, and reported in 21 Q.B.D., 238, the Judge said—

"It should be borne in mind that a contempt of Court is a criminal offence."

He quite admitted that Moroney was legally wrong, but he claimed that the man was morally right in refusing to turn informer against the poor tenants of the O'Grady estate. He was a tenant on an estate where, in his judgment, the rents were unfair, and he united with tenants poorer and less able than himself to make any defence for the purpose of procuring a reduction of rent. The adjudications of the Land Courts had upheld his view as to the unfair rent. He was made bankrupt to extort from him information as to the combination; he refused to give it. The fact that he did not make away with his goods, and that his business had been ruined by the proceedings taken against him, was evidence of his honesty. He must, of course, take the consequences of bankruptcy, and for not obeying the order of the Court he ought to be punished; but the sentence should have been a definite one, and not disproportionate to the offence committed. Mr. Justice Mathew had laid it down that where an act done was due to a mistaken view of the rights of the offender, the punishment, where punishment was deemed necessary, should be for a definite period, and should not be too severe. Now, in the present case the punishment was for an indefinite period, and was far too severe. The Returns laid on the Table of the House showed that this man's mind had already suffered from the nearly two years' imprisonment and the uncertainty as to when release would come. Thomas Moroney's bodily and mental health had been shaken, as the hon. Member for South Cork (Dr. Kenny) would tell the House on his responsibility as a medical man. His health—his mental health—was giving way, which meant that he was being driven to insanity; and those who were governing in Ireland must very seriously consider their responsibility as to the ultimate effect the imprisonment might have upon him. Mr. Justice Mathew said that a commitment until the offender consented to give evidence would not, in his judgment, be a proper order to make; and, further, that it would not be right for a Judge sitting in a Criminal Court, and compelled to sentence a prisoner, to direct that the imprisonment should continue until some condition, however reasonable that condition might be, should be complied with; the prisoner, when he had undergone his imprisonment, being entitled to an unconditional release. Moreover, an Irish Judge had also said that committal for contempt ought neither to be indefinite nor too severe. A former Member of the House (Mr. Edward Dwyer Gray), in a trial for murder, committed what the Court held to be a gross contempt, and he was fined and sentenced to three months' imprisonment by Mr. Justice Lawson, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Ireland. On a gentleman like Mr. Gray three months' imprisonment pressed heavily; his health was soon somewhat affected by confinement. He never apologized, never purged his contempt, never made any submission; but Mr. Justice Lawson—with that real generosity which went with justice in this country, and which it was to be hoped would go with the administration of the law in Ireland also before very long—released Mr. Gray at the end of six weeks. Were the Government more considerate to the strong than to the weak? [*Cries of* "No."] It looked as if they were. He would appeal to the sense of humanity on behalf of a man whom he alleged to be in a condition in which he required

the treatment of an asylum rather than that of a prison, where he was being driven daily more and more into a state of madness. He thought it would be admitted that he had some justification for interrupting the ordinary deliberations of the House with that Motion; and he called upon hon. Gentlemen opposite, who would have to answer to their constituents for their action towards the Irish people, not to refuse the appeal which he now made on behalf of a man who, whatever his legal offence, certainly did not deserve a sentence of death, and still less of slow and lingering death by mental torture.

Dr. KENNY (Cork, S.) said, he rose with pleasure—if he could use the word pleasure in such a connection—to second the Motion. He would try to imitate the hon. Gentleman the Mover of the Motion in the moderation of his language, but if he were to follow the inclination of his own breast, his language would not be very moderate. He had occasion to visit his friend—and he was proud to call Moroney his friend—on several occasions. He did not attempt to make a medical examination of him, for he had no authority to do so, but he could not shut his eyes to patent facts which came under his observation. He saw Moroney six months ago, and visited him again a fortnight since, and he was shocked to see the change in his appearance. In the interval he showed unmistakable signs of physical suffering from the confinement. His excitability of temperament and demeanour indicated that he was in the gravest danger, and that he might pass that line—which was not so broad, and which might be easily overstepped—between the full possession of mental faculties and that unfortunate condition worse than death. He would go so far as to say he defied any Board, medical or otherwise, to find Mr. Moroney an insane man in any sense of the word; but he equally defied them to say that he was not in a condition in which that unfortunate mental condition might not supervene. Mr. Moroney was under the impression that he was being subjected to a system of official persecution of an irritating character, which could not fail to produce disastrous results to his mental condition. Moreover, they had two Returns lately presented before the House in which his health was referred to by the medical officer of the prison as "mentally unsatisfactory." He know that the Report had given Mr. Moroney so much pain that he now refused to receive and accept the ministrations of the medical officer of the prison. He (Dr. Kenny) deeply regretted—as he regretted having to say elsewhere—to have to say in that House he was compelled to find grave fault with Dr. Carte, the medical officer of the prison, that on seeing Mr. Moroney's condition to be unsatisfactory he did not urge upon the Executive, as was his duty as a man and physician, the immediate liberation of this unfortunate man. He more deeply regretted still that the medical officer had not reported to the proper authorities and compelled them to grant such relaxations of the present rule in Moroney's case as would tend to counteract the evil effects of this long imprisonment. It was clear from the prison rules that the Visiting Committee—especially if asked by the medical officer—would have the power to grant an extension of the time allowed for exercise to any prisoner who was a first-class misdemeanant, as Moroney was. The medical officer, however, had not thought well to do so. This poor gentleman's (Moroney's) exercise for 22 months had been confined to two hours per diem. To a man who had been used to a constant outdoor existence, as Moroney had, the mere idea of confinement was irksome and irritating in the extreme. Not alone had the medical officer not asked them to extend the time of exercise in this case, but he had allowed this to go on. Under ordinary circumstances, Moroney was allowed two hours' exercise a-day, one in the forenoon and one in the afternoon; but the prison officials had reversed the whole of that condition, and they gave him exercise when they pleased. If he (Dr. Kenny) called in to see him for the quarter of an hour allowed, that was illegally subtracted from Moroney's exercise, and was refused to be made good to him. He did not want to say there was official persecution, but Moroney was under that impression, and he (Dr. Kenny) would mention two circumstances. The medical officer's report made Moroney to be in a mentally unsatisfactory condition—what was the meaning of that? It meant that he was, to a certain extent, irresponsible for his acts. By

the law, if offenders were held to be so irresponsible, they were not put in a position where they might do those acts again, but care was taken they should not do injury to others. Acting on that idea, the Governor removed the cord from Moroney's window under the idea, according to Dr. Carte's report, that he might not injure himself. But while the prison officials took that view on one side, they did not hesitate to sentence him to bread and water and deprivation of privileges on the other side. No more grossly inconsistent treatment or course of action could be adopted by any responsible Body. On that day fortnight, when he visited him, he (Dr. Kenny) was rudely assailed by a warder rejoicing in the name of James Carey, who made a statement that he (Dr. Kenny) was medically examining Moroney, which was a thing he had not the slightest intention of doing. After that visit a report was made by the warder that Moroney had used abusive language to him, and he was summoned before the Visiting Justices the next week. He did not know how that meeting came to be held, but three members of the Visiting Committee had informed him they got no notice whatever that such investigation was to be made. Moroney was sentenced to seven days' deprivation of privileges—meaning, exercise, &c.—and condemned to 48 hours' bread and water for addressing the warder as a tyrant. Moroney did not use the expression in his presence, but on the day of his visit the warder was so rude towards him (Dr. Kenny) that Moroney became exceedingly irritated by it, and no one could blame him for it. The Visiting Justices, however, afraid of their own action, suspended that sentence in order to allow them to get an answer from the Prisons Board. When the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) came to reply to that debate he asked the right hon. Gentleman to give no quibbling answer such as that they had no power to deal with Judge Boyd. Judge Boyd was a creature of the Executive. They made and they could unmake him. Did they mean to say that a hint from the Government would not produce a relaxation of the sentence? Judge Boyd pronounced this sentence to aid them in their course of policy. He prostituted the seat of Justice to carry out the policy of the Government. Why not ask him to undo an act which brought shame upon them?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I rise to a point of Order. Is it in Order for a Member of this House to state regarding one of the Judges of the Superior Courts in Ireland, that he has prostituted the seat of Justice to assist the Government to carry out their policy?

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): On the Question of Order, Sir, I desire to ask is not the salary of a Judge annually voted by this House; and, cannot, therefore, his conduct properly be brought under our consideration?

MR. SPEAKER said, the term "Prostitute the seat of Justice" was clearly an improper and un-Parliamentary expression, and he asked the hon. Member to withdraw it.

An hon. MEMBER: Free speech!

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

DR. KENNY said, if he had used any un-Parliamentary expression he withdrew it. He desired to know why Moroney's assets were not realized and applied to the discharge of any debts which might be justly due from him. In conclusion, he begged to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, there was one phrase which dropped constantly from both speakers in this debate, but principally from the hon. Member who moved the Adjournment of the House, and it would imply that, in his opinion, the Government were responsible for what had occurred. That was not the view which was taken by the Government. The hon. Member alleged that Mr. Moroney was treated differently from the late Mr. Dwyer Gray, and asked how that difference of treatment was to be accounted for unless the Government were prepared to adopt harsh measures against the weak and not against the strong. He was unable to perceive in what part of the Executive Government the hon. Member had found the slightest colour for a charge of that kind. On the other hand, he

had heard the opposite allegation constantly urged against the Government. It had been constantly said that the Government proceeded against Members of Parliament in excessive numbers, and that they did not hesitate to take action against the leaders of a certain section of public opinion in Ireland. That was inconsistent with the charge of meanness and cowardice now brought against the Government. Both hon. Gentlemen had referred to Moroney's treatment in prison. He had all the privileges of a first-class misdemeanant, and if he had been illegally deprived of them he had his remedy at law. In point of fact, Moroney had been treated like all other misdemeanants. In the course of his imprisonment of about 22 months he had been punished by an alteration of diet on three days only, and even the most delicate constitution would not yield to that. He would not deny that he may have suffered from the term of his imprisonment, but not by the severity of his punishment. The hon. Member said the Government were responsible for what had occurred. He had consulted the two legal advisers of the Government on that Bench, and also the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews), and they were of opinion that if this case had occurred in England there would be no power in the Executive, under any circumstances, to interfere in any manner with the imprisonment of a person confined under the circumstances which attended the imprisonment of Mr. Moroney; so that if there were an inequality in this case as between England and Ireland, the inequality, like most inequalities connected with prison treatment, was in favour of Irish prisons. He did not, however, commit himself to any proposition upon that point. If it were in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to deal with this case on adequate medical grounds being shown, of course any medical report would receive exactly the same weight in the case of Thomas Moroney as in the case of any other prisoner in Ireland. With regard to the circumstances in which this imprisonment originally took place, the hon. Member for Northampton dwelt upon the circumstances of the O'Grady estate. He did not propose to go at length into that subject, which was not germane to the present discussion; but it was only fair to state that the allegation that The O'Grady made no concessions to his tenants was totally without foundation. The rental of the estate was £2,142 in 1845, and it was £1,616 at the present time. After the passing of the Act of 1881 an independent valuer was appointed, and under his advice the rent was reduced to £1,616. Moreover, The O'Grady had in bad years made a further reduction of 15 per cent on judicial and of 25 per cent on other rents. The rents thus reduced and doubly reduced were cheerfully paid by the tenants till the Plan of Campaign was started on the estate. Moroney, he was informed, was one of the trustees under the Plan.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he had no personal knowledge on the subject, but he was authorized to contradict the statement that Moroney was a trustee.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, whether Moroney was a trustee or not, or even one of the leaders, was not perhaps very material to the question before the House. The facts which affected the case were that he was adjudged a bankrupt, and was brought before the Bankruptcy Court. When before the Court he refused to take the oath required by law to be taken when a bankrupt was asked to declare his assets. And what was the ground of his refusal to take the oath? Those whose only information came from the hon. Member for Northampton would be led to believe that Moroney refused to take the oath because improper questions were going to be asked him, which, upon his part, it would be a breach of faith if he answered them completely. Nothing of the sort. The ground put forward by his solicitor for the refusal was that the bankruptcy was not a valid nor a proper bankruptcy. But the case was carried before the Court of Appeal, which decided that Moroney had been legally and properly adjudicated a bankrupt. Under what circumstances did Moroney refuse to take the oath? Everybody who read the proceedings would be persuaded that even if Moroney had not been committed for an actual refusal to do that which the law said he should do, he nevertheless ought to have been committed for the specific offence of improper behaviour in Court. The account of the proceedings was very interesting.

Judge Boyd requested the bankrupt to take the oath, but he declined to do so.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Read it consecutively; read it all.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, among other incidents in the trial he observed that Moroney stood up in the witness-box and, holding out his hands, quoted a stanza of patriotic poetry. [*Cries of* "Read it."] No; hon. members who wished to read it could read it for themselves. There were doubtless occasions when it was proper to read patriotic poetry, but to do so in a Court of Justice as a response to a request to take an oath was neither respectful to the Judge nor conducive to the proper conduct of legal proceedings. He admitted, however, that if that had been the only offence the Judge would have been very ill-advised to inflict any serious term of inprisonment. That brought him to the fundamental distinction between the case of Moroney and every other case which had been quoted, which had been wholly lost sight of in the speeches of the Mover and Seconder. Mr. Justice Mathew—not Matthews, as the hon. Member improperly pronounced it—had been quoted. He would read a passage from his judgment. [The right hon. Gentleman then looked for the passage among his papers, but without success.] He would not interrupt the course of his argument by looking for a passage which no doubt would be quoted later in the debate, and which was not really material to the case, because it would be noted that other Judges besides Mr. Justice Mathew had been of the same opinion. The one case relied upon by the hon. Member for Northampton was the case of a woman named Davis, who insisted upon taking and retaking forcible possession of certain premises. The Court, in order to protect the person to whom these premises belonged, committed the woman Davis for contempt, and they continued to commit her from time to time, because she absolutely declined to give any undertaking that she would refrain from repeating the offence. A period arrived at which the Court ceased to continue the committal, and it was on the fact that the Court refused to continue the commitment that the hon. Member for Northampton based his contention. Now, what were the words in which the Lord Chief Justice of England assented to this woman being no longer committed for contempt? Were they words which bore out the contention of the hon. Member for Northampton that there was a limit, and ought to be a limit, after which committal for contempt should cease? He would read to the House what the Lord Chief Justice said—

> "I assent to the proposed order—that is for release—and I do so distinctly on the ground that it is assented to on behalf of the plaintiff in the action as affording him adequate protection. When the Court has given its decision, and the person against whom the Court has decided defies the Court, ignores its decision, and persists in persecuting the person complaining, however reluctant the Court may be, it has, in my opinion, no choice but to enforce its judgment by the imprisonment of the contumacious person."

It was, therefore, as clear as daylight, from the charge given by the Lord Chief Justice of England, that had it rested simply with the Court—had the Court simply to consider the fact that they were defied by a continuous course of action—they would not have let the woman Davis out; and it was solely because the plaintiff agreed to allow this woman to be let out that the Lord Chief Justice assented to that course being taken.

MR. BRADLAUGH: That is not the charge, but the judgment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had not the same wide experience as the hon. Gentleman, and it was possible that he had made a slip. But it would be sufficient if he accurately and clearly gave the substance. Now, the fundamental distinction which lay at the bottom of all these judgments for contempt of Court had been stated by the Judges over and over again. If there were a continuous defiance of a Court of Law, which it was in the power of the prisoner at any moment to cease making, so long as the defiance lasted the imprisonment lasted. To go back to the case of Moroney, it was not a question of 20 months' imprisonment for refusing to take the oath at the time he was first brought to the Court, but he had been put in prison until he purged his contempt by taking the oath which it was in his power to take at any moment. Whether, therefore, Judge Boyd was well or ill advised, whether the Lord Chief Justice, who endorsed the doctrine on which

Judge Boyd acted, was right or wrong, was not his business. It was clear that the case of a prisoner who might get out directly he chose to obey the law was wholly different from that of a man committed to prison for a long and indefinite term for an offence which he has committed and cannot go back upon. In the first case it was merely a method of securing obedience to the law; in the other it was the exercise of the punitive power of the Judge. He would say no more on that particular point, because it was perfectly clear that the whole argument of the hon. Member for Northampton fell to the ground if once the distinction were grasped between the punitive action of the Judge and the action to which he referred. He had explained to the House that, in the opinion of those best qualified to advise, in England there would be no power in the Government to interfere at all. He had also stated that if law and precedent were different in Ireland, if there were a power in the Lord Lieutenant to deal with a prisoner in these circumstances as he would deal with a prisoner in other circumstances, the release of the prisoner would be ordered. Leaving, therefore, the specific case of Moroney, he would ask the House to bear in mind one or two general considerations which ought not to be absent from their minds in voting on this question. The House ought to enter on discussions of this kind with the utmost circumspection and caution. As he understood the Motion, those who voted for it would interpret it as a reflection upon the conduct of the Judge in his ordinary duty. [*Cries of* "No!"] It was capable of no other interpretation whatever. Now, the constitutional method—and he believed the only constitutional method—of dealing with the conduct of Judges was by a Resolution of both Houses of Parliament. That had some effect; nothing short of that had any effect. Suppose this Motion, instead of being for the Adjournment of the House, was a specific Resolution condemning the action of Judge Boyd. Why, Judge Boyd would be bound to regard it as so much waste paper. If ever that House were to control the action of the Judges on the Bench, there was an end to the independent administration of justice in England. But the case was even stronger than he had put it. They were asked to vote, not for a Resolution condemning the action of Judge Boyd, but for a Resolution that the House should adjourn, a very different proposition, which each man was capable of interpreting in his own way. This was a good illustration of the extreme inconvenience of this mode of raising a question. An hon. Member might vote for this Motion because he objected to Judge Boyd or to the Chief Secretary. Others might vote for it because they would like to see the House adjourned. The Motion was so drawn that it was capable of being voted for from very different reasons. It was also capable of being voted against for many reasons. He did not believe that there was anybody on that side of the House who thought there was any impropriety in the action of the Government, nor did he think that anybody on that side of the House desired to interfere with judicial procedure. Still any hon. Member might vote against the Motion because he did not wish to stop the business of the House. This showed the inconvenience of attacking the Executive Government by Motions for Adjournment, which, if carried, the country would be at a loss to interpret. But he had a stronger reason for requesting the House not to vote for this Motion. The Motion was not really a reflection upon the Executive at all, but upon Judge Boyd. But Judge Boyd would not be injured if the Motion were carried, but the House itself. The House would pass a Resolution which, in the opinion of the Mover, would be a condemnation of the Judge.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he intended it to reflect upon the Executive.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, from the speech of the hon. Gentleman, anybody would suppose it to be a Motion against the Judge. But the Judge would treat, and would be bound to treat, the Resolution, if carried, with absolute contempt; and the House of Commons could get nothing but discredit and dishonour by a Resolution of this kind attacking the Judicial Bench. He hoped, therefore, that the House would hesitate before it committed itself to a course which before now had brought discredit upon its promoters and in the future might bring discredit upon it again. So far as the Executive was concerned, he could only repeat that if it were a ques-

tion in which the Executive had the power which they possessed in the case of ordinary prisoners, they would exercise that power, if, after a medical investigation, it was proved that the prisoner's health was suffering from the confinement.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he wished to explain that he had not said one solitary word against the Judge. He certainly had not intended to, and his impression was that he had not done so.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL (Hackney, S.) said, he wished to say a few words on the subject. He would not, in the course of the arguments which he intended to address to the House, make any attack upon the Judge or the Executive Government in Ireland. He must say the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary misrepresented the scope and the object of the Motion, which did not complain expressly or impliedly of the Judge. There was no stigma cast on Mr. Justice Boyd by this Motion. They were resorting to the ordinary expedient of moving the Adjournment of the House to discuss a matter of definite and urgent importance—namely, the long continued imprisonment of the man Moroney under circumstances which had caused serious peril to his health, and might endanger his life. Therefore, those who voted for this Motion might relieve themselves from all notion that in supporting it they were casting a stigma either on the conduct of the Executive or the Judge. The right hon. Gentleman, while he said that he did not propose to discuss the facts of the case, had nevertheless given his version of the case. He agreed to a certain extent that the facts were not directly germane to the question, but as they had been referred to, and in a way which did not fit in certainly with the account of the facts which he had seen stated, and apparently authentically stated, he should like to remind the House what those facts were. The man Moroney was one of a number of tenants upon the O'Grady estate. He combined with the other tenants to demand an abatement of rent, which the landlord considered unreasonable. Landlords generally did consider such demands unreasonable. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, the tenants made the demand, and it might be that their demand was unreasonable. He did not know, and he should not stop to consider the matter. Moroney, being a man of means and position, took a foremost part in the matter. He owed a certain amount of rent, and being a foremost man, his landlord proceeded to take action against him to recover one year's rent, including the ordinary hanging gale, and he did that for the obvious purpose of striking at the combination of which Moroney was one of the leading men. Now Moroney was not in any proper sense a bankrupt or insolvent, and he left upon his farm sufficient property to answer for the amount of rent under process. But, notwithstanding these facts, his landlord proceeded to make him a bankrupt with the purpose—and he understood that it was avowed—of using the machinery of the Court of Bankruptcy not merely to get at the facts as regarded that particular man, but at the facts relating to the action of the other tenants, and Moroney, for that reason and on that ground, refused to be sworn. He should assume that Judge Boyd in the Bankruptcy Court was justified in requiring the witness to be sworn, and he should assume that Moroney committed contempt of Court in refusing to be sworn. He should not suggest one word of blame against Judge Boyd; but it must not be assumed, on the other hand, that he endorsed his course of action. What he did he was authorized to do, but was not compelled to do by the Irish Statute under which he acted. He might have committed Moroney for a definite period, and then again called upon him to be sworn. He should say, in the first place, this—that it was against modern precedent, it was against the tendency of recent changes in the law and recent expressions of judicial opinion, to commit any man for a contempt of Court to prison for an indefinite period. Moroney by his single act committed a contempt of Court, and for nothing more and nothing less Judge Boyd was justified in punishing him. He should cite distinguished authority of living Judges, and also the opinion of one of the greatest jurists who had adorned the Bench, Mr. Justice Wills. Let him just remind the House of the history of this subject. This old law of committal by Courts of Justice for contempt was an anomaly in our law, and was not consistent in the wide way in which it was exercised with modern notions about the limited jurisdiction and the responsibility of Judges.

There were undoubtedly days, not so long ago either, when in the case of contempt which concerned the rights of private individuals the Court of Chancery treated as contempt and the Court punished private injury done to the prejudice of a litigant. There were scandalous cases which would not be tolerated in the present day—cases of long years of imprisonment—but the law had altered that. There was the Act of 1869—he meant the Debtors Act—which limited the period of imprisonment in such cases to 12 months, and in the case of County Court Judges there was a further restriction of the power. How stood judicial authority upon the point? As the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had pointed out, the decision of Mr. Justice Mathew was not seriously impugned by Lord Coleridge, and Mr. Justice Mathew said—

"The commitment until the defendant consents to give evidence would not, in my judgment, be a proper order to make."

He (Sir Charles Russell) wanted to know what was this unless it be that very thing. How long was this wretched man to be kept in prison? He had already been very close upon two years in gaol. Was he to be kept there two years more or five years more? Was there no Statute of Limitations? High as was the authority of Mr. Justice Mathew, he would cite an authority higher than his. He thought if hon. Gentlemen had been aware of the opinion of Mr. Justice Wills they would hardly have allowed the right hon. Gentleman to make that very wild statement of their views. He would refer to the case of Fernandez, which came for review before the Court presided over by Chief Justice Earle. The case was on all fours with the present one, and Mr. Justice Wills pointed out, as also Chief Justice Earle, that the only remedy was an appeal to the Crown in the nature of an appeal for mercy. This proceeding was in the nature of an appeal for mercy; and, as they all knew, the action of the Crown meant the initiative and action of the Executive. In the case just referred to, he was reminded that the committal was six months only. He admitted that it had not been the custom of the Executive to interfere with commitments for contempt which consisted in disobebience to orders in matters concerning private property—as, for instance, the return of money or the execution of deeds of conveyance; but he did not admit that in such cases the Executive had not the right to interfere, because it had been laid down upon the highest authority, adopted again and again by the Judges, that contempt of Court was nothing less than crime, punishable by fine or imprisonment. In the cases of the class he referred to, the Executive had, he maintained, the absolute right to interfere, although he admitted they would only be justified in interfering in extreme cases. Was it to be said that when there was a criminal in gaol under the care and guardianship of the Crown, that there was any limitation of the power of the Crown to open the prison doors and set him free? His argument was that contempt was a crime, and that it was treated as a crime, and it followed that the Crown, by the exercise of its prerogative, to which there was no limitation, could open the prison doors to any person so charged. He did not want in any way to weaken the appeal which was made to the House to put pressure upon the Executive, and he had not said a word to suggest that originally the Executive was in any way responsible. There was in this case no continuing necessity for the purpose of public justice or for the assertion of any private right that Moroney should now be examined. Now that the attention of the Executive had been called to the case; now that it was clear that this man's health was injured and that his life might be endangered; when it was reported that the balance of his reason was disturbed, he affirmed that the Executive might well listen to the appeal that was made to them. It needed no voice from the grave to tell them that if the Executive would but express the faintest opinion—after consulting Judge Boyd, which he did not think was necessary, although it might be courteous—that this man had suffered enough; that his punishment had been totted to the last figure; and that there was no reason why he should be imprisoned until he was finally bereft of reason, there would be no difficulty in effecting his release from prison.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he wished to add, by way of explanation, that he believed, rightly or wrongly, the Execu-

tive had not the power to deal with the length of this man's imprisonment; it was open to doubt whether they could release him as they could an ordinary prisoner; but he had stated, and he would repeat, that if they had the power it should be exercised.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, that his hon. and learned Friend (Sir Charles Russell) in his opening remarks disclaimed any intention of attacking Judge Boyd, but, in spite of the disclaimer of his hon. and learned Friend, his observations amounted to an attack upon Judge Boyd for having pronounced a wrong sentence. He would, however, meet his hon. and learned Friend on his own ground. He was sorry that his hon. and learned Friend had not quoted Mr. Justice Wills at length, for in the case of Fernandez, Mr. Justice Wills simply referred to the fact that there might be an appeal to the Crown in a case of a punitive sentence; and no single authority had been cited to show that the Executive could interfere to release a man who was in prison in circumstances similar to those of Moroney. It was possible that in Ireland in such a case the Executive might have power to interfere with a man's imprisonment on account of the condition of his health; but in England, unless a Judge who had made an order of commitment, made an order of discharge, no Executive officer had any power to order the release of a man imprisoned as Moroney was. If an attempt were made to release Moroney by writ of *habeas corpus* or any other process, the production by the gaoler of the order of the Judge committing the man to prison would be a conclusive answer to any such attempt. Neither the Home Secretary nor any other person had the slightest right to make an order of discharge. The analogy from the Debtors Act failed altogether.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL said he had quoted it as an instance of the tendency of modern legislation.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said that it was no instance. But how did the matter stand? This was an attack on the Judge or on the Executive. The imprisonment of this man was ordered under the section of the Statute, and the conditions of imprisonment and of release were clearly defined by the Statute. It said—

> "If any person shall refuse to be sworn, or shall refuse to answer any lawful question put by the Court, or shall not fully answer such question, it shall be lawful to the Court by warrant to commit such person to such prison as such Court shall think fit, there to remain without bail until he or she shall submit himself or herself to such Court to be sworn and full answers make to the satisfaction of such Court to all such lawful questions."

The sentence in this case was not a punitive sentence. The man was committed to prison only until he purged his contempt, and he had in his own hands the power to unlock the prison door. The Act relating to imprisonment for debt had no bearing whatever upon proceedings in bankruptcy or imprisonment for contempt. No one could assert that the Government had anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the length of the sentence. And, indeed, it depended upon the prisoner himself even more than the learned Judge. The hon. and learned Member for South Hackney could not, and did not, suggest that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had anything to do with the sentence, or that the Government had anything to do with lengthening it; nor did he suggest that Judge Boyd was wrong in sending this man to prison for contempt. Neither the Government nor the learned Judge had anything to do with the length of the sentence. The Judge merely acted in accordance with the Statute, and it would be a lamentable thing for this country if it were supposed that the Executive could interfere with the Judges and cut down their sentences. No one could assert it to be desirable that the Executive should interfere, directly or indirectly, with sentences of this kind. If this man's health required his release, that was a matter which ought to be carefully considered; but this Motion could only be taken either as an attempt to undermine the authority of the Judge, whose conduct could not justly be impeached, or to insinuate misconduct on the part of the Executive, which had nothing to do with the matter.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) said, the right hon. and learned Attorney General had absolutely and entirely missed the point of the Motion made on the Opposition side of the House. They did not attack the conduct of any Judge. What they asserted and insisted

on was that there was something wrong in the state of the law that allowed this man to be kept in prison, and that it was the duty of the Government to take such steps as should remedy what they conceived to be a great injustice. It was said that no Resolution of this House could bring about the release of this man. He subscribed to the principle that Judges should be left independent of any Resolutions of the House of Commons. But if the Government assented to this Motion it would be an intimation that they would be favourable to a Bill being introduced for this man's release. There were two ways in which it was possible for the Government to give effect to the wish of the House in this matter. In the first place, if it was true—and it had been shown beyond all question that it was true—that contempt of Court was a criminal offence, then it seemed to him that the clemency of the Crown in the form of a pardon might be well extended to the man Moroney. Why should the Executive not interfere in this matter? A pardon from the Crown would in all probability release the man from prison. If the Government submitted to the House a Bill for an alteration of the law for the purpose of releasing Moroney, it would certainly receive every support from that side of the House. If this man had been tried at the Old Bailey for contempt of Court he would have been sentenced at the most to 12 months' imprisonment. Yet in this case, where the offence was a small one, Moroney was imprisoned for an indefinite period. The law on the subject of contempt of Court required amendment, and in 1883 Lord Selborne introduced a measure with this object. Mr. Justice Mathew, in the recent case of Mrs. Davies, pointed out that it was against the policy of the law that a person should be kept in prison indefinitely for contempt of Court. This was a criminal offence which a Judge had power to deal with summarily, but which was also triable by indictment, and since if tried by indictment the person guilty of contempt would be sentenced to a definite and moderate term of imprisonment, it was not right that he should, under the summary process, be kept in prison indefinitely. He thought the time had come when some restriction ought to be put on the power of Judges who might be irritated with the conduct of some person brought before him, and who might order that person to be imprisoned for an indefinite period. If contempt of Court was an offence against the law, it ought to be tried in the ordinary way. They made no attack on the conduct of any Judge of the land. They simply asked the Government to assist them in amending the law in the shortest possible manner, or to exercise the clemency of the Crown by releasing this prisoner.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) said, that if the object of those who made the Motion were to effect an alteration in the law, that purpose would not be carried out immediately by adjourning the House. He was glad to hear from his hon. and learned Friend the Member for South Hackney (Sir Charles Russell) that there was no suggestion that there had been any error or fault in the Judge who had made the order of commitment. It must be assumed that the order had been well made; for there was a remedy for the subject who had been committed by a wrong order by writ of *habeas corpus*. He would ask the House to consider the case, supposing it were one of a fraudulent bankrupt who had no honourable motives. Suppose the Court knew that he had large property somewhere, about which he would give no information. What course was the Court to take? The Court was bound to tell him that he must give an account of his property; or that if he refused to obey the Court, he should remain in prison until he did—a thing which could be done at any moment. Therefore the case must be assumed, whatever the motives of the man in refusing to answer the question, to be a defiance of the law, and hon. Members should take care that through their dealings with the action of a Court of Justice the law should not be set at defiance. His hon. and learned Friend had pointed to the fact that the man Moroney had remained in prison 22 months. But he need not have remained 22 hours, because he could at any time obey the order of the Court and cease to set it at defiance. He was not prepared on the moment to express a confident opinion on the question whether the Executive had the right to recommend the Crown in this case to remit the sentence. He did not know how a sentence could be remitted which was for the purpose of asserting that a

man should do a certain thing, and that when he had done it he should be free from custody. But if the sentence were for a positive period, then there would be powers within the Executive to remit the sentence. As to the remitting of a sentence that was not positive, they were on very delicate ground. If it were declared that the Crown had such power, the Court would be prevented from carrying out its decree that a specific performance should be carried into effect; and that was a condition in which the Executive and Parliament ought to be very careful how they interfered. If it were true that there was any ground for the suggestion that the man was bereft of reason—that this conduct resulted, not from contumacy, but from gross eccentricities of character, it was a matter which ought to be considered to the fullest extent.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have promised that we will carefully consider this matter, and we have been doing so for days.

Sir HENRY JAMES said, he would suggest to the Government that the most generous consideration should be given to such arguments. By so doing no one would be condemned; the original sentence would not be pronounced wrong or the Executive unduly dilatory.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that with any of the propositions of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down he would not quarrel. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that the Executive were under no responsibility or liability in this matter, and that, therefore, the Motion must be an attack upon the learned Judge. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) thought it a most remarkable thing that the Chief Secretary, who was unable to answer any of the questions as to Moroney's health, was, at the same time, fully armed to answer the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) on the details of the O'Grady estate.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am well acquainted with the details of the Plan of Campaign estates. Moroney's case has been under the consideration of the Lords Justices for the past six days.

Mr. T. M. HEALY asked why, if that were so, an answer had not been given to the Question of his hon. Friend. He held in his hand the Return of Prisoners for Contempt of Court, dated April 13, 1888, and in that he found the case of Thomas Moroney referred to in the following words:—"Physical condition good; mental condition indifferent." This was eight months ago, and the Government had been in possession of the doctor's report all that time. From the Chief Secretary's reference to the man's behaviour in Court, it was evident that he had been aware of his eccentricities from the first. In prison precautions were taken against the possibility of Moroney committing suicide, and he had been deprived of those things to which a sane prisoner was entitled; and, while they did this, they punished him, as if he were a sane man for a breach of prison discipline. Where the responsibility of the Executive began was, that they had received the doctor's report and had done nothing for eight months afterwards. He had visited the man a fortnight ago, and he hardly knew him; his hair was grey, and his features and frame emaciated. It had been stated that the man when in custody could at any time have purged his contempt. But no attempt had been made to take him before the Court; he had had no opportunity of purging his contempt; but for the Motion brought forward he might have rotted in prison. What could Moroney do? Notice would have to be given to the Court, not by anyone friendly to Moroney, but by the petitioning creditors. He would make no observation on the conduct of the Judge. He would admit that the Judge had no other option than to commit Moroney in the first instance. But there were other landlords besides The O'Grady who had tried bankruptcy proceedings; they were tried by Mr. Brooke on the Coolgreany estate. Moroney had cattle and stock on his farms enough to satisfy the landlord's claim five times over; and the landlord could have seized them, but he would not. That showed that this bankruptcy proceeding was a bogus and sham proceeding. Moroney did not owe a shilling to any man in the world except his landlord. When a Judge was aware that proceedings were taken in his Court—not for a genuine purpose of bankruptcy, but for the purpose of subjecting a man to a kind of inquisition, he should not favour such a course. What was the action of the other bankruptcy Judge—Judge Millar—when a

man named M'Carthy and others were committed? They had not been in gaol more than two or three months when Judge Millar ordered their release, and Judge Millar was as good a Conservative as Judge Boyd. Therefore, if any attack was made upon Judge Boyd, it was made by the action of his official colleague. The House, then, should not treat this matter as if it was dealing with the case of an ordinary bankrupt. They ought to deal with it as from the start—an abuse of the process of the Court, and, for his (Mr. T. M. Healy's) part, he declared that if he were in Moroney's place—and certainly he would have no desire to commit a contempt of the Court over which Judge Boyd presided—he would do exactly the same thing. If proceedings were levelled against him for the purpose of making him betray his comrades, the poorer men with whom he had been working, when he had plenty of means to meet the claim, it would have been a point of honour with him to face the consequences. Nobody, and especially a member of the Executive or a member of the Judiciary, could be ignorant of what was the mind of Parliament on this matter. In the Session of 1883 a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, and passed without a Division, limiting the term of punishment for contempt to imprisonment for three months. Moroney had received more than seven times that punishment, which Lord Selborne, who was the father of the Act he referred to, thought was sufficient. That Bill of Lord Selborne's had no doubt been introduced with the concurrence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bury, whose treatment, he must say, of questions connected with Ireland had always contrasted favourably with that of his Colleagues. With regard to the power of the Executive to interfere, it should be remembered that the Bankruptcy Judge was not a Judge of the Superior Court. His salary was voted by that House year after year. Here they had a statutory tribunal, and the position was wholly different from the case of a Judge of the Superior Court. It was an inhuman thing that with this Report on Moroney's health staring them in the face no action had been taken on it for eight months. He wished to tell the Government that that report had had one important and unhappy effect, and that was an effect upon Moroney himself. It would have been a more humane thing if Dr. Carte, instead of baldly and nakedly putting the statement he had done in the Blue Book about Moroney's health, had made a confidential statement to the Government. Which of them in the course of 23 months' confinement, and brooding over this brutal statement that the mental condition was unsatisfactory, would not be affected by it? Even if the man's head was indifferent at the time, Dr. Carte, instead of baldly stating it in the Blue Book, should have communicated it long before to the Government. He charged Dr. Carte with a very grave dereliction in this matter. Either he made a prior Report to the Government or he did not. If he did not make a prior Return, but waited for this Return, then he said Dr. Carte misconceived his duty; but if he did make a report to the Government then the Government had knowledge of Moroney's health, and were equally responsible. Therefore, instead of saying that Motion was an attack on the Government, he regarded it as a Motion directed to the Executive, and that they should punish a man whom they themselves declared was in a mental condition which was unsatisfactory—that they should punish him on bread and water, and treat him as a man in full possession of his mental faculties, was a gross misuse of their powers. If this had been the case of an Englishman or a fraudulent bankrupt he would have been released long ago. It was because this was a political imprisonment that this man was detained. If it were the case of a twopence-halfpenny bankrupt, or of some landlord who would not pay his debt, the man would long since have been released under a report of this kind, and it was a shame and a scandal that with the report staring them in the face for the last eight months, they continued inflicting punishment on this man when his health was indifferent, and that, instead of giving him additional time for exercise they should have arraigned him, as they did the other day, before three magistrates, and sentenced him to a further period of bread and water. He declared it was a monstrous thing, and would not have happened in any other country, and would only be done in Ireland for political purposes. He

contended this was a Motion directed against the Executive, against the prison officials, and against the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary; and it could have no other aim or object. The prison rules were being construed against this unfortunate man. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) visited him the other day, and asked him upon what grounds he had been put on bread and water. Before Moroney could reply the Governor interfered, saying that he would not allow him to be asked anything with regard to the sentence, the Court which passed it, or the grounds of such sentence. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) brought the prison rules, and asked the Governor to be good enough to refer him to any rule which forbade such; but he refused to do so, saying he declined to be cross-examined. "I decline," he said, "to give you any information. I am acting upon my instructions." He (Mr. T. M. Healy) told the Governor he should persist in asking this question; and he again put the query to Moroney, who was at once trundled out of the visitors' room. He denounced such a course of procedure as being contrary to the prison rules. The Governor was bound to act on the rules. If he acted on private instructions or private letters, such as the right hon. Gentleman was going to address to the Land Purchase Commissioners—if he was going to act on Executive communications — he was grossly neglecting and betraying his duty. What was the power resident in the Governor to prevent this first-class misdemeanant being asked with regard to his treatment in prison? What was the power to prevent Moroney from having the visits of his friends, to which he was entitled? Why was that visit cut short when a question was being asked on the matter, which was not prohibited by the prison rules? He declared that the prison rules were being broken in regard to this man. The Government regarded him as a political prisoner, and they treated him accordingly. They could show him nothing in the prison rules which entitled them to violate the Statute regarding this man, which enabled him to have a visit for a certain period each day. Now, they said if this man was in ill health they would have it inquired into; but they would only say that when the Adjournment of the House was moved. And when they attacked the hon. Member for Northampton for moving the Adjournment, he would ask them what other opportunity had they of calling attention to the matter? Finally, let him tell the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that in his days of nature—in the days when he sat below the Gangway on the other side of the House—he was not slow to use such a method himself—he had moved the Adjournment of the House about the Kilmainham Treaty. Now, however, hon. Members were guilty of a criminal act in moving the Adjournment because prisoners were not released.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he must protest against the Constitutional position laid down by the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), who applied to all persons exercising judicial authority in this country the great Constitutional privileges conferred on the Judges of the Supreme Court since the time of the Revolution of 1688—namely, absolute irresponsibility to Parliament and to the Executive. In the case of a Judge of the Bankruptcy Court, a Stipendiary Magistrate, or others of an inferior class, it was unnecessary to move by means of an Address to the Crown in order to remove their authority.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said that the Irish Bankruptcy Act constituting this Court provided for a Judge's removal by an Address to the Throne from both Houses of Parliament.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said that this was not his point. The test was that if the salary of the Judge was paid out of the Consolidated Fund Parliament had no right to interfere; but it had a right to review the conduct of any officer of the Crown whose stipend was voted in Committee of that House; and before he knew of the Motion which had been made he intended himself to move in Committee a reduction of the salary of Judge Boyd. He also protested against the doctrine that the Crown had no right to interfere in a sentence of that kind. This was the *crux* of the case. Admitting the propriety and legality of the question put and the impropriety and illegality

of the refusal to answer it, he submitted to the House that Moroney had been sufficiently punished by 23 months' imprisonment, and that it was now the duty of the Executive Government to interfere. The doctrine of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury was that if the Government were satisfied that they had power in the event of that man's health being imperilled, they should interfere. The condition as to his health should be rejected altogether. The Attorney General had laid it down positively that the Crown had no power to interfere, and that contention had met with the approval of the right hon. and learned Member for Bury. But the opinion of Mr. Justice Wills, which had already been referred to, was in opposition to that view, and it had been approved of by Chief Justice Earle in the same case. He said, "We are not a Court of Appeal from the Court of Assize. If the party is dissatisfied, or thinks he is aggrieved, he may apply to the Sovereign, and the Sovereign may give him redress." Hon. Members on that side of the House were appealing to the Sovereign through the Irish Executive to exercise the prerogative of mercy. He should go into the Lobby on that ground alone, and he trusted that hon. Members on both sides of the House would do so likewise, under the firm conviction that this man had suffered sufficiently.

SIR HENRY JAMES said, his right hon. Friend had entirely misunderstood him. He had endeavoured to express to the House his view that where the punishment was a fixed term and punitive, the judgment of Mr. Justice Wills and Chief Justice Earle was correct, and the Crown had the power of interference; his doubt was whether, in the absence of any precedent to that effect, where the judgment was merely in order that a thing should be done, and where the moment the thing was done the man was released, the same power existed as in the case of a punitive sentence.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 159; Noes 195: Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 316.)

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he did not propose to proceed with the Motion for the suspension for the rest of the Session of the midnight Rule, and the half-past five Rule on Wednesdays, so far as Supply and Ways and Means were concerned, in the hope that they might during the evening or to-morrow arrive at some understanding which met the general convenience and good feeling of the House.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.)

[BILL 385.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

DR. CLARK (Caithness), on rising to move that the Bill be read a third time that day three months, said that he was totally opposed to the principle of the Bill; he thought it one of the worst measures ever brought before the House. Large tracts of land were originally given in consideration of certain services. These services were replaced by a tax which Parliament, when but a Trades Union of Landlords, had abolished. It was now proposed by this Bill to constitute a new class of freeholders, who also would render neither service nor tax. The discussions upon the Bill had disclosed the false pretences upon which the original Act was obtained, and these pretences could no longer be advanced. It was urged that the money was to be applied in the disturbed districts; but as a matter of fact it had been spent principally in the quiet districts. Under the Bill they would have one man purchasing more than one farm, and another system of landlordism would be developed and, as was the case in France, the new landlords would be very much worse than those they had replaced. The Bill attempted, by a side

wind, to undo the legislation of 1881, and would create a new system of land tenure in Ireland. In establishing a new set of owners, equity demanded that the value of Irish land should not be determined by the exercise of duress. Before anything was done, the Irish landlords should be placed on the same footing as Scotch and English landlords, who did not possess the exemptions and privileges of the Irish owners. The value of Irish land should be determined by its burdens. Just now the value was fictitious; it had been created by legislation, and was not the natural value. But even if all the burdens that ought to be borne by the Irish landlords were borne by them, he should still object to the Bill before the House, because he was as much opposed to a peasant owner of five acres as he was to a Peer owner of 500 acres. He contended that it would be wrong and unjust to lead the poor Irish peasant into the trap of buying the thing called economic rent, because it would be inevitably taken from him by taxation. In conclusion, he opposed that measure because the system established under it was neither a just nor an enduring one, and he would be no party to misleading the Irish peasant into spending his money to purchase a thing which would be inevitably taken from him. He begged to move that the Bill be read a third time that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Dr. Clark.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Notice taken that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. COMMINS (Roscommon, S.) said, he opposed the third reading for two reasons. The first was that the Bill would do nothing whatever to remedy the evils complained of in Ireland, and the second was that it would produce an evil on its own account by tending to prevent the accumulation of capital, and to perpetuate, in an impersonal way, rack-renting, arrears, and evictions. The effect of the measure would be to convert the tenant into an incumbered proprietor, who would not be relieved in the smallest degree from the present pressure of rent and arrears. The poor rate, the improvement rate, the county cess, and the other imposts now wholly or in part borne by the landlord, which would now fall on the purchasing tenant, would make the instalments about 17½ per cent over the old rent. It would be most useful information if the Government would furnish particulars of the burdens on the land which the purchasers would have to discharge. The purchasing tenants would be more rack-rented than before, and evictions would follow to such an extent that the occupiers would find the State more merciless than their former landlords.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he held that the security was worthless; but, apart from that, on principle, the Bill was not entitled to their approval. The Party opposite alleged that they had a mandate to uphold the Union; but he had never heard it alleged that they had a mandate to carry out a scheme of purchase at the cost of the British taxpayer. The necessity of an independent valuation as the basis of purchase transactions had been insisted upon by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), who ought to have been present to reiterate the views he urged in opposition to the Land Bill of the Leader of the Opposition. It had been admitted in the case of Lord Dillon's estate that the rents of the holdings could not be made out of the land, and yet these rents might be made the bases of purchase transactions. Such bargains could not satisfy the rack-rented tenants, and, therefore, could not lead to the pacification of the country. But the tenants could not be free agents while the country was under coercion and eviction for arrears was used as the engine of compulsory purchase. Instead of allowing the landlords to walk off with the whole of the money at once, they should be content to take the instalments as they were received by the Government, upon whom would rest the cost of collection. This was the most socialistic measure that had ever been attempted to be passed. It was in direct opposition to the principle of land nationalization, and would reproduce all the evils of the present system of landlordism, and for these reasons he should vote against it.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) said, he did not quite agree with the statement that had been made that this Bill was being passed almost without discussion, though it was quite true that the discussion had been all on one side. They had spent nine days over the Bill, and he thought those days had been well spent, for they had cleared the air and explained to the country the real nature of this land purchase policy. It was quite clear that there would never again be a Liberal land purchase policy. The debate on the second reading had been a most excellent one. The leader of the Irish Party made the speech of a statesman, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) made the speech of a first-rate debater, and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) made the speech of a first-rate political acrobat. The late Sir Stafford Northcote once quoted an old saying that the only way to govern the Irish was to go among them with a thick stick in one hand and a heavy purse in the other. This was a very accurate description of the present policy of the Government—a mixture of coercion and corruption. In other words—doses of coercion followed by drafts of money. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and his supporters, however, was neither to bully nor to bribe, but to let the Irish people govern themselves, and, therefore, they opposed this Bill for this, among other reasons, that it was rejected by the 85 Nationalist members of Ireland, and only supported by the 15 landlordist Members. This debate was certainly in one respect unprecedented—it was the first occasion on which Irish Members had ever been known to refuse to receive money for their country. But this he regarded as a grand tribute to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). Irish Members said they wanted justice, not alms. It was also a tribute to the democracy of this country, because it proved that the Irish people knew that the English democracy were willing to give them that justice that was once called the miracle worker. It was absurd to represent this Bill as intended for the benefit of the tenants. It was a "Landlords' Gratification Bill," to enable them, out of the pockets of the British taxpayer, to get more than the market price of their property. The Conservative Party had fallen a little in his (Sir Wilfrid Lawson's) esteem during the last 10 days. He had considered that if they were good at anything they were good at electioneering, but they had taken a step which would ruin them for ever with the constituencies in putting this policy before the country. It might be said that this was only a modification of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian's scheme which they supported, but that scheme was part of a great policy of pacification. Many things, however, had occurred since then. The opinion of the country on this matter had been made known, and the Liberal Party would not fall into the trap again. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington recently said we were living under a brutal system and in a brutish manner. That was quite true. The policy of the Government in Ireland was to treat the people like brutes. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) agreed with Mr. Michael Davitt that it was an extraordinary thing to say "we will settle the land question before we give them Home Rule." Those who believed in Home Rule ought in consistency to leave this question to be dealt with by an Irish Parliament. But though he said this, it must not be supposed that he did not pity the Irish landlords. He pitied everybody who was in a false position, and the landlords both in England and Ireland had been in a false position. Hitherto they had been a species of petty princes, legislators, and magistrates, and masters of the people. But the time had now gone by owing to two causes—the fall in prices and the rise in democracy. He would rather vote for a Bill unblushingly brought in to relieve landlords than for a measure sush as this, which violated every principle of political economy. He wanted to do justice to the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. There was no one in this country who talked such a mixture of sense and nonsense. The noble Lord said the other night, "Remember that we are going on with this sort of thing for three years more." That was a serious thing for everybody. It was a serious thing for the noble Lord; it was difficult for him for three years to go on running

with the aristocratic hare and hunting with the democratic hounds. It was a serious thing for Ireland. Well might his hon. Friends from Ireland look with dismay to three years of coercion, of arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, of the breaking up of meetings, and the kidnapping of Members. But it was a serious thing for the Liberal Party also, because Lord Salisbury and the sympathizing statesmen who sat on the Bench below had made up their minds to stop all progress for the next three years. But the Liberal Party had counted the cost; they had put their hand to the plough, and they would not look back. The Liberal Party were at this moment more true to their principles than ever before, and they intended to go steadily on until the time of this tyranny was past and such annoying questions were over as they had just spent nine nights upon, questions with which that House was not competent to cope, but which would be left to the voice of the Irish people and the votes of an Irish Parliament.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said, he had listened with considerable attention to the speech of the hon. Baronet. He looked upon the hon. Baronet as an interesting specimen—a Radical and at the same time a landlord. He listened with great curiosity to hear whether the hon. Baronet would inform the House how he dealt with his tenants. He would like to know whether the hon. Baronet ever asked for his rent? [SIR WILFRID LAWSON: They pay it well.] He would like to know whether, if the hon. Baronet's tenants refused to pay, they were left in undisturbed occupancy of their holdings, whether the hon. Baronet dealt with them in that philanthropic manner in which Irish landlords were expected to deal with theirs, and whether if a tenant refused to pay the hon. Baronet said to him, "You are doing perfectly right. Do not pay." If he did that he should look upon the hon. Baronet as taking a logical stand. He found, however, that Radical landlords were just as fond of their rent as Irish landlords undoubtedly were. And now he ventured to entreat the indulgence of the House for a few moments, in order to vindicate his accuracy as a true prophet. The House would remember when, on a former occasion, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) cited an instance of a certain Mary Colleton, to prove how hard and unjust Irish landlords were on their tenants in pressing for arrears, he said that an able and assiduous friend had informed him about all the details. He ventured to warn the right hon. Gentleman against that able and assiduous friend.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) rose to Order. He said that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was not now in his place, and he asked whether the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite was in Order in referring to a particular debate which had taken place a short time ago.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and gallant Gentleman is referring to a debate on the first reading of this same Bill.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, he was perfectly aware that this was a very disagreeable question to hon. Members opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian referred to this case to prove that Irish landlords made use of arrears to grind down their tenants and prevent them from availing themselves of the concessions made by that House. He ventured to say at the time that the right hon. Gentleman ought to take great care how he lent an ear to those tales of able and assiduous friends. There was an air of unreality—he might say of romance—about it. The right hon. Gentleman said at the time he knew nothing about the case, but he had since learnt all the details, and hon. Gentlemen opposite who knew so much about Ireland would probably contradict him if he were wrong. The right hon. Gentleman first of all said that it was the case of Mary Colleton. The fact was it was the case of a man not a woman; and it was hard even for the right hon. Gentleman to turn an Irishman into an Irish woman. Instead of Mary it happened to be Michael. That was mistake number one. Then the right hon. Gentleman said that on the estate in question there were 2,000 tenants. It happened that there were 1,200, a difference of 800. That was in the right hon. Gentleman's eyes a "trifling difference." Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that there were only 200 tenants with fair rents fixed on the Shirley estate—every one knew that was the estate spoken of.

There were on that estate 450 judicial rents fixed and 600 applications to have them fixed. Then, again, there was considerable hiatus in the right hon. Gentleman's story. The right hon Gentleman did not mention that in 12 cases Mr. Shirley offered to accept decrees for part of the arrears in order to enable his tenants to go in under the Act. That was a generous offer and ought not to have been forgotten. The right hon. Gentleman was only correct in two statements—namely, that the original rent in the case referred to was £3 17*s.*, and that the amount decided upon for a fair rent was £1 18*s.* On the appeal, however, two valuers were sent down and they decided that the fair rent was £2 7*s.* Then the right hon. Gentleman said that the tenants sent a deputation to the agent and offered £8 8*s.* 6*d.*, "the uttermost farthing." There again the able and assiduous friend deceived the candid mind of the right hon. Gentleman. The uttermost farthing was £12 1*s.* Mr. Shirley, the landlord, offered to reinstate this Michael Colleton in the farm if he would pay £8 8*s.* 6*d.*, which had been offered instead of £12 1*s.*, at a rent which the two valuers said was a fair rent, £2 7*s.*

MR. DILLON: What is your authority?

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Mr. Shirley himself. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen laughed, but he was perfectly certain the majority of the House and the country would accept that statement and the figures could be verified. Hon. Gentlemen could find out whether the figures were correct or not, and on a future occasion if the figures were incorrect they could show it to the House. He maintained that they were correct. So much for the dealings with "this unfortunate tenant" who paid £2 7*s.* rent for three acres and a house. Every effort was made by hon. Members opposite and right hon. Gentlemen their friends, who ought to know better, to vilify and hold up to public execration the class to which he belonged. Very few cases, however, had been specified, not more than one or two, but vague generalities had been employed and accusations hurled against a class without specific details by which inaccuracy or fraud might be detected. The landlords in Ireland might congratulate themselves on the way in which they had come out of the inquisition in spite of the pertinacity and sagacity of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He thought the importance of that debate, so far as the line taken by hon. Gentlemen opposite was concerned, would be that it showed the character of the controversy in which the House was engaged. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite had taken an entirely new line in that debate. He did not say it was an unjustifiable line. Far from it. They had taken, for the first time in their lives, the side of the British taxpayer. All their oratory had been devoted to showing that the British taxpayer in laying out that £5,000,000 in Ireland was laying it out on bad security. What a sudden change had taken place in the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite! In 1886 it was proposed to lay out £150,000,000, yet no hon. Gentleman below the Gangway opposite, if he remembered rightly, rose in his place and said, "This is a bad security, and the British taxpayer will suffer." But now £5,000,000 were to be paid in Ireland to establish the class which they wanted so much in that country—the independent farmer class, which could look with contempt at the efforts of an organization which now existed in Ireland to restrain and interfere with their perfectly legal action. Hon. Gentlemen had not confined themselves to defending the British taxpayer. He should say, if they had done that alone, they had turned over a new leaf; but the hon. Member for East Mayo had said in the course of those debates that, "as an honest man he felt it to be his duty to state that, so long as the coercion policy of the Government was maintained in Ireland he intended to use that as a lever." What did that mean? It could only mean one thing, and that was that the Irish tenants who purchased their farms under that Act, if the coercion policy of the Government was maintained, ought to repudiate their just debts.

MR. DILLON said, he never said anything of the sort, or anything that could bear that interpretation. What he had said was that, as an honest man, he felt bound to warn the British taxpayer that there was a great risk that in the future there might arise a party in Ireland who might advocate repudiation.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, the hon. Member had made use of the word "lever." He was content to abide by the report of the debate. The hon. Member was referring to another part of his speech, and he quite remembered the passage to which the hon. Member was referring. [*Cries of* "Quote!"] He had quoted.

MR. DILLON said, that neither in that House, nor in any other place, did he state that he intended to advise the Irish tenants to repudiate. He had stated that where the bargain was not a free one the tenant was not morally bound by the terms. He would simply say that he did contradict as to the use of the words attributed to him.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, that, of course, he accepted the explanation of the hon. Gentleman, but he invited hon. Members to read the speech, and he most solemnly declared that the hon. Member had made use of the word "lever"—that he intended to use it as a "lever" so long as the coercive policy of the Government was continued, and he asked hon. Members to put their own interpretation upon it. For his part, he could only put one interpretation upon it, which he believed to be the natural interpretation. He left it to the judgment of the country. The hon. Member for East Mayo, in order to prove how successful his policy had been, had said in exultation, "Five thousand farms in Ireland are vacant to-day." What did that mean? What a triumph! Five thousand farms; a desert growing weeds! That was the condition the Unionist Party in Ireland had always maintained Ireland would be in if the hon. Member and his friends were placed in supreme authority there. That boast justified every statement they had ever made —that they should ever consent to be ruled by men like him. Hon. Gentlemen opposite appeared to him to feel very sore at the mention of one estate upon which vacant farms had been taken. Ridicule and contempt had been thrown upon the tenants who had been placed in possession on the Coolgreaney estates. According to hon. Gentlemen opposite, those were bogus tenants. According to the interpretation of hon. Gentlemen opposite, a bogus tenant was a tenant who refused to abide by the law and authority of the National League. In that sense these were bogus tenants. In order that the House might understand the conduct of the tenantry who once occupied those 5,000 vacant farms, and especially those on that estate, he hoped he might be allowed to give one instance. He would quote the case of John Doyle, and hon. Members opposite could correct him if he was inaccurate. He was a tenant on the Coolgreaney estate, and held 46 acres of land. In the year 1882, he paid £400 for the tenant-right of that farm. With great reluctance he had embarked in the Plan of Campaign. At first he refused, but ultimately he listened to what was called "advice," and joined the Plan of Campaign. Between the amount of rent which the Plan of Campaign permitted him to offer, and the amount which Mr. Brooke, the landlord, consented to accept there was only a sum of £5 17*s*. The landlord refused to accept the sum fixed by the Plan of Campaign, and he was perfectly right. The Irish landlords absolutely refused to allow an organization like the National League or the Plan of Campaign to fix their rents, and he could only say, speaking for himself, that if the Plan of Campaign was put in operation upon his property, and a tenant offered him £1 or 1*s*. less because it was the rent fixed by the Plan of Campaign, he would break stones on the road before he would accept it. John Doyle happened to have cattle worth a considerable sum on his farm. Those, in order to save seizure, were driven off his farm on to one adjoining. There happened to be a distraint for rent upon that farm, and Doyle's cattle were seized and sold under the distress. He therefore lost his cattle and his £400, simply for a difference of £5 17*s*., but he dared not offer 1*s*. more than the Plan of Campaign allowed. How he must have blessed the Plan of Campaign! Since then he had been living in a Campaign hut; but recently all the huts on that estate had been pulled down in order to prevent seizure for rent of the land on which they had been erected and the wood hid away. The wood, however, had been found and seized, and was now going back to repair the farms on which those gentlemen lived. He might give other cases, but he refrained. It was time that the House and the country should fully realize the nature of the transactions which at present were going on in Ireland under the Plan of Cam-

paign and between landlord and tenant. Who would contend that a man like John Doyle was a lucky or a fortunate man because he had joined the great army of 5,000 dispossessed tenants instead of paying his £5 17*s.* and remaining where he was? He thought it very important that the House should realize what the action of the hon. Gentlemen opposite had been. There was something more lying in that statement of the hon. Member for East Mayo about those 5,000 evicted farms. He (Colonel Saunderson) was perfectly well aware, and hon. Members from Ireland would not deny that they had joined issue in fighting this Bill, because they were determined to see whether an evicted farm could or could not be taken. They said it could not. How did they prevent it? According to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian they gave "advice." The advice they gave was advice which, he ventured to say, no English, Welsh, or Scotchman would permit to be given on this side of the St. George's Channel. According to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) they carried it on by *esprit de corps*. He did not know how they translated that here; but in Ireland it meant squeezing a man's soul out of his body. Were the House and the country deliberately going to accept that policy proposed by right hon. Gentlemen opposite, by allowing an organization to exist in Ireland which should be able to give those men bad advice, and forge round the neck of the Irish tenants a yoke which no one with any manhood in him would consent to bear? He (Colonel Saunderson) contended that this Bill had been opposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite for two reasons—first, because they knew perfectly well that every tenant who bought his farm under that Act would separate for ever from the organization to which they belonged; and, secondly, because they wished to take up before the people of this country a strictly Constitutional attitude. But he ventured to think that the English people were not so absolutely gullible as to swallow such a monstrous proposal as that. When the English people compared the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and found that in Ireland they used all their efforts to prevent the tenants from buying their farms and so escaping from their yoke, while over here they simply mentioned that their object was to protect the pockets of the British taxpayer, the people of this country would find that there was no honesty or reality in that policy, and would reject the proposals of those hon. Members with contempt. He thought he had proved that in the case of Mary Cregan he was a true prophet. The hon. Member for East Mayo had also ventured on a prophecy. He said, "When these landlords get hold of the money they will go out of the country and leave it to us." Do not let the hon. Member believe that. He had not got rid of them yet. He remembered a prophecy that the hon. Member made in a speech in Ireland two years ago. He said, "In 18 months we shall have a Home Rule Government in Ireland." Far from that; in 18 months there was no Home Rule, and the hon. Member was himself in gaol. The prophecy of the hon. Member for East Mayo was just as incorrect as his prophecy would prove to be correct when he said that the Irish landlords intended to live in their own land, and to confront the hon. Member and his policy, and trust in the justice of their cause and the common sense of their countrymen until they saw Ireland a happy, peaceful, and prosperous country.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, that the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) in the remarkable contribution to the debate which he had just made had stated that the Irish Members, who pretended an anxiety on behalf of the English taxpayers, were turning over a new leaf. It was true that the Irish Members, as was remarked by an hon. Baronet who represented a Northern constituency (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) could boast that for the first time in the history of Parlinment Irishmen had been found to repudiate a wasteful expenditure on Ireland. On behalf of the Irish tenantry they were prepared to repudiate this wasteful outlay, and to conduct the affairs of their country without diving into the pockets of the English taxpayers. The worst enemies of the landlords of Ireland would never bring such a charge against them, for during a long career they had consistently, and with an unbroken tradition, pursued the policy of

diving into the pockets of the English taxpayers. The much-abused tenants, who had been referred to by the Prime Minister under the simile of three men sitting upon two, had paid with great punctuality the money which had been advanced to them, while the landlords had been in the habit of stopping payment when they had disharged about a quarter of their obligations. He had never withdrawn in that House language he had used outside, and he repudiated the statement that he advized the tenants to use this money as a "lever" against the Government. He expressly stated in the speech referred to, as was reported in *The Times*, that he had never advised the tenants to reject or repudiate their obligations, and that he had felt bound to tell the tenants that they must discharge their debts under this Act. In the same speech he had warned the country that they were lending money on a rotten security, and that the time might come when a National Party would spring into existence with a programme of repudiation.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, he repeated that the hon. Member said what he had stated. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Look at the Report. [*Cries of* "Quote."] He challenged the hon. Member to contradict it.

MR. DILLON said, the hon. and gallant Member wanted contradiction, and he should have it. He never stated in that House, nor in any other place, that he intended to recommend the Irish tenants to repudiate the contracts. He had stated that, as the contract was not a free one, they were not morally bound to adhere to it. [*Ironical laughter.*] He had failed to understand the hilarity of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He simply said that he contradicted the statement of the hon. and gallant Gentleman that he had ever said anything that bore the interpretation he puts on it.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, he was sure the word "lever" would be found in the report, and he would leave it to the country to put a meaning on that word.

MR. DILLON said, that as the hon. and gallant Member had refused to quote from the speech he would do so, from *The Times* report. What he said was—

"The hour might possibly arrive when a National Party might spring into existence, with a programme of repudiation of the liabilities, on the ground that they were forced on the people."

COLONEL SAUNDERSON asked, would the hon. Gentleman read the passage in which the word "lever" occurred?

MR. DILLON: That was the only passage referred to. He not only did not use the expression attributed to him, but stated that he never recommended the policy of repudiation, and never intended to do so. The hon. and gallant Member had challenged the hon. Baronet, and asked whether English landlords were not fond of their rents. But no standing army was required for English landlords to recover their rents; and it was a broad principle of comparison between English and Irish landlords to take the amount of armed force necessary in either case to exact the payment of rent. Irish Members were charged with being the root and cause of opposition to the payment of rent in Ireland. But long before the National League the conduct of the Irish landlords had necessitated the employment of 14,000 bayonets in Ireland to enforce proceedings between tenants and landlords. He maintained that no class had a moral right to exist in any country where standing armies, independent of the Representatives of the people, were required to maintain their privileges. There was this great distinction between English and Irish landlords, that the former had constantly been controlled in their action towards their tenants by the public opinion of the people among whom they lived, whereas the Irish landlords had the unlimited command of armed men, whose support was provided for without the imposition of any local taxes. The result was that the ordinary temptations of human nature were too strong for these men. The hon. and gallant Member had quoted the case of John Doyle, on the Brooke estate, in County Wexford, and referred to the enormous losses to which that man had been subjected in consequence of the policy recommended by the Irish Members. It was absurd to judge of these great movements by individual cases. But he would ask what did the hon. and gallant Member and others of his party do when thousands of those like John Doyle were thrown out on the roadside? The hon. and gallant Member knew

that by the action of men like John Doyle thousands of Irish tenants had been saved from starvation. If this had been the result of their action, all honour to men like John Doyle.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said, that he had never insinuated that the action of John Doyle deserved reprobation; he said that the shame was on those who incited him.

MR. DILLON said, he was glad to have the hon. and gallant Member's admission that the man who refused to pay his rent was not deserving of blame. For his part he was sorry the advice had not been given 25 or 30 or 40 years ago. He was not surprised that the hon. and gallant Gentleman and his Friends should be intensely bitter against the Plan of Campaign. It was a proof that they had at last met their match, and, he hoped, their master. He could assure the hon. and gallant gentleman that it would take something more than his eloquence to make him ashamed of the action he had taken in the matter. The hon. and gallant Gentleman assumed his most military aspect when he said that the Irish landlords "would never allow these organizations to dictate to them what rents they were to receive; they would rather break stones on the roadside than allow it." Was the hon. and gallant Member's memory so short that he had forgotten the long list of landlords who had allowed him to dictate the terms of rent, and the long list of men who had gratefully accepted his cheque for rent? Would the hon. and gallant Gentleman be surprised to hear that his agent sat in the rent offices of Lord Westmeath, Lord Dillon, Lord De Freyne, and other great landlords, beside the landlords' agents, who gratefully accepted the Plan of Campaign receipts for the rents which he himself handed over? Would the hon. and gallant Gentleman be surprised to learn that he had received in the past, from the agents of these great landlords, Plan of Campaign receipts by the bundle, which had been cashed by his own cheque? He did not know that Lord Westmeath or Lord Dillon were yet breaking stones. On the contrary, they had more money in their pockets than they would have had under other circumstances. The hon. and gallant Gentleman lived in a part of the country where the Plan of Campaign was not in force; but there the landlords had no need to give reductions. In the districts where the Plan of Campaign had been successful, the policy pursued by Lord Dillon, and many other great landlords, was a very much more prudent policy than that of breaking stones on the roadside. He could name a very long list of men the settling of whose rents he had had more to do with than probably had the agents; and he knew a great many cases in which the agents were dismissed by landlords, who admitted afterwards that they had been blinded by these men.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Will the hon. Member give names?

MR. DILLON would certainly do so. Lord De Freyne dismissed his agent; and Mr. Murphy dismissed Mr. "Whipper" Lynch at his instance. The Marquess of Conyngham dismissed his agent on one estate because he found that the man had treated his tenants harshly. The hon. and gallant Gentleman would find, if he extended his investigations in Ireland, that he had adopted a policy which he could not possibly maintain, or, if he did, he would not get his brother landlords to follow him. The gallant Colonel Dopping had also been dismissed by the landlord, who had found that he had made Gweedore too hot for him. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had asked him how he proposed to keep farms where evictions had taken place vacant. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had better go over to Ireland and inquire. He had, from the beginning of the agitation, endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the people of Ireland that one of the greatest curses was the competition for farms from which the old owners had been unjustly evicted, and that it was no use agitating and talking if they could not get up a sufficiently strong combination to induce people to abstain from taking farms when, in the judgment of the neighbourhood, the tenants had been unjustly evicted from them. He had told the people that they would never get reasonable reductions until they did this. The consequence had been, that in the last eight years, during which this great emancipating movement had been going on, the most powerful weapon which they had had in their hands had been this—that for the first time in the history of Ireland the

landlords found an increasing difficulty in letting farms from which they had unjustly evicted their tenants. So deeply were the people convinced of the justice of this policy that it would be impossible for an Executive Government in Ireland to get these farms taken. This movement was a justifiable, reasonable, and fair movement; and in most of the districts of Ireland, where his influence was supposed to be at the highest, these farms had been kept vacant without violence or threats of any kind. It was absolutely impossible to get over that fact; and the people of Ireland were convinced more than ever that in order to work the Land Purchase Act with any hope of justice, the chief and only weapon they could look to was the weapon of abstaining from taking farms from which men had been unjustly evicted. The people of Ireland would undoubtedly use that weapon, and they could do so in perfect justice. He might state that in one case where the landlord put in a caretaker and proposed to sell the farm to him for 20 years' purchase, moral pressure was used to keep the farm vacant. It remained vacant for two years, and last week the evicted tenant was restored to his home on equitable terms, and the Emergency man had been got rid of, while the landlord had suffered. All this had been done without any violence whatever. He quoted that to show that it was a monstrous injustice and outrage for anyone, either in that House or out of it, to say that because he had always advocated, and always would continue to advocate, combination among the tenantry in Ireland in order to keep empty farms from which tenants had been unjustly evicted, he therefore advocated a policy of outrage and intimidation. That was not true, and he should continue to advocate the combination which, he believed, the Irish people would not abandon.

Sir EDWARD HAMLEY (Birkenhead) said, that if in a panic-striken land some persons were endeavouring to afford relief while others sought to frustrate these efforts, he thought they would not be using language too strong if they characterized such conduct as malignant and inhuman, nor would their verdict be the more indulgent because they were aware that these obstructors were acting for their own purposes, and if they were to set up the plea that they were doing this in the interests of the sufferers that would only make the case more shocking. He supposed no rational man would dispute that the Government neither had, nor could have, any object except the good of the Irish people. That was the object which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and his followers had set themselves to frustrate. There were men who did not know when they were beaten; and there might also be men who did not know when they had blundered. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian might be one of them; but one should think that some faint suspicion must be creeping even into his confident mind when he looked back on the recent debate, and especially when he reviewed the speeches of his immediate followers. To say that they were destitute of reality was to say nothing. They were destitute even of plausibility. They had been mere floods of phrases without a shadow of fact or of argument. But the failure of the followers was as nothing compared with the failure of their Leader. The right hon. Gentleman had long been renowned for ability to construct imposing edifices out of the slightest materials, to people them with men of straw, and to persuade his confiding followers that they were real castles inhabited by real people. But on the present occasion his wonted skill had deserted him. They had seen him engaged, indeed, in construction; but there had been no illusion; nobody had been deceived; they had seen throughout the process the straw, the tinsel, the sawdust, and the rags. They might ask what motive could have induced those prominent politicians to enter on such a course. The answer was plain enough—they were acting not from conviction, but from compulsion—the compulsion of the Irish alliance. They got a step further when they asked how it was that hon. Members for Ireland were opposed to a measure which was to benefit the Irish people; and there again they might be at no loss for a solution. If they had been, hon. Members opposite would themselves have furnished it. Those hon. Gentlemen could not endure that Ireland should receive even the smallest measure that would render it contented from a British Government. They would look

on a contented Ireland with the feelings of Milton's evil hero, when, from his lurking place, he looked into Paradise. The scene he there beheld of repose, peace, and content—so different from what he wished to see—filled his heart with rage and despair. They knew what sort of an Ireland hon. Members opposite would wish to see—a desert of unlet farms, peopled by discontented and lawless inhabitants. They asked themselves what would be the effect of a contented Ireland on their great conspiracy, the Plan of Campaign, and they knew it would be destructive to it. Accordingly they opposed that measure. The Plan of Campaign had been condemned by legal authority as an unlawful conspiracy, but it had not been adequately denounced in that House. It was a system of roguery and robbery; it could only have been devised by rogues, advocated by rogues, put in practice by rogues, and excused by rogues. It had been enforced by a system of oppression the most cruel and abominable that ever existed in a civilized State. The announcement had been made from public platforms that those who did not join in this conspiracy would have their lives made unhappy. Did hon. Gentlemen consider what it was to have their lives made unhappy for not joining in a conspiracy? It was a sentiment so atrocious that the man who uttered it ought to be regarded as the enemy of the human race, like a pirate, and in the interests of society itself held up to public execration. It was for the privilege of nourishing such a system as this in its bosom that Ireland was to be deprived of its peace and prosperity. He could imagine no better disicipline for a Home Ruler, who was at once sagacious and honest, than to take his seat in the Gallery and listen to what the Representatives of his country had to say in the discussions on her fortunes. He thought that he would, perhaps, come to the conclusion that he would never be willing to intrust her destinies to such hands. The House had heard an hon. Member that evening contemplating a possibility of hon. Members opposite ever ruling their country. What proof, he would ask, had they ever given that they possessed the power, he did not say to control the country, but even to foresee what the condition of Ireland would be if separate and alone? To start Ireland under such conditions on a new career would tax the resources of the most experienced statesmen. Had the calm and luminous intelligence of the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) ever shed any light on the subject? [*Cries of* "Chair!" *and* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. and gallant Member that the Bill before us is one for lending an additional sum of money for the purchase of land in Ireland.

SIR EDWARD HAMLEY said, he wished to call attention to the general course of the debate, for this reason—that the cause of the delay of Public Business was a matter which the people of the country were entitled to take note of. It was only by bringing it strongly to public attention that they could hope the public would ever take that line on the subject which it was hoped they would take, and see that the mandate given to their Representatives was carried out, charging them that if Parliament did not already possess the power to control its own proceedings it might furnish itself with those powers, and might fulfil the purpose of its existence, which was to manage the affairs of the Kingdom and the Empire.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he assured the hon. and gallant Member that he had never before been so convinced of the truth of the saying that the tongue was mightier than the sword. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had succeeded in making a speech most admirably adapted—in spite of the Speaker's call to Order—to any debate on Irish subjects that he had ever listened to during the last seven years. Although he had, unfortunately, been called to Order sometimes by the Chair, he had never felt so poignantly a call to Order as that which came upon the hon. and gallant Gentleman. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) thought that the Government, by permitting the incursion of the dialectic moss trooper into debate, could have been afforded but little satisfaction; because he had understood—before the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) and the last speaker intervened in the debate to give the House a new edition of the Battle of Dorking—that the Government were extremely anxious to have the Bill considered in a calm and peaceful manner. He had hoped that the

debate would have finished a long time ago, but as the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh had been put up to make this extraordinary intrusion, and as the hon. and gallant Member for Birkenhead would never have been permitted by the Whip to intervene in the debate if they had not thought that there was some extraordinary exigency for him to speak, knowing what he did of the discipline of the Party opposite, he thought they could not have done so except at the direct suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. He assured the House that the speeches of those hon. and gallant Gentlemen were altogether beyond the range of his poor capacity. The hon. and gallant Gentleman would believe that it was from no discourtesy to him, but simply from a lack of nimbleness on his part, that he was unable at this short notice to grasp the exact point of his address. He had now heard for the first time that the ragged Irish tenant was the most trustful and the most faithful payer of his instalments that could be found in any part of the Kingdom. It seemed that by the magic of property, which turned sand into gold, the Moonlighter of Kerry would be in future the eldest son of the Treasury Bench, and especially of the First Lord himself. He invited the economists of the House to investigate the history of the £1,250,000 which was formerly advanced to Irish landlords. Here was the account given by the Treasury draftsman—

"Lent under 4 George IV. Amount advanced, £279,451; amount repaid £51,000. Lent under 3 & 4 William IV. Amount advanced, £900,000; amount repaid, *nil.*"

Such was the history of this said £1,250,000. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh and the military Gentleman charged the Irish Members with being rogues themselves, and with supporting every form of villainy which it was possible to invent, and the gallant General added that they had not yet been adequately denounced. Would the hon. and gallant General get up a crusade against the men who pocketed that £1,250,000? Those who advocated the cause of the poor ragged tenants were denounced as rogues by men who were drawing hundreds of pounds a-year from the British taxpayer. For his own part, he was proud of his advocacy of the cause of the ragged tenants.

[While the hon. and learned Gentleman was speaking, a Member on one of the back Benches below the Gangway called out, "Compton is in!"]

Mr. T. M. HEALY said, he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman would now think he was sufficiently answered. The hon. and gallant Gentleman wished there had been some Home Rulers in the Strangers' Gallery to listen to the speeches delivered on that side of the House; but he would now find that there were very good orators and very good listeners in the borough of Holborn. As he could no longer hope to attract the attention of the House, he would only ask some Member of the Government to tell them whether it was intended to prolong the term of the two Commissioners until the whole of the £5,000,000 was expended?

[It was here announced that Mr. Bruce had been returned.]

Sir EDWARD HAMLEY: I hope the hon. and learned Member will think he is sufficiently answered.

Mr. T. M. HEALY said, they had been waiting for 100 years, and they were not tired yet. He asked for information with regard to the future position of the Commissioners.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought he should, perhaps, best consult the convenience of the House if he abstained from dealing with many of the topics which had been raised in the somewhat discursive debate, and confined himself to endeavouring to meet the point raised by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. He agreed that the tenure of Office of the Land Commissioners and the Land Purchase Commissioners, dependent as it was merely on the provisions of a Continuance Bill, was not satisfactory, and he proposed next Session to bring in a Bill to place them on a more satisfactory footing. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would be content with that general declaration on the subject.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 202; Noes 141: Majority 61.

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, J. T.
Ainslie, W. G.
Aird, J.
Allsopp, hon. G.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, Colonel R. H. L.
Anstruther, H. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baden-Powell, Sir G. S.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Baring, Viscount
Baring, T. C.
Barry, A. H. S.
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beadel, W. J.
Biddulph, M.
Bigwood, J.
Bonsor, H. C. O.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brookfield, A. M.
Burghley, Lord
Campbell, J. A.
Carmarthen, Marq. of
Chamberlain, R.
Charrington, S.
Clarke, Sir E. G.
Coghill, D. H.
Colomb, Sir J. C. R.
Compton, F.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, A. C.
Corbett, J.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, H. S.
Cross, W. H.
Curzon, Viscount
Darling, C. J.
Darling, M. T. S.
Davenport, H. T.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Dorington, Sir J. E.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, right hon. Sir W. H.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Ewart, Sir W.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Field, Admiral E.
Fielden, T.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzgerald, R. U. P.
Fitz-Wygram, General Sir F. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. A. E.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gedge, S.
Giles, A.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Granby, Marquess of
Gray, C. W.
Grimston, Viscount
Grotrian, F. B.
Hall, A. W.
Hall, C.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamilton, Col. C. E.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hankey, F. A.
Hastings, G. W.
Heath, A. R.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hill, right hon. Lord A. W.
Hoare, E. B.
Hoare, S.
Hobhouse, H.
Holloway, G.
Houldsworth, Sir W. H.
Howorth, H. H.
Hunt, F. S.
Hunter, Sir W. G.
Isaacs, L. H.
Isaacson, F. W.
Jackson, W. L.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
Jarvis, A. W.
Johnston, W.
Kelly, J. R.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenrick, W.
Kerans, F. H.
King, H. S.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, H. T.
Knowles, L.
Lafone, A.
Lambert, C.
Laurie, Colonel R. P.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lea, T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, T. W.
Leighton, S.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclure, J. W.
Madden, D. H.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Malcolm, Col. J. W.
Maple, J. B.
Matthews, rt. hon. H.
Mattinson, M. W.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, Admiral R. C.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morrison, W.
Moss, R.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Mulholland, H. L.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. A.
Murdoch, C. T.
Noble, W.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. Sir H. S.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Parker, hon. F.
Pelly, Sir L.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Powell, F. S.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, rt. hn. C. T.
Robertson, Sir W. T.
Robertson, J. P. B.
Robinson, B.
Rollit, Sir A. K.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
Royden, T. B.
Russell, Sir G.
Russell, T. W.
Salt, T.
Sandys, Lt.-Col. T. M.
Saunderson, Col. E. J.
Selwyn, Capt. C. W.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
Sidebotham, J. W.
Sidebottom, W.
Sinclair, W. P.
Smith, right hon. W H.
Spencer, J. E.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Talbot, J. G.
Tapling, T. K.
Temple, Sir R.
Theobald, J.
Thorburn, W.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Townsend, F.
Vincent, C. E. H.
Waring, Colonel T.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Webster, R. G.
Whitley, E.
Whitmore, C. A.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wolmer, Viscount
Wood, N.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Young, C. E. B.

TELLERS.

Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

NOES.

Abraham, W. (Glam.)
Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)
Acland, A. H. D.
Allison, R. A.
Anderson, C. H.
Asquith, H. H.
Austin, J.
Barbour, W. B.
Barran, J.
Blane, A.
Bolton, J. C.
Bolton, T. D.
Broadhurst, H.
Brunner, J. T.
Burt, T.
Byrne, G. M.
Cameron, J. M.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, H.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carew, J. L.
Causton, R. K.
Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Clancy, J. J.
Cobb, H. P.
Coleridge, hon. B.
Colman, J. J.
Commins, A.
Conway, M.
Conybeare, C. A. V.
Corbet, W. J.
Cossham, H.
Crawford, D.
Cremer, W. R.
Crilly, D.
Deasy, J.
Dillon, J.
Ellis, J. E.
Ellis, T. E.
Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
Esslemont, P.
Evans, F. H.
Evershed, S.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fenwick, C.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro-
Finucane, J.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzgerald, J. G.
Flower, C.
Flynn, J. C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Foster, Sir W. B.
Fowler, rt. hon. H. H.
Fuller, G. P.
Gardner, H.
Gill, T. P.
Gourley, E. T.

Harris, M.
Hayden, L. P.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Healy, T. M.
Hunter, W. A.
Illingworth, A.
Jacoby, J. A.
James, hon. W. H.
Joicey, J.
Kilbride, D.
Labouchere, H.
Lalor, R.
Lane, W. J.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
M'Arthur, W. A.
M'Cartan, M.
M'Ewan, W.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, W. S. B.
Mahony, P.
Marjoribanks, rt. hon. E.
Molloy, B. C.
Montagu, S.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morgan, W. P.
Morley, rt. hon. J.
Morley, A.
Murphy, W. M.
Nolan, J.
O'Brien, J. F. X.
O'Brien, P.
O'Brien, P. J.
O'Connor, J.
O'Gorman Mahon, The
Oldroyd, M.
Pickard, B.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Picton, J. A.
Pinkerton, J.
Plowden, Sir W. C.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Provand, A. D.
Randell, D.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, E.
Robinson, T.
Roe, T.
Rowntree, J.
Russell, Sir C.
Sexton, T.
Sheehy, D.
Sinclair, J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stack, J.
Stanhope, hon. P. J.
Stevenson, F. S.
Stewart, H.
Stuart, J.
Sullivan, D.
Sullivan, T. D.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Tanner, C. K.
Thomas, D. A.
Trevelyan, right hon. Sir G. O.
Tuite, J.
Waddy, S. D.
Warmington, C. M.
Watt, H.
Will, J. S.
Williamson, J.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, H. J.
Woodall, W.
Woodhead, J.
Wright, C.

TELLERS

Clark, Dr. G. B.
Dillwyn, L. L.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 348.]

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Register of Patent Agents).

The LORD MAYOR of DUBLIN (Mr. Sexton) (Belfast, W.) said, he saw an Amendment on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton) as follows:—In Clause 1, page 1, leave out lines 19 to 24, inclusive, and insert—

"(3.) Provided, that every person who proves to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade that, prior to the passing of this Act, he had been *bonâ fide* practising as a patent agent, or had been a principal assistant to a patent agent, shall be entitled to be registered as a patent agent in pursuance of this Act."

The Amendment was one affecting the interests of many persons, and he thought that, notwithstanding the absence of the hon. Member for Canterbury, the Amendment should be inserted in the Bill. He begged leave to move it himself.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, leave out 19 to 24, inclusive, and insert—"(3.) Provided, that every person who proves to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade that, prior to the passing of this Act, he had been *bonâ fide* practising as a patent agent, or had been a principal assistant to a patent agent, shall be entitled to be registered as a patent agent in pursuance of this Act."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed "That lines 19 to 24 stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight) said, he was prepared to assent to an Amendment of this kind, but thought this particular proposal far too wide. He objected to the words "or had been a principal assistant to a patent agent." According to the representations which had been made to the Board of Trade, while it would be well to license persons who had been *bonâ fide* practising as patent agents, it would be a mistake to license persons who had merely acted as patent agents' assistants. He would therefore suggest that the words to which he took exception should be omitted, when the Amendment would be perfectly acceptable. There might be considerable difficulty in finding out whether or not a man had been a "principal assistant." He would move to amend the Amendment by omitting the words "or had been a principal assistant to a patent agent."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in lines 4 and 5, to omit the words "or had been a principal assistant to a patent agent."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Mr. SEXTON said, he had been informed that there were some persons who had been patent agents who were now assisting patent agents without being their principal assistants. He would press the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to insert

some such form of words as, "or have conducted the business of a patent agent."

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he had come in contact with a great many of these persons during the long period he had been connected with the question of patents, and it had been represented to him by them that the necessities of the case would be amply met by the insertion of the words he proposed.

MR. SEXTON: I accept that assurance.

Question put, and *negatived.*

"Question, "That lines 19 and 24 stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (S. 69, as to opposition to resignation).

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he should like to ask the Attorney General, whether he had considered the Amendments of the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth (Mr. Warmington) which stood on the Paper to this clause? The hon. Member was not in his place, but he might be anxious for the Amendments to be accepted.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he had considered the Amendment referred to, and did not think that the hon. Member for West Monmouth, even if he were present, would move the Amendments. The first Amendment proposed to put aside the function of the Board of Trade and replace it by the action of a Court, which would be unsatisfactory to the parties to these cases.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) thought it desirable that the Committee should have some specific promise from the hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Bill as to the consideration of these Amendments on Report, in view of the fact that those hon. Gentlemen in whose names they stood were absent, and were, so to speak, taken unawares. There were certain hon. Gentlemen who usually sat beside him (Dr. Tanner) who, if they had known this Bill was coming on, would have been in their places to discuss it. He felt called upon to make this protest, not only on his own behalf, but on theirs as well. Several hon. Members had intimated to him that they desired to see the Bill passed; but, as he naturally distrusted everything which came from the Government——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! There is no Motion before the House.

DR. TANNER: I should like to have some explanation——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

DR. TANNER: Then I may have to move to report Progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question is that Clause 13 stand part of the Bill.

DR. TANNER said, that before the clause was agreed to he should like to understand from Her Majesty's Government whether it was their intention to take the whole of this Bill at the present Sitting? If it were, he should certainly move to report Progress. He would have a definite understanding on this point. They were too much accustomed to the petty dogmatism of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he thought they should insist upon a definite promise that if the Amendment standing in the names of private Members were passed over in the absence of those Members, at any rate on the Report stage, a certain amount of attention would be given to them by the Government.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, that of course, if hon. Members who were not present desired to move these Amendments on Report, attention would be given to their proposals. The question at stake was a purely technical one, having reference to certain notice which was to be given to enable trade marks to pass. The Bill was one requiring technical knowledge, but he had gone through all the clauses and found that there was nothing in the Amendments which it was necessary to adopt.

Clause *agreed to.*

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I beg to move the first Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Monmouthshire.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is too late now.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported*, with an Amendment; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 30th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Land Purchase (Ireland) * [293].

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate,

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Monday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 30th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Votes 1 to 3, 7 & 8; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 5 to 8, & 10

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading*—Sand Grouse (Protection) * [391]; Tribunals of Commerce * [392].

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSION COURT AT KEADY, COUNTY ARMAGH.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Land Commissioners will hold a Sub-Commission Court at Keady, County Armagh; and if the Government would engage to urge the necessity of holding such Court before March, 1889, on account of the number of applications to have fair rent fixed by land Court from the district of Keady?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that there was a sitting for Keady District in September. In the regular rotation there will be a sitting for the Union of Armagh, which includes the Keady District, before March.

COMMISSION ON IRISH PRISONS—CORK FEMALE PRISON.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.) (for Mr. HOOPER) (Cork, S.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the recommendation of Viscount Cross's Commission on Irish Prisons, that first committals should be exercised as a separate class, was adopted in Cork Female Prison; and, if so, when; whether it was in operation there when the young girl Griffin, committed from the Ballinspittle District for taking forcible possession, was received at the prison this year; whether the abandoned women with whom she was exercised, before an exception was made in her favour, were first committals; and, whether the classification of prisoners in Cork Female Prison for exercise purposes is now in all respects the same as before the girl Griffin's committal; and, if not, in what does the difference consist?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: With respect to paragraph sone and two, the recommendation referred to of the Royal Commission did not include the case of local prisons, but related solely to convict prisons, where, as a matter of fact, it is in operation. The Prisons Board are unable to reply to paragraph three. As a rule they have no means of knowing whether persons committed to prison for crime are or are not of the class described in that paragraph. As has been, however, already explained, in reply to a previous Question on the subject of the case of the prisoner Griffin, there is no association whatever between prisoners at exercise, as they are required to walk five paces apart, and to keep silence. Since attention was called to the case of this prisoner, the officer in charge of Cork Female Prison has been strictly enjoined to be more careful as to exercising first committals separately from other prisoners, and this Rule is now strictly adhered to in that prison.

NAVY (SHIPS)—H.M.S. "RUBY."

SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK (Kensington, S.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact that H.M.S. *Ruby* has been on the South American Station since she was commissioned in April, 1885; whether he is aware that it was given in evidence before the Committee on Navy Estimates, by Admiral Sir A. Hood, that the period of a ship's commission abroad was three years; whether, as the *Cleopatra* cannot commission before December, it may be taken as certain that the

Ruby cannot be relieved before March, and reach England before April, 1889, after four years' absence; and what is the reason of this departure from the Rule of the Service?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The *Ruby* left England for the South-East Coast of America in May, 1885, and she has remained on that station until the present time. Although, by usage, three years abroad has come to be regarded as the duration of a ship's commission, and the Admiralty endeavour to relieve ships after that period, the date of relief must be entirely governed by the exigencies of the Service. In the present instance, the return of the *Ruby* has been postponed for some months, owing to unexpected difficulties in the completion of the ship detailed for her relief.

SOUTH AFRICA (BECHUANALAND).

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention had been called to the public declaration of one of the Ministers of Cape Colony, that—

"The Cape Government would annex Bechuanaland in spite of Montsioa's protests, and notwithstanding the contrary statements of Her Majesty's Ministers;"

and, whether, in view of the anxiety caused among the Chiefs and people of that territory, any steps have been taken by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa to make known to them the determination of Her Majesty's Ministers to retain in the hands of the Imperial Government the administration of Bechuanaland, as expressed in the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury, at Gloucester, on the 8th of October last?

MR. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester) also asked, Whether, considering the perturbed condition of the people of Bechuanaland, owing to a recent statement made by a Minister of the Cape Colony, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has taken any steps, in accordance with recent expressions of Ministerial policy, to assure the inhabitants of Bechuanaland that Her Majesty's Government has no intention of annexing Bechuanaland to the Cape Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Secretary of State is not aware that the words quoted are a correct report of any statement by one of the Cape Ministers. As Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that there is at present no anxiety in British Bechuanaland on the subject, they have not thought it necessary to make any declaration in the territory.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—CONFLICT AT KINSALE.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.) (for Mr. HOOPER) (Cork, S.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a bâton charge of policemen was ordered by Colonel Caddell, Resident Magistrate, Kinsale, on Saturday last, in which several persons, including an aged hunchback, were seriously injured; what was the justification for the order to charge; whether the people received any warning before the charge was made on them, and, if so, what warning; whether Colonel Caddell left the judicial seat to head the bâton men; and, what special circumstances exist in the case of Colonel Caddell to entitle him to take charge of a civil force, while a civilian Resident Magistrate (Mr. Cronin), his senior in the service of the Irish Executive, was present?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that on the occasion in question a large crowd of some 500 persons had assembled outside the Court House while the trial of three men for committing a serious assault on the police was proceeding there. After the trial was over the crowd became very disorderly, and its demeanour most threatening. The Resident Magistrate called upon the crowd to disperse, and, having warned them without effect, he ordered the police to disperse them. This was done. No unnecessary force was used, and, so far as can be ascertained, no one was injured. The Resident Magistrate did not leave the Bench to take charge of the police. The Petty Sessions Court was over at the time, and it was in consequence of the conviction of the three prisoners referred to that the crowd became hostile. Mr. Cronin was unable to remain at Kinsale, and the duty of the taking charge of the police

had been, therefore, assigned to Colonel Caddell.

RIOTS, &c. (IRELAND)—THE KILDARE HUNT.

MR. CAREW (Kildare, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a report of an attack made by certain members of the Kildare Hunt on Mr. George Saunders, of Carnalway, as stated by himself in *The Leinster Leader* of the 24th instant; whether it is a fact that Mr. Saunders for a number of years past did not allow the huntsmen to trespass on his farm, and that on Monday the 19th instant the huntsmen forced their way into his farm and violently struck him with their whips, and that one of the huntsmen beat Mr. Saunders severely with a shovel, and nearly cut off three of his fingers with same; whether the son of Mr. Saunders was also assaulted and beaten by some of the huntsmen on this occasion; and whether proceedings will be taken under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act against these huntsmen for having entered into a criminal conspiracy to compel and induce Mr. Saunders to do what he had a legal right to refrain from doing?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, his attention had been called to the report referred to, and he was informed that it was exaggerated. It appeared that the dispute occurred in regard to a claim of right of way, and in the course of the dispute some of Mr. Saunders' fingers were slightly injured. It was not a fact, however, that they were nearly cut off. There was no evidence in this case of criminal conspiracy; and, therefore, no prosecution could be taken under the Crimes Act. If Mr. Saunders felt himself aggrieved he could have recourse to the usual legal remedy.

TURKEY (FINANCE, &c.)—THE PUBLIC DEBT.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as reported, that the Administration of the Public Debt at Constantinople have advanced £40,000 as a loan to the Turkish Government out of the moneys belonging to the foreign bondholders; whether the loan was effected about the time when a concession was being negotiated by the Porte with a German Bank for the Asia Minor Railways; whether it is true that Mr. Vincent Caillard, the Agent at Constantinople of the English bondholders, is interested in such concession; and, whether this is an infringement of a concession already granted, or agreed to be granted, to British capitalists?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have no information as to the supposed advance to the Turkish Government by the Administration of the Public Debt. The terms of the concession for the Asia Minor Railways have been published in the newspapers at Constantinople. Mr. Vincent Caillard is not in the service of Her Majesty's Government, nor under their orders; and they do not know to what extent, or in what manner, he is interested in the concession, though it is understood that he has interested himself in the matter. Whether the present concession is, or is not, an infraction of a concession previously granted and still in force is a question for decision by the proper tribunals.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART — THE SCIENCE COLLECTIONS.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether the statements in the Calendar of the Department of Science and Art, that the various sections of the Science Museum have been reported upon by Committees of scientific experts, specifically with a view to the elimination of useless objects, are correct; whether any objects have been retained which the Committee reported should be got rid of; whether the space for the Science Collections has been greatly reduced since the Inter-Departmental Committee, of which Sir Frederick Bramwell was Chairman and Lord Lingen a member, reported; and whether, in consequence of such reduction of space, any Collections or portions of Collections have been dispersed which the Committee advised should be retained?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): The statements in the Calendar are correct; and I am informed by the authorities of the Museum that no objects which the Committees advised should be eliminated have been retained. The space for the Science Collections has been considerably reduced since the Inter-Departmental Committee reported; and in consequence a great part of the Structural and Educational Collections has been dispersed.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE wished to know what had become of the Collection which had been dispersed?

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he was unable to answer the Question without making an inquiry. They had not been destroyed.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, under these circumstances, there is any necessity for a Committee?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Yes; the Government feel that there is a necessity for a Committee. They must propose a Vote to the House and a scheme for the enlargement of the Museum on their own responsibility; and looking at the fact that there does exist an opinion—whether well or ill-founded—that there are objects in the Museum which can be dispensed with with advantage to the Public Service, the Government would not be justified in making a proposal to the House to embark on any considerable expenditure, which they believe to be necessary, unless they had, first of all, satisfied themselves that every possible economy had been effected.

THE CIVIL SERVICE — PERMANENT OFFICIALS HOLDING PLACES OF PROFIT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Treasury Minute quoted by the Royal Commissioners on Civil Establishments, as issued under date the 27th of March, 1849, and reiterated on the 6th of April, 1878, as follows:—

"Officers holding situations which require daily attendance should not be allowed to accept employment as Directors of Companies requiring their personal attendance elsewhere during office hours"

is understood to be still in force; and, is the Rule modified to this extent—that, pending further consideration of the whole matter, permanent Civil servants who now hold Directorships may attend meetings of Companies during office hours, if they make up for it by working over hours at other times?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The Minute of the 27th of March, 1849, did not lay down a Rule for the Public Service generally. It expressed the opinion of the Treasury; it was made the Rule in the Treasury Office; and was communicated by the Treasury to other Departments for their information. Other Departments, however, did not at the time think it necessary, and with one or two exceptions have not in the interval thought it necessary to adopt the Rule. The Rule is not, therefore, in force in the Public Service generally; and therefore it has not been modified in favour of certain permanent Civil servants who now hold Directorships. I think it fair to add that, as far as my own experience goes, gathered in more than one Department, there is no necessity for a Rule such as the hon. Member suggests. I have always found that the responsible officers at the Head of the Departments, and many in responsible positions, universally work far beyond the office hours. They often work late in the evening, and till midnight if necessary, and they never thought themselves tied down to work a particular number of hours.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked if the Rule was enforced in the Treasury Office?

MR. GOSCHEN: I have said that it was.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, whether, after holding situations of this kind, they were allowed to attend during office hours on condition that they worked extra hours?

MR. GOSCHEN replied, that he had told the hon. Member that at the Treasury the Rule held, and therefore the point did not arise in their case. But he himself was personally as anxious as the hon. Baronet to restrict for the future the engagements of Civil servants as Directors.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Does not the Controller General attend meetings of Directors?

MR. GOSCHEN: He is not a Treasury officer, but under the Exchequer; and a previous Chancellor of the Exchequer gave him special leave to hold the Directorship to which the hon. Member has referred.

AUSTRALIA—CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What is now the position of the question of Chinese immigration into Australia; whether it is true, as stated in the newspapers, that a Queensland Act on that subject has been reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure; whether any of the Acts of the other Colonies on the same subject have been so reserved, or whether they have been brought into operation; whether Her Majesty's Government have yet ascertained if these Acts are consonant to or conflict with the rights or claims of the Chinese as a friendly Treaty Power; and, whether the matter has been settled in communication with the Chinese Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Negotiations, with a view to the settlement of a Treaty in regard to Chinese immigration, are still in progress with the Chinese Government. The Secretary of State has been informed by a telegram from the Acting Governor of Queensland that such an Act has been reserved. The Legislatures of New South Wales and New Zealand have also passed Acts for restricting the immigration of Chinese; and these Acts, not having been reserved, have come into operation. These Acts have been left in operation, as appearing to Her Majesty's Government not to be in conflict with any Treaty rights or claims. As indicated in what I have already said, the question is not yet settled with the Chinese Government. I may refer the hon. Member to the despatch to Sir John Walsham printed at page 49 (C. 5,448).

CEYLON—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—REGISTRATION OF MAHOMMEDAN MARRIAGES.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Royal Assent has been given to an Ordinance of the Ceylon Legislative Council for the registration of Mahommedan marriages, whereby, for the first time in Ceylon, Imperial sanction has been given to polygamous marriages; and, whether a Memorial against the measure was addressed to the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, and was by him transmitted to the Colonial Office, prior to the Ordinance receiving the Royal Assent; if so, whether he will produce such Memorial, and, if not, if he will obtain it from the Colonial Authorities?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Royal Assent has been given to an Ordinance passed in 1886, and to an amending Ordinance passed this year, by the Ceylon Legislative Council for the registration of Mahommedan marriages; but such Ordinances do not, for the first time, legalize Mahommedan polygamous marriages, the validity of such marriages having been previously recognized by the law of Ceylon. A Memorial addressed to the Secretary of State against these Ordinances was received and considered before the advice was given to Her Majesty to allow them to remain in operation. It would seem hardly worth while to present the Memorial to Parliament; but if, after seeing it at the Colonial Office, the hon. Member presses for it, it can be presented with the Correspondence thereon.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—DEATH OF —— DRAKE, KINGSCOURT.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following Central News telegram in *The Freeman's Journal* of November 5—

"A Central News telegram says:—The body of a man named Drake was found at Kingscourt, Ireland, on Saturday, in a ditch at the bottom of his garden. There were marks on the body as though the deceased had been severely beaten. The man was seen in his usual health one hour previous to the discovery. The police have taken charge of the body."

And, whether any inquest was held; and, if not, on what grounds it was dispensed with?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the telegram did not contain an accurate account of

the circumstances of the case. There were no marks of violence, and the Coroner satisfied himself that the cause of death was heart disease, and, therefore, no inquest was necessary.

In reply to a further Question,

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware that the case had been reported in the English papers as another Irish outrage.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—SALE OF LAND IN MEATH.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John Arthur Farrell has recently sold a portion of his property in the County Meath, under Lord Ashbourne's Act, to two of his own sons?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, no application had been received by the Land Commissioners with regard to the alleged sale.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION — FAIR RENTS—ORDNANCE MAPS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, considering the expenditure of money now imposed upon tenants applying to have a fair rent fixed, by obliging every such tenant to lodge in the Court before the hearing an Ordnance Survey Map, showing the boundaries of his farm, he will suggest to the Land Commission the desirability of withdrawing this rule, and the convenience of attaining the same object by supplying to each Sub-Commission Ordnance Maps of the districts in which fair rents are to be fixed, with the boundaries of the different holdings having been first coloured thereon in the Valuation Office?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that the whole question of the production of maps at the hearing of cases before Sub-Commissioners is at present under their consideration, one of the points before them being practically the same as that suggested for adoption in this Question.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION — FAIR RENTS, ULSTER — APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, of 19,979 notices to fix fair rents served from Ulster during the year ending August, 1888, fair rents have been fixed by the Sub-Commission in 3,033 cases only; whether he can state the additional number of applications to fix fair rents made before the 1st instant; and, whether, considering that at the above rate it would take upwards of six years to dispose of the cases already entered, and the necessity for having the fair rents fixed without further delay, in order to enable tenants to purchase their holdings on fair terms, and to save them from the enforced payment of the old rent, he will appoint such an additional number of Sub-Commissioners as will enable the Court to have these rents fixed within a reasonable period?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that the number of notices to fix fair rents served from Ulster during the period named are as stated in the Question. But of these, 3,919 were disposed of during that period, in 3,231 cases fair rents being fixed, and the remaining 688 cases were either dismissed, struck out, or withdrawn. Between the 22nd of August and the 1st of November, 1888, 727 notices to fix fair rents were received from Ulster, and during the same period 703 cases were disposed of. The Government intend to appoint 10 additional Sub-Commissioners, from the 1st of January next, to overtake the work, which has fallen into arrear through the large influx of cases consequent on the Act of last year.

MR. M'CARTAN asked, whether or not one of these Sub-Commissions would be sent specially to the County Down, where so many of the applications still remained unheard?

MR. MADDEN said, of course that would be a matter of arrangement by the Land Commissioners, to whom he would be happy to communicate the suggestion.

MR. M'CARTAN asked that arrangements might be made so that one of these Commissioners might be sent to the County Down, where a very large number of fair-rent cases on the Lord Lieutenant's property were still undisposed of

MR. MADDEN had no doubt the Land Commissioners would discharge their duty in making proper arrangements for the sittings of Sub-Commissions.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) asked whether the Government meant to appoint 10 additional Sub-Commissioners; and, also, whether two legal Sub-Commissioners would be appointed?

MR. MADDEN replied that the Government would appoint 10 Sub-Commissioners. He was not specifically informed as to whether or not any of the new Commissioners would be legal or not; but he gathered from the information before him that they would be lay Commissioners.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked that a recommendation be made to the Land Commissioners that one Sub-Commissioner be sent specially to Cork, where a number of cases remain undisposed of.

MR. MADDEN said, he had no power to make recommendations to the Land Commission; but he would be happy to communicate the suggestion of the hon. Member to them.

NAVY—PORTSMOUTH—LANDING OF TROOPS.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that on the arrival of H.M.S. *Crocodile* with the 6th Dragoon Guards on November 20th the regiment was unable to disembark for 24 hours, owing to the fact that the only landing-stage not under repair was in the occupation of H.M.S. *Euphrates;* and, whether he will take steps that further accommodation shall be provided?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing), in reply, said, owing to repairs at present in progress, it was not possible to berth the *Crocodile* alongside the troop-jetty, until the *Euphrates*, which was at the moment embarking a regiment, had sailed. She was, however, immediately on her arrival placed alongside another jetty to disembark the unattached officers and men. To suit local arrangements, it was decided by the authorities on the spot to defer the disembarkation of the regiment until the troop-jetty was available. There is sufficient accommodation at Portsmouth Dockyard to meet our troop requirements, and it is not proposed to add to it.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, out of the 34 head masters of model schools in Ireland, only four are members of the Church of Ireland, while the number of young persons belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland attending such schools exceeds by 578 the number of Roman Catholics, and by 770 the number of Presbyterians; and, if he can state the numbers, respectively, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic Professors and teachers in the schools, Marlborough Street, Dublin, and the average amount paid out of the public money to the teachers of each denomination?

In putting the Question the hon. Member explained that the words "Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland" were not written by him. The correct legal definition of the Irish Church was Church of Ireland.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, sufficient Notice had not been given of the Question, and he would ask the hon. Member to postpone it. He had called for a Report.

MR. JOHNSTON said, he would put it down for Monday.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—REMOVAL OF A PLACARD AT COORACLARE, CO. CLARE.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) (for Mr. JORDAN) (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on Sunday the 11th instant, at Cooraclare, County Clare, the following notice, which was posted on the Roman Catholic Church, namely—

"Kilmacduane G. A. A.

A meeting of the above Association will be held at Cooraclare after last mass. Gaels come forward and join.

S. Mescal, hon. sec."

was torn down and carried off by the police, who also tore down two other similar notices; whether the police pursued the Gaels to a private house in which they held their meeting, and, on the door being closed to prevent their entry, kept watch at the house till the meeting ended; whether the Gaelic Association is an illegal Association; and, if not, by what authority the police are authorized to tear down such notices, or to interfere with or prevent the Gaels from holding their meeting; and, will he inquire into this matter, and take steps to prevent similar action in future?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I may say that the police had reason to believe that an attempt would be made to hold a meeting of the National League, which has been declared an illegal Association in the district, and that the meeting would be subsequently reported in the newspapers as such. They, therefore, watched the house in which the National League rooms are situated, and remained outside until the people had dispersed.

Replying to further Questions,

MR. MADDEN said, the Government had not the slightest intention of interfering with legal Associations; but the ground on which the police watched the proceedings was that they were of opinion, from what had occurred previously, that the meeting was to be, in substance and reality, a meeting of the National League. The former meeting was convened in the same manner, without any open reference to the National League. Of course, the police in such cases must act to the best of their judgment on the facts before them.

BOARD OF TRADE—SEAMEN'S REGISTRY OFFICE — COLOUR-SERGEANTS W. TUCKER AND J. HOWE—GRATUITIES.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Colour Sergeant William Tucker, late Royal Engineers, and Colour Sergeant James Howe, of the Scotch Fusilier Guards, having served 26 years in the Seamen's Registry Office of the Board of Trade, have now received notice to retire in consequence of age, the former being 70 and the other about 68 years of age, without any pension being awarded to them, and with a compassionate allowance of only £48 15*s.* 0*d.*, payable in one sum to each of them; and, whether, under the circumstances, they are entitled to a moderate pension on retirement?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The gratuities awarded are all that the Treasury has power to award under the Superannuation Acts; and a promise has been made to Parliament that extra-statutory awards shall be discontinued. Both the men referred to have pensions of £36 10*s.* per annum for Army service.

CUSTOMS OFFICERS, GLASGOW—OFFICIAL HOURS.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is proposed to increase the official hours of the Glasgow officers of Customs to 12 hours per day—namely, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. throughout the year, without any time allowance for meals or additional remuneration; and, whether in any other branch of the Civil Service the officials are compelled to work an average of 12 hours per day throughout the year; and, if not, whether he will consider if some other arrangement can be made, so as to meet the requirements of shipowners by extending the hours during which goods may be landed or shipped without unduly extending the hours of labour of the officers of Customs?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): No, Sir; certainly not. There are no such proposals. Every care will be taken that any arrangement for the extension of hours during which goods may be landed or shipped shall not be accompanied by an extension of the average number of hours of labour of officers of Customs?

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—RIOT AT CLASHMORE — CASE OF HUGH MATHESON, A COTTAR.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case

that Hugh Matheson, of Clashmore, who was convicted and sentenced for rioting, has since been liberated, and another person named M'Leod has been convicted, and also sentenced for the offence, Matheson having been mistaken for M'Leod; whether Matheson, in consequence of his conviction, has been dismissed from the Royal Naval Reserve; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to grant a free pardon and to give compensation to Matheson?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): Hugh Matheson, who was convicted and sentenced for rioting, was liberated after having undergone six months' imprisonment, the Secretary for Scotland considering that this punishment might suffice. Another person, named M'Leod, has been convicted and sentenced for the offence, which was committed by several persons. The Secretary for Scotland has very fully considered this case on an application for a free pardon and compensation to Matheson. His Lordship has decided that there are no adequate grounds for believing that there has been a miscarriage of justice through M'Leod being mistaken for Matheson, or for recommending that a free pardon should be granted for the offence of which he was found guilty. From inquiries I have made at the Admiralty, there does not appear to be any record of the dismissal of anyone named Hugh Matheson from the Naval Reserve. I have no further information on the subject.

DR. CLARK asked, if the right hon. and learned Gentleman was aware that 13 jurors had intimated to the Marquess of Lothian that they believed this man was innocent, and that the two individuals were very similar to each other?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: As regards the latter point, the information which the Secretary for Scotland has is not to the effect that the prisoners are similar in appearance to one another. As regards the other point, a Memorial identical in terms has been sent up from each of the jurymen, commenting on the material sent to the Secretary for Scotland since the trial. They express the opinion that that material proves the innocence of Matheson; but upon that I would say that their position as jurymen in the case does not afford them any special qualification.

DR. CLARK gave Notice that he would raise the question on the voting of the salary of the Secretary for Scotland.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE WHEEL AND VAN TAX.

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If, in view of the abandonment of the proposed taxes on horses and vehicles, and the loss thereby inflicted on the general ratepayer, and the strong feeling prevailing throughout the country districts in favour of such contributions towards the maintenance of the roads, the Government will consider the advisability of legislating next Session to empower any County Council to levy Licence Duties (within certain statutory limits) upon horses or vehicles using the roads maintained out of the county rates, after the analogy of the duties imposed by the County Authority on locomotives under the Highways Act of 1878?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I can only refer my hon. Friend to the answer which I gave last night to the hon. Member for West Southwark (Mr. Causton). When the County Councils are in working order we shall be ready to take counsel with them as to the best means of reinforcing local revenues, and providing that relief to the rates which would have resulted from the measure, the progress of which, unfortunately, has been defeated by time.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE — NAIL-MAKERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS —A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If the Government will grant a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Cradley Heath chainmakers?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, that the condition of the chainmakers' industry was inquired into and reported upon by a Royal Commission in 1876, and a Report had been made by the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade. He was informed that the Committee of the other House on

the Sweating System proposed to inquire into the condition of this industry. He could not, therefore, see that there was any need for the appointment of another Royal Commission on the subject.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: May I ask the right hon. Baronet if he is aware that the average earnings of men in this district are under 6*s.* a-week, and those of women and girls under 3*s.* a-week?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he did not know that that statement accurately represented the facts; but the facts appeared in the Report of the Labour Correspondent.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I had intended to ask leave to move the Adjournment of the House in consequence of the answer given me yesterday to this Question; but the ordinary Forms of the House have been strained in a manner that I consider——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

POST OFFICE — SUNDAY POSTAL LABOUR.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the recommendation of the Select Committee on Sunday Postal Labour, made in their Report of 10th August, 1887—

"That the collection, despatch, and delivery on Sundays of books, circulars, and printed matter other than newspapers be discontinued,"

has been carried into effect; whether it has been brought to the notice of the authorities in towns and villages that the collection, despatch, and delivery on Sundays of letters and newspapers will be discontinued, if Resolutions praying for discontinuance be passed in the manner recommended by the Select Committee; whether any towns or villages have passed such Resolutions, and with what result; whether, as recommended by the Select Committee, sorting clerks and indoor officials have been relieved from duty on alternate Sundays; and, whether, as recommended by the Select Committee, rural messengers have been wholly relieved from work on alternate Sundays, by the employment of substitutes at the expense of the Post Office?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In order to ascertain what effect the discontinuance of the despatch and delivery of book packets and circulars would have in reducing Post Office labour on Sundays I caused the experiment to be tried during one month at three large representative towns—namely, Bristol, Nottingham, and Wolverhampton. The result of this experiment may be broadly stated thus—the small reduction of work to postmen outside the Office is at least counterbalanced by the additional work indoors. I do not, therefore, think that I should be justified in adopting it. After careful consultation with those most qualified by their experience to arrive at an opinion, I am convinced that it would be not only inconvenient, but dangerous and impracticable, to adopt a system of window delivery in populous places in England. I shall, however, be glad as occasion offers to give this system a wider extension in rural post-offices where a Sunday delivery now exists. In order to test the feeling of the public with regard to the discontinuance of the Sunday post I consulted the Corporations of the eight largest Provincial towns in England—namely, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bradford, Bristol, and Nottingham. Six of these, by considerable majorities in their Town Councils, declined to adopt the system now existing in London; one was unwilling to express an opinion, and one was in favour of the change by a majority falling short of the suggestions of the Committee. As regards rural districts, the practice has been followed since 1871 of discontinuing the post on Sunday in any particular district upon the request of those persons residing on the post who receive two-thirds of the correspondence delivered. In my opinion, this is a more equitable way of ascertaining the general feeling of the residents than that recommended by the Committee. I am not aware that any applications have been received from towns or villages forwarding Resolutions passed in the manner recommended by the Committee. Sorting clerks and indoor officials, as a rule, perform only two hours' work on Sunday; and in many cases this is so arranged that they are required to attend on only one Sunday in three, and sometimes only one in four. I do not consider it necessary to afford any further relief in this direction. As a rule, all rural postmen whose walk is more than 12 miles, or whose work is not completed by 10 a.m. on Sunday,

are already relieved on every alternate Sunday. It is, I think, hardly necessary to extend this arrangement to the minor deliveries and duties in the country districts which only occupy a short time in their performance.

DR. CLARK: Do I understand that the Post Office refuse to carry out any of the recommendations of the Select Committee?

MR. RAIKES: It would be more accurate to say that the Post Office have endeavoured to test the recommendations, and have found that they would not be acceptable to the public.

THE NATIONAL DEBT—BEQUEST OF £50,000 (MR. O'REILLY DEASE).

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (Londonderry City) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that the late Mr. O'Reilly Dease, of St. James's Square, London, and of Dee Farm, in the County of Louth, who died in the month of August, 1887, bequeathed the whole of his estate, amounting to upwards of £50,000 (subject to legacies to his solicitor and steward) to the Treasury, to be applied towards the reduction of the National Debt; whether a Memorial has been presented to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury by two maiden ladies, who are the daughters of the only sister of Mr. Dease, and in ill-health, and wholly without means, asking that some provision may be made for them during their lives out of this fund; and, whether it is in the power of the Lords Commissioners to make such concession, as is frequently done in the somewhat analogous case of escheats to the Crown?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): It is a fact that the late Mr. O'Reilly Dease bequeathed the bulk of his estate—the exact amount of which is not yet known—to be applied to the reduction of the National Debt. He did not, however, make his bequest to the Treasury, but to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he appointed with the Solicitor to the Treasury as his executor. Many applications have been made for grants from the estate, and among them a Memorial from the two ladies, as nieces of the deceased. The Treasury is advised that it has no power to divert any part of the estate from the purposes for which it was bequeathed. The case is not analogous to that of escheats, which are the absolute property of the Crown and unfettered by any obligations.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Seeing that the Public Exchequer is about to benefit to the extent of £50,000 by the generosity of Mr. Dease, while these two helpless ladies are starving, will the right hon. Gentleman propose any amendment of the law to get rid of this shocking state of things?

MR. GOSCHEN: The fault must lie with the testator, and not with Her Majesty's Government. I cannot propose a law under which, if anyone leave their money to the Treasury, it can be given to people to whom the testator had not willed it. Suppose a later will were found, and the Treasury had, without power, given certain grants, the later will could not then be carried out. It is to be regretted that the will was made in this way if it bear cruelly on relatives. But it is not certain that these ladies would have received anything from the estate if it had been otherwise willed.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have any difficulty in giving to these ladies a small portion of the money made from the sale of certain premises?

MR. GOSCHEN: I am advised that we have no power to divert any portion of the money from the purpose for which it was left. I will, however, make further inquiries. I regret it is not in our power to make a grant out of this estate.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): Do the Treasury maintain that it is out of their power to have a Vote of this House?

MR. GOSCHEN: No; if the Vote were proposed. But I do not see how a Vote is to be proposed, and how indemnity can be given should a later will be found. Nor do I see how we could select particular applicants to whom the special Vote should be given. I will, however, give the matter further consideration, as I am entirely in sympathy with the ladies interested in this case.

MR. SEXTON: I shall push home the case on the Estimates.

JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—SIR BARNES PEACOCK.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that Sir Barnes Peacock, a paid Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, has been under the necessity, by reason of age and failing health, of proceeding abroad, under medical advice, at the beginning of the present month, and is not expected to return until the end of May, so that the learned Judge in question will thus only be in England during one-fourth of the Judicial Session of the Privy Council, which commences in November and ends in July; what provision is made for the performance of his duties during his absence; whether he receives his salary of £3,000 a-year, as well as his pension of £2,000 a-year from Indian Revenues, during his absence; and, what are the Rules applicable to cases of this kind?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is the fact that Sir Barnes Peacock is, under medical advice, going abroad, and is not expected back till the end of May. The difficulty of maintaining the simultaneous Sittings of the House of Lords and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has been increased by Sir Barnes Peacock's absence; but it is hoped, with the aid of the other members, that the sittings of the Judicial Committee may not be suspended. He does receive his salary of £3,000 a-year as well as his pension of £2,000 from Indian Revenues during his absence. There are no Rules applicable to cases of this kind; but it is fair to add that Sir Barnes Peacock has been very rarely absent from the Judicial Committee.

AUSTRALIA—COLONIAL GOVERNORSHIPS—THE VICTORIAN PARLIAMENT.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Government had received any information concerning the action of the Victorian Parliament, as reported in the morning papers, with regard to the appointment of Colonial Governors; and if a Resolution proposed by Sir Bryan O'Loghlen, that Colonial Ministers should be consulted before such appointments were made, was rejected by a majority of 59 to 3, after which the Members rose in their places, sang the National Anthem, and gave cheers for the Queen?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have to say that the Secretary of State has received a telegram from the Governor of Victoria, which only reports the rejection of the Resolution by the majority mentioned by the hon. Member. I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the last portion of the Question.

AUSTRALIA (QUEENSLAND)—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked, Whether the Government had made any new nomination to the Governorship of Queensland?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In answer to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the Governorship of Queensland has been offered to and accepted by Sir Henry Norman, Governor of Jamaica, and Her Majesty has approved the appointment.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROSECUTION OF IRISH MEMBERS.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it was a fact that although a promise was given that the Members of Parliament recently proceeded against under the Coercion Act would not be prevented from attending the discussion of the Irish Estimates, yet several other persons against whom the same political charges were made had been summoned to attend Court on Monday and Thursday; and, whether these latter cases would not also be postponed, as if they were disposed of in the meanwhile, the result would prejudice the subsequent trial of the Members of Parliament?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, arrangements would be made to the effect desired by the hon. Member.

STREET MUSIC (METROPOLIS) ACT—STREET SINGING.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention had been called to the case of Frank Leyburn, summoned before Mr. Paget, and sentenced to a fine of 40*s.* or seven days' imprisonment for holding a religious service in the street?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): This man was convicted not of holding a religious service, but of singing in the streets, contrary to the provisions of the Act relating to street music in the Metropolis. The question of religious service was not raised before the magistrate at all. The defendant declared his intention of not paying the 40*s.* I do not think that the punishment should extend beyond three days; and I have given directions to that effect.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I beg to ask the First Lord of Treasury, Whether he proposes taking a Sitting of the House to-morrow?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Yes, Sir. I have already stated that it would be necessary to ask the House to sit to-morrow to consider Supply.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I would then ask, first of all, how long the right hon. Gentleman proposes the Sitting should be; and, secondly, whether, in view of that proposal, he intends to make the motion that stands in his name for to-night?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The right hon. Gentleman seems to suggest that I am wishing to force the House to undertake more work than it cares to do. I believe that the House would wish to make progress in Public Business at a period when progress is most desirable in the interests both of the country and of hon. Members themselves. I do propose to make that Motion in order to make reasonable progress in Business; but I shall not ask the House to sit to any very late hour. I propose that the House should sit from 12 o'clock to 6 to-morrow, under the ordinary Wednesday Rules.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked whether it was the intention of the First Lord of the Treasury to persevere with the Notice he had given to suspend the 12 o'clock Rule for the rest of the Session; or, whether he had definitely abandoned it?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I stated in the course of last evening that I hope we might arrive at an understanding which would be satisfactory to both Parties. Until I see whether that understanding may be arrived at, I do no propose to put that Motion on the Paper again.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he wished to ask a question as to whether the right hon. Gentleman had been correctly reported in the debate on the 24th of February, of the present year, when the Standing Order, Sittings of the House, was under discussion. It would be necessary for a proper understanding of the matter to read what fell from the hon. and gallant Member for the North Western Division of Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) on that occasion. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said that—

"There were many Ministers of the Crown who would not trench on the time of the House by asking for this kind of indulgence. If, however, the power were exercised very often it would become an absolute abuse, and they would be in precisely the same position as before the Rule was passed. A great debate might last for three or four nights, and upon each night it might be asked that the debate should be continued beyond 12 o'clock. If it were only on some extraordinary occasion that it was intended this Motion should be made, he saw no objection to the words remaining in the Rule."—(3 *Hansard* [322], 1455-6.)

In reply to these observations of the hon. and Gallant Member the right hon. Gentleman was reported to have said that he had no hesitation whatever in giving his hon. and gallant Friend the assurance he required. He wanted to know whether the Motion the right hon. Gentleman proposed to make—["Order!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is now debating the question. The hon. Member referred to me before the Business commenced whether he might ask the question which, as I understood, was for the purpose of elucidating some answer given by the hight hon. Gentleman with regard to Report of Supply, and to that extent I told him he would be in Order. But he would not be in Order in raising a debate as to what the

right hon. Gentleman had said about the Rule at the proceedings in Committee of Supply, if under discussion at 12 o'clock.

MR. LABOUCHERE: My object is to ascertain whether the right hon. Gentleman intends to adhere to the engagement he gave on the 24th of February.

MR. SPEAKER: That is a very debatable matter. I thought the hon. Member desired to ask a question.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Yes; this is it—Whether the right hon. Gentleman is correctly reported?

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will put that question I have no doubt it will be answered.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is not a Rule of the House that no reference shall be made to debates in the actual Session?

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord has rightly interpreted the Rule; and the only licence I gave to the hon. Gentleman was to ask the right hon. Gentleman as to the interpretation he put on the Rule.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I want to know whether the right hon. Gentleman said it or not, and I will leave the House to form its own conclusion. He can hardly suppose — ["Order!"] — well, I can hardly tell how to get it out.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is as to the construction of the Rule, and is not a question of debate.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then I will ask the right hon. Gentleman, before he puts his Motion, to be good enough to look at *Hansard*, and tell the House whether his practice of moving the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule from day to day is in accordance with the pledges he gave the House?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon Gentleman has not exhibited his usual courtesy in not drawing my attention to the subject before bringing it before the House, though he is well acquainted with the usages of Parliament and usually observes them. I, Sir, am under the conviction that I am acting strictly and entirely within the spirit of the Order and within the spirit of the engagements which I have given to the House, and that the occasion is one which fully justifies the Motion.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take any Scotch or Irish Votes in Class VI. to-morrow; and whether he could not undertake some better system of arranging the Votes, as the present method was very inconvenient to many Members?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he stated some days ago that Class VI. would be taken first, and after that the remaining Votes of Class IV. and V. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that any Minister would be anxious to make such arrangements as to the order in which the Votes should be taken as would be satisfactory to the Members of the House.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked, whether any Supplementary Votes would be taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the Supplementary Estimates belonging to the Class would be taken.

MOTION.

—o—

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the Proceedings on the Committee of Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 167; Noes 117: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 318.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £139,510, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) remarked that the other evening the First Lord of the

Treasury had said that he wished to take this Vote on the ground that it involved a large sum of money. He quite agreed with the reason which had induced the right hon. Gentleman to prefer this Vote to others. It did involve a very large sum of money, and he desired to draw the attention of the Committee to the Vote generally, and the principles upon which it rested. No branch of the Estimates deserved a more careful discussion than that of the superannuation and compassionate allowances. The Vote under discussion was a very small portion of what was annually voted for Civil Service pensions. The Vote put by the Chairman was for the balance of a sum of £450,510 for superannuation and retired allowances to persons formerly employed in the Public Service and for compassionate and other special allowances and gratuities. But if hon. Members would look at the Estimates they would see that this Vote formed but a very small portion of the sum annually voted by the House for Civil Service pensions. The aggregate amount of the other payments was no less than £1,437,443, and there was, therefore, in Civil Service pensions alone an annual sum of nearly £2,000,000. It would be found that the War Office and the Admiralty took between them £500,000, and that £500,000 had nothing to do with the other military and naval offices. It represented purely the Civil branches of the Admiralty and War Office. The Customs and Inland Revenue took £200,000; the Post Office £100,000; the Telegraphs £25,000; the Irish Constabulary £239,000; and the Dublin Metropolitan Police £39,000. In Civil Service pensions alone a sum of more than £2,000,000 was voted annually, and that sum was altogether exclusive of the pensions that were given for military and naval services. Checking those pensions roughly, but as accurately as he could, and not making them appear to be more than they really were, he found that our military and naval pensions amounted to within a fraction of £3,500,000, and, therefore, the entire pensions of the country amounted to the enormous sum of £5,500,000. He presumed that he would be corrected by the authorities of the Admiralty and War Office if his statement of the figures was wrong. He was not going to argue whether it was right to pay nearly 3*d.* in the pound Income Tax in the shape of retiring pensions, but his contention was that the amount was increasing at such a rate that it was the duty of the Committee to take the matter into consideration with a view, if possible, of diminishing the amount, or, at all events, of modifying its rate of increase. He was not going to say one word in regard to any other pensions except those involved in the Civil Service List, but he wanted to call the attention of the Committee to the practice which regulated the granting of these pensions. The unfortunate and ineffective manner in which the administration of the pensions had been conducted had come before the Royal Commission on the Civil Service Establishments. The Reports of that Commission were, unfortunately, entombed in the Blue Book in such a mass of evidence that it had not received so large a share of attention as it deserved. Everyone was frightened by the evidence, nobody read it, and nobody regarded it; and it failed to receive the attention it demanded. He thought the Committee should understand the general principles on which retiring allowances were granted; and he therefore proposed to refer to the able Memorandum prepared by the hon. Baronet the Member for Wigton (Sir Herbert Maxwell), who, as another Lord of the Treasury, had the Department under his control. He did not think he could do better than read an extract from the Memorandum of the hon. Baronet, which explained succinctly the existing qualifications for the grant of a superannuation allowance. The hon. Baronet said—

"In order to qualify a Civil servant for the grant of superannuation allowance he must comply with the following conditions:—He must (a) if appointed since the passing of the Act of 1859, have been admitted to the Service with a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners, or hold an office specially excepted from this requirement; (b) have given his whole time to the Public Service; (c) draw the emoluments of his office from public funds exclusively; (d) have served for upwards of 10 years."

He came now to debatable ground, to which he proposed to call the attention of the Committee hereafter. He must

"(e) if under the age of 60, be certified to be permanently incapable from infirmity of mind or body from discharging his official

duties, or have been removed from his office on the ground of his inability to discharge his duties efficiently; (f) be certified to have served with diligence and fidelity to the satisfaction of the Head of his Department. The scale of superannuation allowance is, for each year's service, one-sixtieth of the emoluments enjoyed by the Civil servant at the date of his retirement, subject to a maximum of forty-sixtieths;"—

in other words, of two-thirds. Then again, the salary was not calculated upon the average salary the officer had received, but of the salary he was receiving at the time of his retirement.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton): On the average of the three years previous to retirement.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: Quite so; and it was a point to which the Royal Commission had called attention. There were two or three other regulations, and pensions might be granted at a reduced rate if the misconduct or demerits of the officer appeared to the Treasury to justify such a reduction. The pendulum, however, was swung the other way, and pensions in excess of the ordinary rate were granted to Civil servants if they had rendered special services in the course of their career. That was a condition with which no one would find fault. If a man rendered distinguished special services, such services were entitled to special recognition. Then, again, if a Civil servant was compelled to retire from injuries received in the performance of his duty, he could obtain a pension in excess of the usual scale; and a higher pension than could be obtained by the ordinary scale could also be awarded to holders of offices requiring special or professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the Public Service. These conditions were the general principles on which pensions were granted. He had now been dealing with cases in which pensions were granted to persons who retired from ill health or in consequence of advanced years. Another fruitful source of pensions was when an Office was abolished or when an officer was compulsorily retired in order to facilitate arrangements by which greater economy might be secured. In such cases the Civil servant got a pension on "abolition terms," with the addition of a certain number of years' service; and "abolition terms" were much more advantageous even than when he had served his full term and was retired on the ground of ill health. He wished to draw the attention of the Committee to two or three of these "abolition terms," as they were called, as far as they were brought before the Royal Commission. First came a point upon which questions had been put both to the Secretary to the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the present Session, with the understanding that the whole matter was to be gone into when the pension question was raised upon the present Vote. The Committee would observe that before a man could be pensioned on account of ill-health or mental incapacity, there must be a medical certificate of incapacity to discharge his duties. Upon this point he should like to call the attention of the Committee to a question put by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) to one of the witnesses before the Commission, the hon. Baronet opposite, the Junior Lord of the Treasury—

"Q. 14,495. That is to say, that anybody, then, who, being under the age of 60, gets a medical certificate that he is permanently incapable and infirm in mind or body, would get his pension without any investigation by the Treasury as to whether his physical or mental condition was fairly described in the certificate?—I have never known an investigation, and I do not know that we have any means of ordering one. Sometimes further inquiry is directed, and explanations asked of the medical officer."

He himself (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) then put this Question to the hon. Baronet—

"Q. 14,500. Therefore, if a man can get a friendly surgeon to send in a friendly certificate, there is no investigation into the authenticity of the circumstances detailed in the certificate?—No; neither is there in most cases of army pensions, because the men are living all over the country, very often beyond the reach of any army surgeon, and we take the report of private practitioners."

"Q. 14,504. I understand you to say that you think that an independent check upon this medical certificate would be desirable?—Yes; I think it would be an assistance."

"Q. 14,505. And that it would be in accordance with the practice of all large bodies and institutions that grant pensions?—Yes."

Upon the same point the hon. Baronet was asked by Mr. Harvey—

"Q. 14,553. Take the case of a man who has, on a single medical certificate, entirely unchecked, received a pension; within six months of his leaving the Treasury he finds that he is in a position which requires a very considerable amount of mental and physical vigour and re-

source. Would it not be possible for the Treasury to announce to that man that clearly the conditions under which the pension was granted have been proved by his subsequent career to have been fallacious and untrue, and that, therefore, they did not propose to include his name in the pension list in the Superannuation Vote next year?—We have no power to do that. Once you accept the medical certificate and grant a man his pension, we have no power to withhold it."

"Q. 14,554. I will put it again, whether, in your view, a man having received his pension on the certificate that he was unable to discharge his duties efficiently, owing to infirmity of mind or body; and supposing that, within six months, he being still under 60, the Treasury finds that he is discharging duties elsewhere for which he is receiving a large salary, the discharging of which duties is entirely inconsistent with infirmity of mind and body, would it be possible for the Treasury to announce to him that they were not prepared to include his name in the Superannuation List for the next year?—No; we have proceeded on the medical certificate. We might call upon him to enter the Public Service again if you could find a place to put him in."

Mr. Mowatt, in his evidence before the Commission, was examined as to a case which occurred in the Treasury. This question was put to him—

"Q. 14,933. Now, just following up for a moment, before we go into the general question, the points which Mr. Lawson has been putting to you with reference to specific pensions, I will go into your own office. I will give no names, but I will take a man pensioned. I have got before me the list of pensions that are now being made payable in the year 1888. A gentleman was pensioned from the Treasury in the year 1871, on the ground of failing health, at only 56 years of age, and with a pension of £1,200 a-year. That gentleman, as I presume, has been receiving that pension of £1,200 a-year from 1871 till to-day?—I presume so."

"Q. 14,934. Has the Treasury any knowledge, or any means of knowing, whether that gentleman has been engaged in the employment of a large public Company?—No; no official means."

"Q. 14,935. But if it should come to the knowledge of the Lords of the Treasury that one of their clerks, whom they pensioned off in the year 1871, on the ground of failing health—just note that as being distinct; all other Treasury pensions, except this gentleman's are given for ill health. Failing health seems to be a sort of earlier gradation in the process of decay which has not reached the stage of ill health; it is the contemplation of it. Now, if it could come to the knowledge of the Lords of the Treasury that this gentleman was earning a salary, let us say, of twice his pension, or perhaps three times his pension, in the discharge of important and responsible public duties, would the Treasury not interfere? Would the Treasury regard it as consistent with their duty to the public to go on paying that gentleman £1,200?—I cannot say what the Board of Treasury would think. The case would call for inquiry, certainly. I should point out that after four years, when the officer attained the age of 60, he became entitled to retire on pension."

"Q. 14,936 What machinery should you have to bring that case before, say, the Chancellor of the Exchequer?—If the circumstances of the case were brought officially to the notice of the Board, no doubt they would be laid before the Chancellor of the Exchequer."

Everybody connected with the Treasury knew this case as well as he did. It would be noticed that the officer in question was retired on the ground of "failing health." This was a singular phrase. The general phrase was "ill health;" "failing health" was quite new and a rather delicate, ladylike expression. He would put it to the Committee if it was right and proper that a gentleman should have been retired on a pension of £1,200 a-year and be now receiving several thousands a-year for the discharge of important duties connected with a public company. He only gave the case as an illustration of what these medical certificates were worth. That was his point, and he thought there ought to be some machinery devised which should prevent men from receiving pensions on account of failing health, who were able to earn large incomes elsewhere. Following up the case, these further questions were put to Mr. Mowatt—

"Q. 14,940. Would there be any difficulty in laying down a rule that every man who has been disabled from the public service on the ground of ill health should produce a certificate that that disability still continues, and that he is disabled from pursuing any other business or profession?—It would be practicable."

"Q. 14,941. I need hardly ask you whether, as a matter of right, you consider it improper that a man should be receiving public money on the ground of physical disability, and at the same time be drawing a salary for doing full work somewhere else."

To this question Mr. Mowatt properly replied "Certainly." Upon the subject itself the Royal Commission make this representation—

"We are of opinion that it should be the duty of the Treasury to satisfy itself by independent medical testimony that the required conditions are fulfilled."

That was the first reform he would suggest. The friendly medical certificate should be done away with before a man was granted a pension. The Commissioners further said—

"We do not think the present security adequate, and we are of opinion that pensions have been sometimes granted on the ground of alleged physical incapacity when such incapacity did not exist."

There was power to compel a man who had been retired before 60 years of age on the ground of physical incapacity to come back again into the Public Service if the circumstances would warrant such a course, but the evidence showed that that power had never been exercised, nor did he think that it would be as desirable as the non-granting of a pension at all. The next point to which he wished to call the attention of the Committee was the singular addition of a certain number of years to a pension on the ground of a man's professional abilities. The theory was that if a lawyer, or an engineer, or a doctor was appointed to a position in the Public Service, which he was quite willing to take at the remuneration offered, although he had not served the public for the full term of years to entitle him to a pension, the custom was to add ten years to his pension for what were called his professional claims. This was also explained by Mr. Mowatt in his evidence before the Royal Commission. Mr. Mowatt said, in answer to Q. 14,681—

"I have explained to the Commissioners why I think the professional addition is uncalled for; but I should like to show, by one or two examples, how very unequally it acts. The assumption on which it is founded is that a man has received no remuneration, but has spent money for a certain number of years in fitting himself for the professional office. It is only in some exceptions that that really occurs. I could explain it perhaps by an example better. Take the case of the Resident Magistrates in Ireland. They receive 10 years' professional addition. Many of them, I think most of them, are men retired from the Army with a retired pay or half-pay. Therefore, during the 10 years for which you give them a professional addition, they have received salary the whole time, and they have earned in addition their half-pay. Then they are appointed to this professional office, and you re-pension them the whole way over again, so that their service for that 10 years is counted twice over. Let me give one other case which has just occurred, and which struck me as illustrating it very strongly. A very distinguished officer was superannuated from the Indian Service with the full amount of pension he could receive. He came over to this country, and was appointed to a first-class professional office, carrying with it 10 years' addition, on the ground that he had been preparing himself at his own expense and without remuneration for the professional duties he had to perform. Those exceptions to the rule are so numerous that there ought really to be examples."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) asked, where this evidence was to be found?

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, he was reading from the evidence of Mr. Mowatt, before the Royal Commission, in answer to Q. 14,681. The Committee would that night be asked to sanction an increased grant of pension on the judicial Vote. It related to one of the Official Referees whose services were discussed a fortnight ago. He was sure that the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) would follow this case with interest. They were asked, on page 487 of the Estimates, to give this gentleman—he would not mention his name—a pension of £525 per annum. It appeared that he was 75 years of age, but the length of his service was only 11 years, therefore he must have been appointed when he was 64 years of age—four years in advance of the time when the whole system of pensions required a man to resign—namely, 60 years. There had been added to this gentleman's service of 11 years 10 years more, on account of his professional qualifications for the post, and, therefore, he was pensioned as having served the country for 21 years.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): What date did he retire?

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: It is not stated; but I think it was in October, 1887. This is the first Vote.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That is the very man then.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, that a Return, which had been published at the instance of his hon. Friend the Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Cozens-Hardy), showed the exact work done during the last seven years by these Official Referees. The gentleman to whom he was referring sat during seven years of the 11 years 136 days per annum, and the amount of fees received in respect of the proceedings which took place before him was £1,091. In 1883 he had nine cases; in 1884 nine cases; in 1885 11 cases; in 1886 17 cases. No doubt, this gentleman did very efficient service so far as it went, but he thought that,

deducting Sundays and holidays which would leave at least 300 days, the country had a right to expect 250 days' service per annum. Having been paid £1,500 per year for 11 years, he was pensioned, and the Committee would be asked to sanction a pension of £525 for the remainder of his life. Could that be justified upon any principle of administration? He was not blaming the present Government, and did not wish to make it a Party matter. What he was attacking was the system and the legislation—for it had been the work of legislation—under which these exorbitant claims could be made. Upon this question the Royal Commission had expressed the opinion that the better plan to adopt was to pay a man a sufficient salary. He did not think that anyone would say that the salary of £1,500 received by the official to whom he had referred was not sufficient. There was another great abuse to which he wished to call attention—namely, the "abolition terms." That question was capable of very great expansion, but he would not weary the Committee by going at length into details. Retired on abolition terms meant that a certain amount of pension was given to a man they wanted to get rid of on account of his incompetency. A question was put to Mr. Mowatt by his hon. Friend the Member for Blackpool, the Chairman of the Royal Commission (Sir Matthew White Ridley)—Question 14,710 of the evidence—

"Of course I leave misconduct altogether out of the question. Nobody alleges that a man dismissed for misconduct should receive any compensation or money whatever, but in the case of a man who is dismissed or sent away, not for inefficiency, but because he is found redundant, or because, for other reasons, his services are not wanted, the Treasury has power to grant a retiring allowance, has it not? The Act of last year says—'Where a Civil servant is removed from his office on the ground of his inability to discharge efficiently the duties of his office, and a superannuation allowance cannot lawfully be granted to him under the Superannuation Acts, 1834 and 1859, and the Treasury think that the special circumstances of the case justify the grant to him of a retiring allowance, they may grant to him such retiring allowance as they think just and proper, but in no case exceeding the amount for which his length of service would qualify him under Sections 2 and 4 of the Superannuation Act, 1859, without any addition under Section 7 of that Act.' That was drawn to meet the case of an officer not so inefficient that the Head of his Department would dismiss him, but practically so inefficient that he could not be with safety to the Public Service longer employed."

Mr. Mowatt dealt with this case in one of his answers. He was asked—

"Q.14,958. Do you say generally, on what is euphemistically called a 're-organization,' that men were pensioned off on abolition terms on the ground that it was not desirable to retain them. Is it your opinion that pensions were granted to Civil servants whom it was desired to retain in the Civil Service?—I think the fact of the heads of Departments finding it difficult to get rid of the men who are not efficient is very often the real reason of re-organizations, and this, in fact, insures a special pension above the ordinary rate to the incompetent officer whom they want to get rid of."

"Q. 14,959. Do you think that such a course of procedure could be followed in any other office in this Kingdom except the Government of re-organizing an office with the object of getting rid of incompetent servants, and in the process of doing that giving those incompetent servants a higher rate of pension than they would have received, if, being competent, they had been disabled by ill health?—I would rather say that where there is a difficulty in getting rid from any establishment of an inefficient officer some such plea was not uncommon."

The Royal Commissioners characterized these as a class of cases which had given rise to great abuses under the Civil Service Act. An official whose office was abolished, or who was compulsorily retired, might receive compensation allowance on the same scale as if he had qualified for a pension. The intention of the clause in the Act was to facilitate arrangements by which greater economy and efficiency might be secured, but as a rule this result had not been obtained. The rule was often used to get rid of incompetent men, who, upon the plea of abolition of office, received an extra pension for their inefficiency. The Commission recommended that these nominal re-organization schemes in order to get rid of incompetent men, or to secure the flow of promotion, should no longer be allowed, and that any large re-organization of office should invariably be carried out by Act of Parliament, or at least by a Provisional Order approved by Parliament. He was sorry to have occupied the attention of the Committee so long, but this abolition of office on the plea of re-organization in order to get rid of incompetent men was one of the greatest evils of the whole system. He desired to say nothing that should partake of a Party character. He believed that the Party to which he belonged were as guilty as the Party opposite, and that

the Ministry were as guilty as the Opposition. Every one of the re-organization schemes had been defended on the ground that they promoted efficiency and economy, but they had always resulted in enormous additions to the Pension List, and had in no way promoted efficiency. If a Minister wanted re-organization let him come to the House of Commons. He thought the Departments would be chary of making new arrangements which would have to undergo the scrutiny of that House. There was another point upon which he had no doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say something—namely, the principle upon which these pensions were granted at all, or rather the principles upon which they were to be defended. The Royal Commission had reported in favour of the continuance of the system of granting pensions. He contended that there were only three grounds on which the granting of pensions could be justified. First, on the principle that a pension was deferred pay, which he thought was the view of the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Herbert Maxwell). The whole strength of the hon. Baronet's evidence was that it was deferred pay. [Sir H. MAXWELL: In theory.] It could only be justified, secondly, on the principle that the person receiving the pension had been deprived by injuries sustained in the Public Service, of the power of further earning his bread; and thirdly, that the pensioner had been worn out. Those were the only three grounds upon which, as he contended, the granting of pensions could be defended at all. If it was deferred pay, they were either not paying a man what he deserved, or they were keeping back part of his pay to make provision for him in old age; if a man was incapacitated by injuries received in the Public Service, he was fairly entitled to a pension, and so also if he had become worn out in the service of the State. To such cases he thought the House of Commons would feel disposed to give full and ample consideration. Mr. Mowatt did not agree with him that the granting of a pension should be confined to these three points. He said there was a fourth ground, which he explained to the Commission—namely, that it was the price paid by the State for the privilege of discontinuing services which it no longer desired to retain. He would ask men at the head of large private manufacturing and commercial establishments, whether they could carry on business on the principle that when they had servants whom from incompetency or inefficiency it was not desirable to retain, they must pension them off? His own opinion was, that the administration of the public money should be conducted upon the same principle as that of private firms. The Commissioners considered that the men to be pensioned should contribute towards the funds from which the pensions were paid, and they recommended a compulsory reduction of five per cent from all future salaries, and that, in the event of the Civil servant voluntarily leaving, or dying before he was entitled to pension, his contributions, with compound interest at the Savings' Bank rate, should be repaid to himself or his representatives. The principle of the recommendation was that Civil servants, like *employés* of the London and North Western Railway Company, or of the Clearing House, should themselves contribute towards the pension fund by a compulsory reduction of five per cent from salaries, and there should be no attempt to make a profit out of those men, but that they should be linked in the building up of the fund out of which the pensions were to be paid. On that point the Commission was unanimous. The Commissioner further thought that the average salary of the man's whole service should be the basis on which his pension was fixed, and not the highest salary which he had received. The Committee would be anxious to hear what view was taken by the Government of these recommendations generally, and whether they would be carried out. Assuming that the Commission had not taken a correct view, he thought the Committee would agree with him that the time had arrived for some other scheme to be laid down. The present system was unsatisfactory. It involved a large and increasing expenditure, and if not revised it would break down some day, with perhaps some disastrous results, and he held it to be in the best interests of the service that the matter should be put on a wise and sound financial basis, which they could all defend. Unless some step were taken he was afraid

that the public indignation would be aroused, and in dealing with what was bad the fear was that that which was good would suffer. He believed that there was no Civil Service to approach the English Civil Service. There were no better or more able public servants in the world, and none who more deserved the confidence and the approval of the public; but Parliament, while they must be just to that Service, had also a duty to the taxpayer and the Exchequer, whose funds ought to be administered on the same principle as they would administer their own.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, that his first duty was to express his thanks to the Commission on which the right hon. Gentleman had sat, for the very laborious duty they had undertaken, and for the manner in which they had discharged it. His hon. Friend the Member for Blackpool (Sir Matthew White Ridley), the Chairman of the Commission, was not in his place, but he wished to convey to him through the right hon. Gentleman, and to all who had served on the Commission, the thanks of the Government, and he might say also of the House and of the country, for the great services they had performed. It was a happy inspiration of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) to appoint the Commission, and he thought he might assure the right hon. Gentleman that the labours of the Commission were not likely to be barren of results. The right hon. Gentleman had suggested that possibly the enormous amount of evidence taken might have obscured the issues raised in the Report. He did not know whether that would be so, but he hoped it would not. At all events, the right hon. Gentleman's able speech would turn the attention of hon. Members to the Report, and as Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking on behalf of the Government, he heartily hoped that many hon. Members would read it with the greatest care. He might say, generally, that there were many recommendations in that Report which the Government would accept with the greatest readiness, and endeavour to pass into law; but he warned the Committee that they would require the full support of the House of Commons in carrying that out, because, while there were many instances in the Blue Book which appeared to be unsatisfactory, and in which pensions had been granted clearly contrary to what the necessities of the case might have required, they might have had another Blue Book of much larger dimensions, containing the number of applications for pensions which had been made and refused by the Treasury. Indeed, the Treasury had great difficulty, on many occasions, in resisting the pressure brought to bear upon them. The right hon. Gentleman wished that they should administer the pensions in the same way as a private firm or a public company would administer them; but it should be remembered that private firms and public companies could administer their affairs without being exposed to the extraneous pressure on every point which was so difficult to resist, and which made the position of a Government so different from theirs. The right hon. Gentleman said the Government should administer these pensions as they were administered by private firms. Now, a private firm might turn away an incompetent clerk at any stage, and they were not called upon to justify the dismissal by presenting papers; the incompetent clerk would not secure the powerful advocacy of Members of that House in bringing his case forward, and put the Government in the position of having to resist the pressure used on his behalf. Moreover, incompetence, though it existed, might not always be capable of being proved in Blue Books to the satisfaction of the House of Commons. There was one observation he desired to make on this point, which had impressed itself on his mind as one of the chief difficulties they had to contend with. It was this, that while one would wish to administer the Civil Service on general business principles, the circumstances under which Civil servants came into the Public Service, and the watchfulness which was exercised over their interests by the House of Commons, constituted a difference between public and private establishments which offered considerable difficulties, and could not be entirely overlooked. He was glad to see, however, that the House of Commons was alive to the difficulties which arose from the situation. He felt that they were still suffering from the pressure continu-

ally brought upon successive Governments. Indeed, Governments had always suffered from the desire of the public to take up the case of Civil servants who might be dismissed, and to hamper the Executive—with the best intentions—when it was believed that injustice had been done to a particular person. The Committee must not suppose that he had any desire to run counter to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman; but while he agreed with that speech, and he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that they needed improvement, he was afraid that the only protection against abuse must be to have a more or less cast-iron system. They could not put the Government in the position of dispensing pensions according either to its own discretion or the discretion of the Heads of Departments. Therefore, certain rules must be laid down, and it was their duty to examine the existing rules in order to see in what direction they could be improved. But the first question to be considered was this—ought there to be pensions at all? The right hon. Gentleman laid down four rules, but did not accept any one of them.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: Yes, three of them.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he thought that on the whole the right hon. Gentleman was disposed to object to the system of pensions altogether. Although objection might be urged against the system of pensions, there was one warning which, with all humility, he should like to give to the Committee—do not let them raise salaries with the intention of abolishing pensions, and in that way make up for the pension which the servant would ultimately get. It was certain that a future House of Commons, when a servant came to the end of his service, would feel the hardship of casting him out on the world without means and without pension. The House of Commons, therefore, would find themselves bound to pay the pension, notwithstanding the fact that the salary had been increased. There was a strong objection on the part of companies or of individuals to see an old servant leave them after long and good service without making some provision for him.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, that that view was referred to in the Report and was defended.

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes, it was defended, but as the right hon. Gentleman had not dwelt upon the point, he had considered it of importance to call the attention of the Committee to it. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to underrate the amount of pension given elsewhere than in the service of the State. He knew that in many private firms no official who had remained in service for 20 or 30 years was ever discharged without a pension or a large gratuity. His own belief was that private firms largely pensioned old servants who had been with them for years, and had rendered good and faithful service. Like the House of Commons, they did not like to see their old servants leaving them without some provision for their later years. The right hon. Gentleman asked whether the State would pension when servants became incompetent. Now incompetence frequently occurred from growing years, through being worn out in the service in which persons were engaged; and both private firms and public Companies granted a man who had become incompetent a very considerable pension. He knew Insurance Companies which gave larger pensions, on the whole, to their servants than those that were granted by the State. They must, therefore, he was afraid, make up their minds to believe that they could not entirely break down the system of pensions, and it would be dangerous to move very far in that direction. Of course a distinction must be drawn between existing persons and persons who entered the service for the first time. Any arrangements the Treasury might make with regard to pensions for the future would, he presumed, with one exception, to which he desired to call attention, be regarded as prospective only. He was far, however, from saying that the matter did not deserve the fullest attention. No doubt it was a growing evil which ought to be met by the closest examination of the existing rules, by putting down all abuses, by curtailing extravagant pensions, rather than by looking forward to doing away with them altogether. Reference had been made by the right hon. Gentleman to joint pensions—that was to say, pensions which came from a fund to which both the Government and the Civil servants contributed a certain percentage. He understood that Sir George Corne-

wall Lewis was defeated on that point by the House of Commons. A deduction had been suggested or had been made at that time; but in the end an Amendment was carried against the Government by a majority of 60. The House of Commons was probably in one of those moods when it rather took the side of the Civil servant than looked exclusively to the interest of the State. Such moods did occasionally occur. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman in that respect, and he thought it was well worth consideration whether such a system might not be devised. Turning from the question of the system of pensions to the particular recommendations made by the Royal Commission, he wished to say, without pledging himself to details, that the Government agreed in substance with the three recommendations made by the Royal Commissioners with regard to pensions. The Committee would remember that he had stated, a few days ago, that the Government would be prepared either to legislate where legislation was necessary, or to make regulations where regulations would suffice, for dealing with those important points to which the Commission had wisely called attention. The first point which the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned was that of the medical certificate. He entirely concurred with what had been said on that point, and, acting on the recommendation of the Commission, the Government would take such immediate steps as were possible to secure that further evidence should be given besides the medical certificate sent in. He did not disguise from himself that it would sometimes be said, "It is not right when an honourable man sends in a certificate from a medical practitioner that you should go behind it?" The Government must be guided by the general feeling of the House of Commons. Speaking generally, without pledging himself to particulars, it must be laid down that it would be wiser to have some general system by which, when always possible, such evidence should be required in what were called "suspicious cases" only, because that which was to a Government a suspicious case was frequently a strong case in the eyes of the friends of the applicants for pensions? Therefore, the Government, speaking generally, would adopt the recommendation of the Commission with regard to the medical certificate so far as it could be carried out. He now came to another recommendation of the Commission—namely, that which dealt with "abolition terms." Much evidence was put before the Commission on that subject, especially by Mr. Moore, than whom there was not a more able public servant, and who had taken the greatest possible interest in the pension question. In Mr. Moore, in fact, they had a most capable adviser on the pension question. The Government would most carefully consider that part of the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman and his friends, which consisted in this—that any plan for re-organization with "abolition terms" should be in some form or another placed before Parliament. He presumed that it would not be right to include very small changes, but where there was a change on a scale vitally affecting the Pension List such changes should be submitted to Parliament in the manner suggested by the Commission. He recognized all the difficulties with regard to "abolition terms." Though it was extremely wrong, and contrary to the spirit of the Act of Parliament and the Regulations, that heads of Departments should endeavour, by "abolition terms," to rid their Departments of incompetent men, he would say, in justice to them—he did not defend or excuse them—that incompetent men were very difficult to get rid of in a Public Office. It was exceedingly difficult to prove that there was sufficient incompetence to justify the breaking of a contract with a man who had entered the Service under the competitive system, and who had from the beginning been subject to certain rules and in the enjoyment of certain privileges. Any directions given to the Treasury or the Government that incompetent men were to be dealt with in a more stringent manner would be carried out possibly for six, possibly for 12 months, or even two years; but as soon as the mood of the House of Commons underwent a change, the old difficulty would recur—the extreme difficulty of dealing with the class of incompetent servants. To recapitulate, he might say that the Government were prepared to consider the proposal for accompanying the system of pensions with a system of de-

duction of salary, so that a kind of joint fund might be established; beyond that, they were prepared to accept the special recommendation of the Royal Commission in regard to the abolition of additional years' service for professional services; further, they would require the strengthening of evidence upon medical certificates, and would consider the propriety of adding to the length of service upon the abolition of office. It was also desirable to take into consideration whether every scheme for the re-organization of office should not be laid before the House of Commons. He trusted that he had now satisfied the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee as to the spirit in which the Government proposed to deal with the question of pensions. He had only one more word to add in conclusion. He entirely endorsed all that had been said by the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the general character of the Civil servants of the Crown. He had been glad to hear the valuable testimony which the right hon. Gentleman himself had given as to the services of that distinguished body. They were frequently subjected to attacks to which they were unable to reply. Their actions were constantly misrepresented, and as they were unable, however desirous, to rush into print, in order to defend their character, it was often supposed that they were peculiarly thick-skinned. He thought it only right and proper, therefore, that such testimony as had been given by the right hon. Gentleman should be submitted to the House. Taking the Civil servants as a whole, no other country possessed a body of public servants so devoted to their duty. In one country on the Continent—he thought it was Prussia — incompetent officers were very summarily dealt with, and not unfrequently attention had been called to the matter in the Reichstadt. The third point referred to by the right hon. Gentleman was the addition of so many years for professional service. Upon that point the right hon. Gentleman had the entire sympathy of the Treasury. There was no class of case which had given the Treasury more trouble and difficulty than this particular claim. The Government had had to resist not only personal claims, but others put forward by large and powerful bodies and associations for the reward of professional and special service. If the House of Commons chose to accept proposals by which these professional additions should be swept away altogether, there would be no hesitation whatever on the part of the Government to introduce such proposals. There might be a hard case or two where such pensions might be justified, but he was convinced that many more hard cases to the taxpayers arose in consequence of these additions of a certain number of years' service on account of professional service. The Government would examine this recommendation of the Royal Commission also, and he trusted that they would be able to submit satisfactory proposals to the House of Commons with regard to it, seeing that was a matter of immediate interest and importance.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought it was exceedingly fortunate that this question had been brought on at an hour when there was a probability of its being usefully discussed. He thought the Committee were much indebted to his right hon. Friend the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) for having brought forward this question, and having stated so plainly his views upon it, for there could be no doubt as to the interest which it excited in the country. If any hon. Member was dubious upon this point he had only to visit any artizans' club, and ask what public question most interested them. He would find that their attention was always turning to the question of pensions. He hoped the Civil Service would not be disposed to resent any proposal of change or to oppose any reforms which might be suggested. In their own interests it was most desirable that their salaries and retiring superannuation allowances should be placed on a permanent and a sound basis, which the mass of the people would approve. It was desirable that this should be done in their own interests, because if it were not done the present arrangements would some day or other be very roughly dealt with by Parliament, and the members of the Service would find themselves treated with what might be great injustice in consequence of the course of action which Parliament might think it absolutely neces-

sary to take in the interests of the State and of the taxpayer. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to imagine that, while this Parliament was in an economical mood, future Parliaments might be in an extravagant mood. He thought that was an illusory theory altogether, for he was certain that the moods of Parliament were not likely to change in the future in the direction of extravagance, but rather in favour of the interests of the taxpayer. The great changes in our electoral Body had brought to bear upon Parliament a motive power in favour of the taxpayer which Parliament would not be able to wink at. One or two points arose out of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer's encouraging and satisfactory speech, upon which he hoped the Committee would allow him to dwell for a moment or two. Often when a Minister got up to reply to the case which had been laid before the House, he practically admitted that a case had been made out, but at the same time declared that there was no immediate necessity for reform. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not taken that course on the present occasion. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to admit that the present system of pensions was thoroughly unsound, that a reform could not be delayed, and also to announce that proposals would be submitted to Parliament by Her Majesty's Government in the direction of reform next Session. These were very large admissions, and so far as he was concerned he was extremely grateful for them. He thought the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) would take the same view. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer rather disputed the comparison which his right hon. Friend made between the State and private firms in the management of affairs by either, because he said first of all that private firms were not subject to the action of Parliament, and that the action of Parliament hampered public departments so far as they might be disposed to proceed economically. The answer to that reproach was that if ever there was extravagant management it was all the fault of the House of Commons. As long as he had been in the House of Commons he had never known any Government to have the smallest difficulty in resisting any claims put forward by any hon. Member in behalf of any increase of salary or in behalf of any individual. He had never known any Government to have any difficulty in that direction. He recollected, to his shame, that he did once in that House, in the Parliament of 1880, bring forward certain claims of Members of the Civil Service. He was bound to admit that he knew very little of the Service at that time. Consequently he brought forward the claims somewhat rashly, and he looked upon the circumstance with regret. But the Government of the day had not the smallest difficulty in disposing of the matter, and he remembered that he was not supported in the Lobby by any appreciable section of the House of Commons. There could be no question about it that if Her Majesty's Government liked to be firm on these questions they could always carry the feeling of the House of Commons with them. So far as private firms were concerned they were able to carry on their business in a different way from the State, and they were never subjected to an unjust reproach at the hands of the House of Commons. There was one thing the House might consider upon this question. He thought the House might consider now, or might have to consider before long, whether they had been well advised in conferring the franchise upon the servants of the State. No doubt the Civil servants were a formidable body. They were highly organized, and when elections were closely contested they could bring immense pressure to bear in favour of a political line of conduct. He thought the question was certainly one which before long Parliament would have to consider. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer rather led the House to understand that private firms were in the habit of being animated by exuberant generosity towards old servants in regard to pensions. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman had had a larger experience of commercial business and customs than he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had; but he owned that he had been taken by surprise at this statement. He knew that here and there they would find a private firm or a public company who would pension a servant who had been a long time in

their employment and had rendered good service to a public company or a private firm, and here and there a liberal pension was awarded, but these cases were the rare exceptions to the general rule. But how many of such cases were there compared with the enormous number of men who were turned adrift by the State with pensions? The number of pensions awarded by private firms and public companies would be found to be very few indeed in comparison with those granted by the State. As a matter of fact there was no proportion whatever between the two. He did not wish the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to understand that he was arguing against pensions. The view he held was this, that if the State gave a man a lower salary than he could get outside he might be fairly entitled to a pension at the end of a certain number of years' service. Men would probably accept employment at a lower salary than they could get outside the Public Service if there were an understanding that they would have a right to a pension at the end a certain period. But were the salaries of paid by the State lower? Personally he believed that they were considerably higher. If they would compare the salaries of the Civil Servants with those paid by private firms and public companies, it would be found that the State salaries were much the highest. Then if that were the fact, and he believed that as a general proportion it was—certainly it was in regard to what might be termed middle class servants—salaries which ranged from £400 to £600 a-year—and if the State paid higher salaries than private firms, the question of the pension became a very open one indeed. If any hon. Member would make a comparison between the salaries paid and the work done in connection with the State and the salaries paid and work done in connection with private firms, it would be found that the comparison was enormously in favour of private firms, and that while the State work was considerably less the salaries paid were as high, and in most cases much higher, than those paid by private firms. He quite admitted that there might be some danger in laying down a hard and fast rule, but the case for a modification of our present system was overwhelming, and he imagined that that must have been the view of the Royal Commission when they recommended that a totally new arrangement should be made with regard to pensions. If Civil servants were paid higher they should be compelled to contribute to a superannuation fund to draw upon when their services were no longer required.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, he would point out that the Royal Commission had recommended a great reduction in the initial salaries, and a re-adjustment of all salaries, so as to prevent, as far as possible, incapable men from being advanced.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was not aware that the Royal Commission had recommended a reduction of salaries.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: A reduction of the initial salary.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was of opinion that a case had been made out for reform in that direction, and he was coming to the recommendation of the Royal Commission afterwards. In the India Civil Service men contributed to a pension fund, and he believed the Dockyard established men also contributed to a fund from which they drew a retiring allowance on their discharge. [An hon. MEMBER: No.] They certainly contributed to some fund from which they were entitled to draw when they retired or were discharged. He remembered that there was a great grievance felt in our Dockyards when established men, who had contributed to the fund, were killed and nothing was given to their families.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he believed that the ground on which established men were distinguished from ordinary workmen was, that they were paid at a lower rate than the rate of the trade to which they belonged. That was the allegation.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, it came practically to what he had suggested—that the established Dockyard men were taken onat a lower rate of pay because they were entitled to a pension, and the grievance among the men was that if a Dockyard man died his wife and family got no pension at all, although the individual himself might have been contributing to the fund for years out of his pay. He wished to

know whether he was to understand from the Government that they had accepted the recommendation of the Commission on that point.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he thought that the statement he had made ought to be made perfectly clear. Certainly the recommendation and the circumstances pointed out by the Royal Commission were being considered, but he could not say off-hand how far they had been accepted. That, however, appeared to him to be the direction in which they ought to be moving.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was fairly satisfactory. If there was to be reform and no total abolition of pensions, this appeared to him to be the only direction in which the Government could move. There were, however, certain things which the Government could do at once and might have done long ago. There were certain matters which would require no Act of Parliament whatever, and which might have been adopted long ago. The Royal Commission had made two Reports. One was the Report issued in the early part of the present year.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: No; last year.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, it was presented at the end of last year. It was the first Report of the Commission, and it contained many recommendations, not one of which had been acted upon. The last Report, dealing with the question of pensions, also contained some recommendations, and if the same amount of time was to elapse as had elapsed already before the recommendations were acted upon there would be another year or 18 months to wait. In that case the Royal Commission would have been grievously ill-treated, and the public would be fairly entitled to complain. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had intimated that day, to an hon. Member below the Gangway, that the Government were waiting, before taking action, until they got the whole of the Reports they were to receive from the Royal Commission. He was afraid that in that case they would have to wait for another two years, for it was not likely that they would have a complete Report until then. It was extremely unfair to the Commissioners that they should be put to the trouble of making interim Reports unless they were acted upon by the Government.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that what he wished to say was that while many of the recommendations of the first Report had been practically acted upon at once, no scheme for carrying out the recommendations generally had been fully determined upon. But the Government were taking the first and second Reports together, and endeavouring to decide upon some definite course of action which he hoped would give satisfaction to the Commissioners and carry out their recommendations.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thanked his right hon. Friend for this information; but he wished to draw attention to the fact that there was one thing the Government could do at once without an Act of Parliament. He referred to the practice of adding 10 years' professional service to gentlemen who joined the Service with professional qualifications. The Treasury, he fancied, could make a Minute any day altering that Regulation. It was a perfect scandal when Irish Resident Magistrates absolutely set up a claim for professional qualifications. He did not cast any imputation on those gentlemen, nor had he joined in the attacks which had been made upon them by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the other side of the House; but he did protest against the system of allowing them to put forward professional qualifications. He knew too well by personal experience the way in which these gentlemen were appointed; he knew how extremely welcome was the appointment; how tremendous was the competition; how different their circumstances were after their appointment from what they were before. But these gentlemen, in addition to this piece of good fortune, actually set up a claim for professional qualifications. That was a claim which ought only to be mentioned to be repudiated in every quarter, and to which the Treasury ought instantly to put a stop. He was certainly not aware that the Irish Resident Magistrates came under the category referred to by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The system of extra pension for professional qualifications ought only to be applied in very exceptional cases; and he be-

lieved that that was the purpose for which they were originally given. No doubt, there were occasions when the State would require the very highest qualifications, and in certain cases the State might not be able, without offering some extra inducement, to attract the men whose services they desired to obtain. The Rule itself was only intended, however, to apply to very exceptional cases, which might sometimes occur. He trusted that after the notice which had been taken of the matter that night, the Treasury would lose no time in modifying the principle upon which they appeared to have been acting. On that point, he believed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made no promise. He was glad also that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had drawn attention to the Official Referees. The moment the special case alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman was broached, he knew what was referred to. It was really a scandal that a man who received £1,500 a-year for sitting 120 days in the year should retire at the age of 74 after only 11 years' service on a pension of £500 a-year. There was now another pensioner on the way of being qualified on similar scandalous terms. He maintained that it was a scandal to have filled up the Office, and he was sure that any statement he might make in regard to the filling up of the Office would not be disputed——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The noble Lord is travelling somewhat beyond the Question before the Committee.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he had no wish to be irregular. He only wished to be assured that the filling up of this Office of Official Referee would not cause any ultimate addition to the Pension List. He was glad, however, that the question had cropped up. Then, again, the question of medical certificates was one in which no Act of Parliament would be required in order to carry out any reform. The Treasury had already ample power to make a change. They could do it any day they liked, and the only question was why they had not done it long ago. His only astonishment was that the Government had not dealt with it earlier, without waiting for the right hon. Gentleman opposite to call attention to it.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that he had distinctly stated a fortnight ago, before the right hon. Gentleman brought the matter before the House, that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on this point were under the consideration of the Treasury. He had made that statement before he had the slightest idea that the right hon. Gentleman was going to draw attention to the matter. Indeed, the Treasury had made up their minds to carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners at once.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was delighted to hear it. There appeared, however, to have been no unnecessary haste. What occurred the other day in the case of the ex-Colonial official, who had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, ought also to be considered. He saw no reason why the duty of granting medical certificates should not be cast upon a Government medical officer, as was already done before Army medical pensions could be granted. The applicant for a pension had to go before a Medical Board, and was not able to obtain a certificate from a friendly doctor. Why should Civil servants be allowed privileges on retirement which were not given to others? Why could they not lay down a rule that no pensions should be granted on a medical certificate, unless that certificate had been given by a Government officer especially employed for the purpose? Those were matters which the Government could take in hand at once. He admitted that any large question of pensions must take time and would require careful consideration. He hoped the House of Commons would give a unanimous support to the Government if they produced a well-considered scheme for the reform of the Pension List, and he believed that if this matter was not taken up the Government would assume a heavy responsibility, and at a future time they might find the greatest possible difficulty in getting this Vote in Committee of Supply.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, that when this matter was last under discussion the Second Report of the Royal Commission had not been presented; and when the Government accepted the Resolution proposed by himself, which they assented to early in the

Session dealing with this question, they had not then the opportunity of having before them such a declaration as they had had from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that night. He was sure that the Committee were very much indebted to the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) for having afforded the Chancellor of the Exchequer an opportunity of making a declaration that would be hailed with delight by the outside public. It was only because there were one or two points on which he entertained a different opinion from the views which had been expressed by the noble Lord who had just sat down (Lord Randolph Churchill) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he rose now for the purpose of taking part in the debate. He agreed that the question before them was a very large one, and that it would become an increasingly important one unless Parliament was prepared to face it at once. It was not a question of entirely stopping public pensions; but he was of opinion that they would do little to check the enormous increase unless they adopted the proposal which was made to Parliament more than 50 years ago by Joseph Hume that no man who was in the service of the State should be entitled to a pension unless he was injured in the service of the State in such a manner as to incapacitate him hopelessly from future service. Looking at the way in which this Vote had grown, he did not see the probability of its being checked in its growth unless some radical proposition of that kind were adopted. He did not quite agree with the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) that the people outside had the interest he seemed to think they had in preventing clerks in the Civil Service in obtaining those pensions. He quite agreed that they were very much interested in the discussion of the pension question, and that they were particular pensions which had decidedly attracted their attention. Upon many kinds of pensions there was distinctly a pronounced opinion. But the great difficulty financial reformers had to contend with was the mass of pensions which made up the huge totals of the Vote which the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton had drawn attention to. Many of these pensions were not attacked outside, and hon. Members would not be supported in reducing them. The great bulk of the smaller pensions, no doubt, a number of people thought they were interested in supporting; and if they were abolished there might be a certain amount of strong pressure brought to bear upon future Parliaments in their favour. The noble Lord, anticipating that part of the difficulty, said that it might be necessary to propose some disfranchisement of the Civil Service; but he (Mr. Bradlaugh) was of opinion that that was an improbable proposition.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that he had expressed no opinion either for or against the granting of the particular pensions in question.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he was quite sure that the noble Lord had given the Committee the advantage of his views. He had brought before them a proposition that he was prepared rather to support than to oppose. He thought, however, that the disfranchisement of the Civil servants was an impossible proposition—the feeling of the age was not to disfranchise, and it would be exceptionally difficult for any Government to make such a proposal, nor did he agree that future Parliaments were likely to be more economical than the present. He must avow that he viewed with great apprehension a possibility of exactly an opposite state of things prevailing. He believed that the more they extended the franchise the greater would be the demands in the direction of expenditure to be made by the Government of the day, especially in making provision for people who were supposed to be old, incapacitated by ill-health, or who had any other claim upon the compassion of the State directly or indirectly. He thought that during the last three or four years the country owed a debt of gratitude to the noble Lord for the effort he had made to cut down the Public Expenditure. He did not think it would be right to enter into a general discussion on the whole question of pensions upon this Vote, and his only desire in taking part in the debate had been to put those two matters before the Committee, so that they should not be allowed to pass unchallenged.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he thought that the declarations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if enforced, might lead to

something. The Returns of the names of gentlemen pensioned under 50 years of age contained some startling cases. He found in this present year, on the 24th of July, an official at the Board of Trade retiring on the ground of "re-organization" on a pension of £266 13*s.* 4*d.* at the age of 48. There were similar cases in the Education Department and in the Royal Irish Constabulary. The Returns abounded with such cases as he had referred to. Clerks in the Law Courts had been pensioned off on the carrying out of re-organization schemes. A good deal had been heard about redundant clerks, who surely might serve the State in some other posts. If Parliament had been as vigilant as it ought to be, it would not have been possible to pass in 1887 an Act which should be condemned by a Royal Commission in 1888.

THE SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought the hon. Member was mistaken in stating that the Act of 1887 had been condemned by the Royal Commission.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that if the hon. Gentleman would refer to the 99th paragraph of the Report of the Royal Commission, he would find that it was condemned in the strongest and most emphatic terms. He had given Notice of his intention to move an Amendment in the case of the pension to Mr. Clifford Lloyd; but he would not interrupt the general discussion by moving it so as to confine the discussion itself to the case of Mr. Lloyd. He thought they had got rid of Mr. Clifford Lloyd on very cheap terms, and he had not the smallest desire to argue the merits of that case in a personal sense. A very much larger question was now raised, and it would be much better to confine the discussion to that general question. His complaint was not that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been given a pension of £300 odd per annum, but that the medical certificate awarded to that gentleman in 1885 had not been taken up till 1888. As that gentleman had been employed in the Public Service in the interim, he thought the certificate ought to have been reconsidered. The Secretary to the Treasury had told them that the pension was not awarded in 1885, but that the medical certificate on which the pension was given was granted in 1885, and the pension was not awarded until 1888. He certainly desired to have some explanation of the manner in which the pension had been awarded. His own opinion was that no great abuse could ensue from suspending a pension awarded in one year where there was subsequent employment. But it would appear that Mr. Clifford Lloyd obtained a certificate in 1885, but went conveniently afterwards into other employment. He was informed that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had himself given an account of the case, in which he made himself out to have been very much aggrieved. At the time the certificate was granted Mr. Clifford Lloyd was out of Ireland; and the Secretary to the Treasury, being sounded upon the matter, agreed to a small pension, upon which Mr. Clifford Lloyd refused. He gathered from the account which was given of the case that at the time Mr. Lloyd made an application for a pension he was not resident in Ireland, but was, he (Sir George Campbell) fancied, in Egypt. He therefore wished to know what the date was when the pension was agreed to? Mr. Clifford Lloyd went to Egypt first, but having made it too hot for himself there he was sent to the Mauritius, where, again, he made the place too hot for him, and was then offered other employment elsewhere. He was alarmed at the extraordinary way in which medical certificates had been dealt with in this case; and he therefore hoped that further explanations would be given as to the employment of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, the way in which medical certificates were given, and the award of a pension.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) said, that, as a Member of the Royal Commission whose Reports they had been discussing, he should like to endorse what had been said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the effects of Parliamentary pressure upon appointments to the Civil Service, and the grant of pensions. He did not think there existed a difficulty to which the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) had referred. It was not so much the pressure in Parliament as the subtle influence which was brought to bear upon Parliamentary Chiefs by Members of the House on behalf of their particular constituents. A

complaint was constantly made that one of the greatest evils in connection with the Civil Service was the difficulty in which the Heads of Departments were placed by the constant Parliamentary pressure brought to bear by Members in favour of their constituents. He was bound to say that there was another difficulty which had struck him forcibly —that was the difficulty of getting rid of incapable and inefficient servants. He had been struck by the fact that too many of the Heads of the Departments did not treat the Public Service as if it were a matter in which they were bound to take much interest, nor did they act with the firmness they would exhibit in private business. On the contrary, they showed too much tender-heartedness, and did not regard the public money as they would private money. There was one other point in connection with this question of pensions which he desired to mention, and it was one which he thought the Committee ought to bear in mind. It was abundantly proved before the Royal Commission that those pensions were granted not merely for the purpose of making up deficient salary, but by paying an addition to very good salaries indeed. The evidence was overwhelming that the salaries paid in the Public Departments of the State were, if anything, as a rule a little higher than would be paid for corresponding work in connection with private firms. He would give an illustration of this. The Commissioners had the Chairman of the late Playfair Commission before them, and they went carefully into the question of how far the salaries fixed represented the salaries for corresponding work paid by private firms. It was found that six-hour clerks were drawing the salaries recommended for seven-hour clerks, and that seven-hour clerks were being more highly paid than it was intended they should be. So much, therefore, for the fact that these pensions were actually in addition to very large salaries received. He now came to the point on which so great stress had been laid by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill)—namely, that it was perfectly possible for the Treasury, without coming to Parliament, by their own Regulations, to make very great changes immediately. One of the conditions on which a pension was granted was that the recipient should have devoted his whole time to the Public Service. That was drawn up by the Treasury itself; but never since then had the Treasury attempted to define what was meant by whole time. The answers of his hon. Friend the Member for Wigton (Sir Herbert Maxwell) before the Commission were to the effect that it meant the whole working day, and then, again, that it was a very difficult question to answer. It was also stated, in reply to Question 14,863, that there was a definition that the person should not belong to any trade, occupation, or employment; and in reply to a further Question the witness stated that he thought that was the only definition of the rule. The reply to another Question was—

> "I am afraid there is considerable laxity, at any rate irregularity. Persons in humble grades of life are not entitled to pensions unless they give their whole time to the Public Service. A postmaster in the country, if he kept a shop, did not give his whole time to the post office, and does not earn a pension: but in the higher grades there are men who do not give their whole time to the Public Service, and if they are pulled up for it they say they do the work when taking a holiday."

The effect of there being no definition of "whole time" was that men were held to have given their whole time to the Public Service who had yet made additions to their incomes in connection with Banks and Insurance Companies. The same rule ought to be applied to the higher and the lower branches of the Service. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would make careful inquiry into the subject; and he thought the House had a right to insist that these pensions should not be given to public servants who had not strictly carried out the conditions upon which pensions by the existing Regulations had to be given. He would like to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any attempt had been made to define the words "whole time?" The Rule had been laid down that the whole time of a public servant should be given, and that he should not engage in any trade or in public Companies. Perhaps the most scandalous violation of this Rule had occurred in the Treasury itself with reference to the Office of Solicitor. It was the Treasury that should set an example in a matter of this kind, and he said that where they had a Rule

broken by the Treasury it would be found that there were other Departments doing likewise. Again, how far were the Treasury going to carry out in the future the recommendations of the Royal Commission, particularly with reference to the number of working hours which public servants gave to their work? If a certain number of hours were a necessary qualification for a pension, the Treasury should see that this Rule was carried out in the most literal sense of the word. But he was afraid that the recommendations of the Commission had not been carried out, or, at any rate, had been applied to the Lower Divisions and not to men of the Higher Divisions, who were getting larger salaries. He had been told that the Admiralty was one of the first Offices to undertake to carry out the recommendation of the Commission with regard to the attendance book. This recommendation was that every man, high or low, should be bound to come at a definite hour in the morning, and leave at a definite hour in the evening, and that he should state in a book, not only the hour of entrance, but also the hour at which he left. As he had said, the Admiralty was one of the first Offices to undertake to carry out the recommendation; but he was told that this stringent Rule was only applied to the Lower Division clerks. The Lower Division clerks at the Admiralty were forced to sign, not only their names, but to give the hour of their entrance and of their leaving, while the Higher Division clerks were only required to sign their names. That was certainly not carrying out the recommendation of the Commission. Then another Rule of the Public Service was that every public servant should be certified to have served with diligence and fidelity. But he had been surprised to have evidence come before him on Commission that with regard to one class of public servants drawing very large pensions—namely, the Royal Irish Constabulary, no evidence whatever existed that this Rule had ever been carried out by the Treasury.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton): I said the certificate did not come before the Treasury, but that the Lord Lieutenant, before application was made to the Treasury for pension, satisfied himself that the officer had fulfilled his duty faithfully.

MR. HANBURY said, he could not do better than read the answer to Quession 14,508, which was to the effect that, as a rule, the certificate of diligence and fidelity came before the Treasury, and that the pension was awarded on consideration of that certificate; in some cases it was modified; but in the case of the Royal Irish Constabulary no certificate came before the Treasury. And the hon. Gentleman went on to say that he felt it was very unsatisfactory to award pensions without the Treasury having some knowledge of the character of the men to whom they were given. He (Mr. Hanbury) was of that opinion also. He said the Treasury ought to be able to test the certificate of everyone applying for a pension. The main fault in the Act, which was smuggled through the House in 1887, was that power was given to the Treasury to grant pensions in some cases, not because men had served the public faithfully, but because they were so inefficient that they could not be kept in the Public Service, and the Treasury wanted to get rid of them. He believed that one of the first measures of the House next Session would be to do away with that Act. Again, he thought the Treasury might exercise a good deal more discretion in granting these pensions than they did. The Act said, "It shall be lawful," but the action of the Treasury had been to grant pensions in every case that came before them. But one of the most serious aspects of the question of pensions was in connection with those given on the abolition of Offices, and that was a matter which the Treasury could, to a large extent, deal with at the present moment. Why was it that pensions were given on the abolition of Offices? He supposed it was because no work could be found for the officials elsewhere in the Public Service. But whose fault was that? He should have supposed that it was the duty of the Treasury to lay down such uniform Regulations for all Departments of the Public Service with regard to sick leave, holidays, &c., that the days of service should be practically the same in all Public Departments; but the Treasury had never done anything of the kind, and owing to that defect the Public Departments were at variance one with another on all those points, the

result being that it was impossible to transfer a man from one Department to another. They had had in evidence, over and over again, that, so far as work was considered, it would have been possible to effect a transfer, but that owing to the difference of Regulations it had been absolutely impossible, and so the Treasury had been obliged to give these monstrous abolition terms. Then the Treasury did not go behind the doctors' certificates, and in that respect they differed from the practice at the Colonial Office, which was one of the best regulated Departments of the Service in those matters. That Office required the certificate of a medical practitioner, and it also required that the certificate should be endorsed by a doctor of its own. It was a scandalous fact that a man might get a certificate from his own brother, who would naturally be interested in his getting a large pension. He contended that unless they went behind a certificate of that kind the pension might be given wrongly. The Committee should recollect that these certificates were only given on the belief of the doctor that the man was permanently incapacitated for work. The Treasury had perfect power to re-test the man's incapacity, and to inquire at any moment whether a public servant who six years ago was certified to be incapacitated was still in the same condition. He would like to know how far that power had been exercised? He did not believe that that had ever been done. The Treasury had also power to recommend a public servant incapacitated for one kind of work for work which he could do. He would like to know how often that had been done? As a Member of the Commission, he would like to see the most rigid Rules applied to the Public Service, and he did so for two reasons. In the first place, because he thought the more rigid the Rule, the more the good man in the Service would be benefited by promotion, and the more the bad man would be kept back. He believed that the State was never served better than it was by those in the Lower Division, whom they were now getting rid of.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he was glad that the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) had brought forward the advantage of public servants giving their whole time to the Service. He had always felt that that was the cause of the greatest unfairness in the Public Service. He thought he might say that the General Post Office was the only Public Department which was conducted on strictly business principles; it was the only Public Office in which the officials did give the whole of their time to the work on which they were employed. And he supposed that that was due to the fact that the work had to be done day by day, and that there could be no accumulation of arrears as in other Departments. The Admiralty was probably one of the most mismanaged Departments in the country; and he thought he was right in saying that there was more idleness among the persons employed there than in any other Department of the State. At the Admiralty, as was well known, the highest officials practically did as they liked with regard to their time of attendance. He did not wish to give examples, but the names and times of public servants had been given to him by those in whom he had the utmost confidence. He did not want to make them the subject of public talk, but he would say that amongst the highest officials the attention given to the work of their Department was simply disgraceful.

The CHAIRMAN said, that that question was not immediately connected with the subject of the Vote. One condition as to pensions undoubtedly was that the person receiving a pension should devote his whole time to the Public Service. It would be quite in Order to bring forward a particular instance where this Rule had not been observed; but the hon. and learned Gentleman was entering upon the whole question of general management.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he had calculated that the Official Referees attended 120 days on an average, and if they attended for five minutes it was counted as a whole day. There was another matter, under the head of "Resident Magistrates," to which he wanted to refer. They had a number of Resident Magistrates who received pensions; but why they should receive those pensions he did not think even the Secretary to the Treasury could explain. The Resident Magistrates were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; they were removable at a moment's notice; there

was no stability in their appointment; they were not required to have any professional knowledge whatever; and, certainly, they had no legal knowledge. They were men who, as a rule, obtained their position simply through family influence, and it would be found that the brothers and nephews of noble Lords and Judges figured very largely on the list. But those men were appointed for special work, which might last for only three or six months; as he had said, they were not professional men, but were mostly retired military officers. When the subject was under discussion, he had drawn attention to the official characters of these men, and he had shown that one man had been appointed who had never been in Ireland in his life.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman were improperly applied to the present Vote, which dealt only with the pensions of these Magistrates.

MR. MOLLOY said, he wanted to show why those magistrates should not have pensions.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the objection taken by the hon. and learned Gentleman was not relevant.

MR. MOLLOY said, he, of course, bowed to the decision of the Chairman; but he had here an objection that was most relevant. Mr. Warren had served 10 years—it might have been 10 months—and yet he received a pension of £160 a-year. He asked the Secretary to the Treasury upon what ground he could justify the payment of a pension to a man who had only served 10 years? That gentleman had been withdrawn on the score of age. One of these magistrates had been appointed at the age of 60, so it appeared that a man, after devoting the whole of his life to other work, could, through family influence, after 10 years' service obtain a pension of £160. He did not wish to move the reduction of the Vote; but he certainly should do so unless the Committee received some satisfactory justification for the grant of this pension to a man who had only served 10 years, and then retired on the ground of age. Then there was another gentleman, Mr. Starkie, who retired at 32 years' service. They had been informed that those Resident Magistrates got 10 years added to their service in order that they might be given pensions. He did not know that that was done in any other Department of the Public Service. He had always understood that service was counted from the date of entering into the Service up to the date of leaving it. And he asked what was the age of the gentleman referred to who had retired on account of old age after 10 years' service, and if that was actual service, or was it based upon the additional 10 years?

MR. JACKSON said, the explanation was very simple. Such a man was entitled, after he had served 10 years as Resident Magistrate, to a pension, and he was not entitled to it unless he had served that time. The case came under the Act of Parliament providing pensions for public servants whose duties were professional. The principle on which the pensions were calculated might be good or it might be bad; but the Committee recommended its abolition, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided that effect should be given to the recommendation. The Treasury, as a Department, could only follow the Statute.

MR. MOLLOY said, the hon. Gentleman had not told the Committee what was the age of the gentleman in question on entering the Service.

MR. JACKSON said, it was quite impossible for him to carry in his mind the age of every individual on the Estimates. He would now endeavour to reply to several questions of importance which had been raised by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury). With regard to his remarks as to the distinction at the Admiralty made between the clerks of the Higher and Lower Divisions, in reference to the attendance book, he might say that some Representative of that Department would probably reply on that subject. The hon. Gentleman had spoken of there being no Report made to the Treasury of the diligence and fidelity of members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in cases where pensions were granted. But that, again, was according to Act of Parliament; and the Treasury, although his hon. Friend had said he would be more satisfied if the information were given, had no power to act otherwise than they did in this matter. The hon. Gentleman seemed to be under the impression that the Treasury always granted the full amount of pension; but he could

assure the Committee that this was not the case. There were many instances of the Treasury reducing the amount of pension in cases where the certificates were not everything which they had a right to expect. In no case did they grant the full amount, except first on a complete certificate with regard to fidelity; and, secondly, on a medical certificate that the officer was no longer able to discharge the duties of his office. The hon. Gentleman had said that the Treasury had laid down no rule to define what was "whole time."

MR. HANBURY: I said the Treasury had laid down a Regulation that no one should be qualified for a pension who did not give his whole time to the service of the State, but had never attempted to define what "whole time" was.

MR. JACKSON said, that was exactly what he meant to convey. It was extremely difficult to define what "whole time" was; it would be difficult to say that a man did not give his whole time to the State if he earned money after office hours. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer had the other day pointed out, a man might possibly write for some of the periodicals and derive an income therefrom. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman would go so far as to say that in such a case a man would not be giving his whole time.

MR. HANBURY: I said that the Treasury had laid down this regulation as to whole time, and had attempted to define it as referring to engaging in trade; but they have not held to that, because they have allowed public servants to take part as directors of public Companies.

MR. JACKSON said, he was aware that there had been in the past sanctions given to Civil servants taking positions which might, perhaps, be properly described as connected with the operations of trade; but he was not aware of any case for which the present Government was responsible, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated to the House a few days ago that he proposed to frame and issue some General Order agreeable to all parties to give effect to the wishes of the Committee. The hon. Member had said that the Commission had condemned the Act of Parliament passed last year, which he spoke of as having been smuggled through Parliament, and as having given a power which was calculated to add very considerably to the Pension List. In the first place, he must deny that the Act was, in any sense, smuggled through Parliament; and, in the second place, he claimed for it that it really limited and defined certain powers exercised by the Treasury prior to that time, but exercised, he was bound to say, outside the limits of the law. The Treasury desired to be armed against the constant applications made, and came to the House of Commons to sanction the Bill, undertaking, at the same time, to keep strictly within the limits of the Act. He believed the Treasury had done this; but he was quite aware that in some respects it was absolutely necessary that there should have been power of extension to meet the justice of certain cases that came forward. There were constantly coming before the Treasury cases of extreme hardship, where men had served the State well who were not entitled to pensions, and with regard to whom there was no legal power to give a gratuity on retirement. He believed that, in the limited extent to which the Act had been applied, it had been of the greatest service to individuals, and in no case had it been applied where, he believed, its application would not have received the sanction of the House. With regard to the granting of retiring allowances to persons incapable of discharging their duties, he pointed out that it was provided in Sub-section 2 that in every instance the Treasury should set forth the amount of the allowance, the reasons for granting it, and that it should be laid before Parliament. The Treasury certainly thought that by this means they had carefully guarded the interest of the State, and he would add that the Act was founded upon evidence given from time to time before the Public Accounts Committee, and was intended to give the Comptroller and Auditor General a much stricter control of grants under statutory powers than he before possessed. Having, as he trusted, satisfactorily answered the various questions put by the Committee, he hoped the Vote would now be allowed to be taken.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) had stated that the

power of the Government in this matter of pensions was permissive and not compulsory; yet it appeared to him that the Government always argued that the granting of pensions was a matter of absolute compulsion. Now, if the hon. Member for Preston were right in his statement, he (Mr. Handel Cossham) thought they ought to hold the Government responsible for all pensions given on unsound principles. The result of the discussion had convinced him that the Government would be very much assisted in protecting the National Purse if a Committee of the House were constituted to consider all cases of pension before they went before the Treasury. The Government by this means would have the advantage of the assistance of a number of Gentlemen who would review each case, and give the Government the benefit of their examination, the effect of which would be to save the public purse, and bring the House into harmony with the arrangement that might be made. Such a Committee, he believed, the Government would do well to appoint, if they were anxious to protect the State and put an end to such gross scandals as had been brought forward that evening. Again, he thought it had been shown that the salaries in the Service were very much higher than those given in private establishments; indeed, he was surprised and shocked at the lavish nature of the expenditure in the Public Departments. Pensions were granted too readily, and he contended that those given upon medical certificates required to be carefully reviewed. If it were proved that a certificate of incapacity had been given in mistake—that was to say, if a man believed to be permanently incapacitated was restored to health—he could not see why the State should not rectify the mistake made in granting a pension under the circumstances. He thought that in the case of men receiving pensions on medical certificates, those certificates ought to be renewed annually. He had himself given pensions to men under the belief that they were incapacitated, but had withdrawn them on proof that they had been restored to health, and he thought the State should act in the same way. He wanted this discussion, which had been very useful, to have a practical result, and his view was, first, that a Committee of the House should be appointed to assist the Government in this difficult matter of pensions; and, secondly, that pensions granted on medical certificates should be subject to review as long as they were drawn. He believed that an arrangement of that kind would effect a considerable saving to the State.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, he wished to impress on the Treasury the great importance of the point referred to by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury)—namely, that a man receiving a pension should not continue to have the pension for life if he got well again, and could go back to the Public Service. He had been in the Public Service, and knew men who had received pensions, and afterwards recovered their health, and who were quite fit to continue their work. He also thought 60 too early an age at which men should be able to procure pensions, although the Treasury ought to have power to get rid of men at that age. Men at the age of 60 were generally in the prime of their official work, and a pension given then for doing nothing when they were able to perform their duties was a most extravagant arrangement for the State.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, he had always observed in that House that not much was done by fixing attention upon particular cases; but they had that night launched into a general discussion of the whole question of pensions, and he believed that some good would result. The Civil Servants of the State had now become an enormous and powerful army, and it was essential that Parliament should now review its relations towards that Body. Accordingly, he thought that the whole policy of granting pensions must come up for discussion before the House again and again. He was disposed to agree with the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) that there was a great deal to be said in favour of the abolition of pensions; but, at any rate, it was essential, if they were granted, that strict and constant regard should be had to the salaries paid. He was afraid that investigation would prove that pensions were really given in addition to, and not in supplement of, the fair market value of the salaries paid. He asked whether it was not true that the applications for admission to the

Civil Service were overwhelmingly in excess of those who were able to get employment; because, if that were so, it showed that the Service was really overpaid, and he did not think it wholesome that the rising generation should be brought up to look for State employment and pensions—if the State had to bear the cost of popular education it ought to receive some benefit from it. The effect of education was to qualify an infinitely larger number of the youth of the country for positions in the Civil Service; although he would wish to deal liberally with the Public Service, there was an obligation resting on the House of Commons not to throw money to one portion of the community which it took out of the pockets of the community at large. Another aspect of the case was that, in his opinion, the effect of the present system upon the minds of those in the Civil Service who enjoyed pensions, and their immediate relatives and dependents, was injurious—inasmuch as it led them to take up a position of a separate caste in the country and look on all public questions from a point of view of their own. He believed that pressure would come in favour of the principle that, while every public servant should have full and fair remuneration for his service, the State should exact from him complete fulfilment of the duties for which it paid; and, on the other hand, leave the duty of providing for the future to the individual himself. He did not believe that any industrial houses could carry on their business on such a plan as the State now followed. He was aware that the system of pensions was a means by which persons—whom it was impossible to continue in the State's service, because they were incompetent, negligent, or indifferent — were got rid of, but it was a most unsatisfactory plan, and he contended that there ought to be the will and power at the head of a Public Department to deal with incompetency as it would be dealt with in any trading establishment. The noble Lord said that the House of Commons had already shown a much keener interest in questions of public economy generally, and in this question of pensions particularly, and he did not agree with the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton, that future Parliaments would not support the Government in a more rigid action with regard to pensions; on the contrary, his belief was that the House of Commons would demand, at the hands of the Government, a vastly increased economy in the expenditure of public money under this head. For his own part, he would be willing to associate himself with other hon. Members in assisting the Treasury in protecting themselves from the onslaughts made upon them. He did not think the Treasury need be afraid of hon. Gentlemen who sat for Parliamentary constituencies in various parts of the country; he had observed that Members, having close relations with the Dockyards of the country, often pleaded on behalf of their own constituents, and there was no harm in bringing cases of agrieved persons before the House, but surely the House was always considerate enough, and had always proved itself willing enough, to assist the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasury, when they showed in the case of such applications that they had done everything which justice demanded. Of course, he said nothing as to other influences which the Treasury had to withstand, but whenever they made an appeal to the House under such circumstances as he had described, he was convinced that an overwhelming majority of the House would always stand by the Members of the Government, who were the special guardians of the public purse, in taking up any line which they might consider right.

MR. JACKSON said, he must apologize for not having answered the question of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) as to the case of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. The hon. Gentleman, he was sure, was under a complete misapprehension of the facts, or he would not have applied to that case the word "job." He could assure the hon. Gentleman and the Committee that in dealing with this pension the Treasury had exercised the greatest care, and Mr. Clifford Lloyd had received no more and no less than he would have been entitled to if he had been anyone else. The rule had been strictly and literally adhered to, and the statement which appeared in *The Times*, to the effect that the Treasury had promised to grant a special pension, must have been made under an entire misapprehension of the facts. The Treasury had simply awarded

the pension which the length of service in the office entitled them to grant to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who received no more than he was entitled to by his service. The hon. Member had asked him whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd was in any other Service. The certificate was granted in 1885. When Mr. Clifford Lloyd retired from his position as Resident Magistrate, or whatever his position was, in Ireland he was offered and accepted a Colonial appointment, and so long as he continued to draw the salary of that appointment he was not entitled to draw his pension, so that from this period till nearly the end of 1887, when he ceased to draw a salary from his Colonial appointment, he was not entitled to draw his pension. At the end of that time, when the question was decided by the Treasury, as he had before stated, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was not granted more than his service and office entitled him to receive.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he did not suggest that there was a "job" other than a white job. He wanted to know what had become of the medical certificate—what had become of it between 1885 and 1888? When, in 1888, the pension was granted, was there an inquiry made as to this gentleman's health, or was the pension granted on the certificate of 1885?

MR. JACKSON said, that the medical certificate was given in 1885, and he thought it would answer the hon. Member if he told him that the Colonial Office satisfied itself that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was unable to continue his appointment in consequence of ill-health.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, it was pretty clear from what he had read in the newspapers that the Treasury did not think they ought to give Mr. Clifford Lloyd a pension. They had given him a certain amount of money, and now he was asking for more. He thought it would strengthen the hands of the Government if, when the time came, a reduction was moved. On the general question he was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) say that the Liberal Party were as guilty as the Conservatives in the matter of expenditure. If the right hon. Gentleman had said "Liberal Ministers" his statement would have been true, but all Members of the Liberal Party did not accept responsibility for the acts of former Liberal Administrators. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton had declared himself an ardent economist, and though he had gone up to a higher place he still maintained his protest against expenditure of the kind under discussion; and, so far as he (Mr. Labouchere) was concerned, he was sure he had divided the Committee quite as much against Liberal Governments as against Conservative Governments on these matters. As to these pensions, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out that it would be an undesirable thing to see gentlemen who had long served their country begging their bread in the streets after the age of 70. The right hon. Gentleman had said the country would not stand it. Well, he (Mr. Labouchere) did not think the country would stand it, but what he thought was, that they gave a great deal too much to certain persons. He should like to see an allowance given, so that a man should not be absolutely begging his bread. If a man who had been in the Public Service had not put by any money and really required a pension, he would give him, say, £2 a-week, and that was the largest amount he would give to any species of official, whether Lord Chancellor or Prime Minister. They paid these officials large salaries, and he protested against paying them large pensions simply because they chose to spend the whole of their salaries instead of putting a little money by. He would require these officials, before he gave them pensions, to sue *in formâ pauperis*. On looking at the Pension List he found that while they gave large pensions to high officials, there were some people of a humbler class to whom they were giving only £15, £16, and £17 a-year, which was considered quite sufficient to keep them. What happened in regard to these pensions? It was true that the Act of Parliament was kept up, but it was kept up in the letter and not in the spirit. They could give a man a pension after the age of 60 years if he had served 10 years, but it was never intended that offices should be given to men after they were 65 years old—men who, according to the letter of the Act, would be qualified at once

for a pension. A case had occurred the other day—that of Mr. Maconochie—who was appointed a County Court Judge by the Lord Chancellor at the age of 65 years. According to age, such a man was already qualified for a pension, and, if he had been in the Service 10 years, could leave on the plea that he was too old to continue. Mr. Maconochie, he supposed, would hang over 10 years, or until he was 75, and would then come sponging on the Government for a pension. This, he contended, was an abuse of the Treasury Rules, and it was never intended that a man should be appointed to an office at the age of 65 in order that he might go pottering on until he reached 75. With regard to the abolition of Offices, he protested against organizations taking place, and men being required to leave the Service with a pension, because he believed that, whatever abolition it might be desirable to make, they could always find employment of a light character for the individuals abolished without a job. He always himself trembled when he heard the word "organization" for the sake of economy, because he knew by pretty long experience what it meant. He found, on looking through the Estimates, that this year, in the Convict Establishments, a schoolmaster of 37 years of age, after nine years' service, had received a pension of £26 on the abolition of his office. Did anyone mean to tell him that this schoolmaster could not have been provided with some work something like schoolmastering, instead of a pension being given to him for doing nothing? Under the Irish Estimates he found three warders, respectively of the ages of 50, 49, and 52, who were now receiving pensions of £60 per annum on account of abolition of office. He should have thought that the very last person who would have been abolished, and for whom employment could have been found in Ireland at the present time, were warders in prisons. Why, the stock of prisoners in Ireland was being kept up at an abnormally high rate by the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary. But it was absurd to say that these pensions were given because there were too many warders. The fact was that there was some cousin or second cousin of a Castle official for whom it was necessary to provide a pension. In regard to ill-health, there could be no doubt in the world that it was impossible to get the truth from a doctor. It was impossible to get a fair opinion from one's family doctor as to the condition of one's health. He (Mr. Labouchere) would tell the Government what he did when he wanted to find out about his health, and they might probably think it desirable to follow his example. He went into an Insurance Office, and said—"I want to be insured for £20,000;" and then, if he was warranted all right by the Company's doctor who represented the other side, he knew he was sound in wind and limb, at least for a little time. So far as the family doctor was concerned, when appealed to by a patient as to his health, he did not, as a rule, care about telling the man that there was something wrong with his heart, or that he had a cancer, but allowed him to go on for a time living in a fool's paradise. He would undertake, if the Government would promise to give him a pension, to get a certificate from an insurance doctor declaring him to be sound in wind and limb, and at the same time to procure three certificates from private doctors declaring him to be totally unfit to discharge any duty. There was no reason why these Civil servants, seeing that they did less work than most other people, should be more unhealthy than others. This whole system of ill-health was a system of humbug.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, he could bear testimony as to what had been said outside the House to the constituencies on this subject, for he could assure the Government that there was very keen interest in this question amongst the public. He differed from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in saying that it was so common a thing for people connected with private firms to give pensions to old servants. He (Mr. Esslemont) had had a good deal of experience in private business; but he had not found that this system prevailed there to a very large extent. He had found, however, that wherever a pension could be got on the broad basis of taxation, those who administered the taxes were generally more willing to give their servants pensions when the sums required were collected from the ordinary taxpayer. And in all the great Public Companies, and also in the Municipalities of the country,

it was the standard of the Government that was taken as an excuse in this matter of pensions. It was said that public servants in the employment got pensions, and upon that basis they themselves acted. But his purpose in rising was more particularly to call the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury for one moment to page 409 of the Estimates. They found there a very modest amount of superannuation and retiring allowances in regard to the Scotch Votes; but amongst the items they found that warders had allowance with superannuation at the ages of 40, 48, 47, 37, 39, 51, 50, and 56, the very oldest on the list being 67. Now, it appeared to him that either of two things must happen in connection with these people — either these Scotch warders must be men of poor health, or their employment must be unhealthy employment, because the proportion of young men retired from ill-health was certainly very much above the average in any ordinary employment outside the Government Service. Perhaps there was sufficient excuse for the Vote; but he thought the matter was of sufficient importance to entitle him to call the attention of the Government to it, because if the employment of these warders was so unhealthy that a great number of them retired at 40 and 50 years of age, the subject was one in regard to which something should be done at once. So far as he could see, there was nothing in the employment of a warder that could be destructive to his health. He should think, indeed, that the occupation was one which a healthy man could be employed at for a very long time. He would also call the attention of the Treasury to page 490, giving an abstract of superannuation and retired allowances in Public Offices in Scotland. They had an Examiner and other officers, £650; Lunacy Commissioners, £256; the Registrar General's Office, £248; and the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor, £233. Then there was the Lord Advocate and Criminal Proceedings, £283. They had no account whatever as to what this money was paid for, and upon what condition the allowances were given. He submitted that these superannuations, which might be perfectly right in themselves, ought to be detailed in such a form that they could be criticized, and, if necessary, complaint could be made to the Committee with regard to them. There was the large sum of £5,630 for the Universities, as to which he saw no details whatever. Also, with regard to Prisons, an item of £2,027 was put down without adequate detail, as well as a sum for Courts of Law and Justice. It might be his inexperience which made this appear somewhat extraordinary; but, at any rate, he had not been able to find the details to which he referred in the Estimates. He submitted to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he was sure, was always willing to give perfect details, and was always ready to put the accounts in the form in which they ought to appear, that it was desirable that his attention should be given to these facts. No doubt, whatever was wrong, the right hon. Gentleman would take steps to remedy it.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he was glad that the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Esslemont) had drawn attention to the case of these warders. The matter had been brought to his (Mr. Conybeare's) attention, and he was anxious to ask the Government for some information upon the point. He thought, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in the mood to give undertakings and pledges in the future, that he could not do better than to give them some assurance—not merely an explanation, but an assurance—that these things would be better arranged for in the future. As to the discussion which had taken place with regard to the proposals of the Government for the future carrying out of the recommendations of the Commissioners, to which reference had been made that evening, he sincerely hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give his whole time and attention to the consideration of that important question. He (Mr. Conybeare) should be inclined to regard the pledges the right hon. Gentleman had given to the House that evening on this subject as satisfactory if the right hon. Gentleman would stand to them better than he had been in the habit of standing to his pledges on other matters. Something had been said in the course of this discussion as to the professional qualifications of Irish Resident Magistrates. He

did not know what professional qualifications they might be supposed to possess which would entitle them to the excessive pay which had been described this evening. Some hon. Members seemed to think that they possessed no professional qualification whatever. He was not, however, disposed to take that view, because, to judge from the action of these Gentlemen—

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member was not present when I checked another hon. Member from entering upon that question.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he was afraid he was out of the House at that moment; but, at any rate, he did not think that the right hon. Gentleman had ruled the discussion of this point to be out of Order. Speaking on the question of organization, he (Mr. Conybeare) might say that he hoped when the Government were taking the matter seriously in hand they would deal out the same measure of justice to all classes of Civil servants. He referred particularly to the great difference which existed between the manner in which the humble classes of servants were treated, and the treatment accorded to Civil servants belonging to the upper grades. He was afraid if he were to go into particulars—for instance, into the question of Dockyard men, he should find himself again trespassing on ground outside the scope of this Vote; but, as the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) had referred to Dockyard men, he hoped he might be allowed to say in their interest, without going into details, that there was very grave reason for dissatisfaction with the manner in which they were treated. In the case of the higher officials in the Dockyards, not only were they served with notices that their services were to be dispensed with, but they received pensions when they left the Service, and he thought the same kind of treatment should be meted out to Dockyard servants generally. The same rule applied to other persons in various other branches of the Civil Service, and had even applied, he believed, to the Army and Navy. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a spirit which no doubt all Members of the Committee would re-echo, said they would not desire to see men who had served their country well for a number of years begging their way in the streets, or begging at the door of the House of Commons for the means to live. But if the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to see that in the case of men who had been in receipt for many years of large salaries, why should they allow their worn-out soldiers to drag out the declining years of their lives, as constantly was the case not only in the Dockyards, but actually begging their way in the streets? The principle he would insist upon was that the same method of treatment should be dealt out to the humblest as well as to the highest officers of the State or the Civil servants of the country. If the country provided sufficient means to enable a person to live in the one case it should also be done in the other. He did not think there was anything more discreditable to a rich country like this than that which we constantly see in our streets—namely, a Waterloo veteran begging for his bread; or what we constantly heard of—namely, some old veteran worn out in the Service dying in the workhouse. These men deserved more consideration than hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed disposed to give them, and he trusted, when hon. Gentlemen opposite proceeded to reform these matters, they would devote some attention to the points he had raised. He would supplement what had been said by the hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire (Mr. Esslemont) as to the warders. The hon. Member had referred to the warders of Scotland, but he (Mr. Conybeare) would refer the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to page 485 of the Estimates. He was not now anxious to go into the question of pensions given to men in humble positions such as these warders occupied; but it had occurred to him that it was a curious thing that on page 485 they should have a great number of prison officials—warders, chaplains, and scripture readers, and so on—all feeling ill after a term of service of eight, nine, or ten years. Was there anything in the kind of life that these prison officials had to live which accounted for this chronic state of ill-health after so short a service? The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury might answer that these servants were taken on at an advanced age. He did not wish to

throw blame upon the warders themselves for being anxious to be treated as other Government officials were, but he thought the Committee deserved some explanation as to the curious chronic ill-health which seemed to characterize them after so short a period of service. If they looked at page 476—the abstract of this Vote—they would find that a very large number of the items were not dealt with at all in detail. For instance, if they took the item "Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum"—

MR. JACKSON said, he did not wish to interrupt the hon. Gentleman, but the explanation was this—for the purpose of saving printing the details were limited to cases which had been put on the list, and cases which had fallen off the list during the year. The abstract gave the total number of cases on the Pension List; therefore there was a discrepancy. The arrangement which had been adopted was merely for the purpose of convenience, and to save printing year by year an enormous list of pensioners.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he was glad that the hon. Gentleman had given explicit explanation, as it was not now necessary for him (Mr. Conybeare) to go into details, but he was bound to say that it would assist those who were not very old Members of the House if a note were fixed to the items to which attention had been drawn, giving some explanation of the discrepancy. He quite appreciated the motive of the Government in leaving out this, perhaps, redundant information, they being most anxious to save the money of the country in the matter of printing as in other respects. If, on future occasions, notes were affixed to the items to explain them it would be of great convenience. Now, he desired to ask the Government for information, as they did not possess it in the Estimates, upon two or three points. First, as to the Duchy of Cornwall. He saw an item of £4, but they were without information to explain it, and he should like to know what it meant. A little further down he saw an item of £26 for fish dues, &c., which was a very enigmatical item, upon which they were entitled to have a little information. On page 477 there was a sum of £259 connected with the Royal Palaces. There was a strong feeling on that (the Opposition) side of the House that expenditure in connection with Royal Palaces should be paid for by members of the Royal Family, and unless he had some satisfactory explanation as to this item he should feel himself justified in saying a good deal more on the point. There were several other matters about which he should like to say a word or two, but which he would not go into at the present moment. There was, for instance, the Lord Privy Seal's Office £267, and towards the end there were several pensions connected with the Stationery Office and other Departments which ought to be explained, but which he would not press the Government upon just now. He should not have troubled the Government to give information upon these items if he had had any opportunity of ascertaining for himself what the items meant.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, he wished to draw attention to the fact that all the warders whom he had mentioned had retired after nine years' service, and there must be something in that nine years remarkable and extraordinary. He was not at all satisfied that it was a proper thing to economize in the printing of the details of the items of these Votes. If economy were to be effected in this way, there, at any rate, ought to be a printed book accessible giving details to which hon. Members could refer from time to time.

MR. JACKSON said, there was a published list of the persons entitled to pensions published periodically as a Parliamentary Paper and circulated amongst Members of the House. The present arrangement by which these Estimates were printed two years out of three without details was effected after very careful consideration. It had been thought that to present the complete details one year in every three would be quite sufficient to meet the requirements of the case.

MR. CONYBEARE: When was the list last published?

MR. JACKSON said, he thought last year. The hon. Member opposite had asked a question with regard to warders, and there did seem to be a strong case on the face of it, seeing that the warders had apparently retired at the end of nine years. The explanation was this—that the period of service which was counted and charged for on the Estimates was the period of service since the prisons

were taken over by the Government. It did not follow that the warders had retired at the end of nine years' service, for they had been taken over from the Local Authorities by Act of Parliament, which had vested the prisons in the Government. Up to the commencement of this period of nine years the Local Authorities themselves were chargeable with the pensions which had been earned by the prison officials. He thought it was in 1877 that the prisons were taken over—about 10 years ago. Therefore the service which these men had given to the Government and chargeable to the Government could not be more than nine years. As to the question put by the hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare) in regard to each of the cases he had made reference to, there had been no addition in the amount of pension made during the year. He was afraid he could not, without reference, however, give any details. The hon. Member would find all the details in the statement of which he had spoken.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, they had arrived at the point in Committee of Supply when the information put before them on extremely interesting points was, practically speaking, valueless. Everything was done by the Government to try and prevent Members from having before them an exact statement of the case. He could not help feeling rather amused, on taking up this list of superannuation and retired allowances, when they came to the column of age to find what a reluctance there evidently was on the part of certain individuals to have their ages specified. It reminded one of a general Census being taken amongst the female population, when every one of them endeavoured, after having reached a certain period of life, to conceal her age.

MR. JACKSON: Will the hon. Gentleman mention one of these cases?

DR. TANNER said, he would begin at the beginning and go right through the list if the hon. Gentleman liked, although he did not think that would be acceptable to the Committee. Take page 478. They began there with J. O. Atwell, a clerk about whom they knew nothing, except that he was a clerk in the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade. No information of the man's service was given, and the same thing was to be said in the case of the assistant at the British Museum, who was 38 years of age and had given 13 years of his life. Then there was the case of S. W. Reed, whose age was not mentioned.

MR. JACKSON: In cases where no mention is made of the age, it is owing to the fact that the individual is dead.

DR. TANNER said, he did not see why, because an unfortunate individual had happened to have shuffled off this mortal coil, the Committee should have no information as to his period of service and his age. The major portion of these sums, no doubt, were most laudable—as compassionate allowances to deserving men who had served their country faithfully. Everyone should be most anxious to promote such allowances by every means in their power; but he found some of these items which had been presented to the Committee were not sums devoted to minor individuals, but to gentlemen in high positions who had not served very long, and who, whilst in the Service, had drawn a very considerable amount of pay. He should like to ask, for the information of the Committee, in case of a man who had died, whether the sum put down in the Estimate was the total, or merely a form of annual allowance?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been laid down from the Chair that every Member is bound to bring to bear to the work of the House adequate intelligence and study, and it is plain that to speak without even elementary knowledge is to trifle with the Committee.

DR. TANNER: Certainly. Then he would like to ask in connection with this Vote a specific question. All hon. Members could not always command sufficient time to ascertain the details of every subject brought before the House. He would ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether Stand, who was retired for ill-health, and had the sum of £600 attached to his name, received that sum as a total pension or as an annual allowance?

MR. JACKSON: It is an annual allowance.

DR. TANNER said, then he was right. He would pass from that subject to one which more directly interested every Irish Member, and which was of very material importance to the country. The question was, when Amendments of this

kind were put down in columns of figures, whether the sum asked for was to be paid once and for all for services done, or whether it was merely an instalment paid to the Government? Passing from the consideration of the more general subject to which an Irish Member could not be supposed to bring to bear a proper amount of intelligence and knowledge as compared with other Members more cognizant with public affairs, he would draw attention to the superannuation and retired allowances on pages 492, 493, 494, and 495. In the first place, he would like to call attention to the number of retirements under the head of prisons in Ireland, and he would also call attention to the age at which prison officers were retired. When a Member was not possessed of practical knowledge or practical acquaintance with these various items which were presented to the House, when he saw an Estimate like this he could not help being struck with the fact that under the head of "Prisons" there were no less than 48 men retired, the major portion of them at a period of life when it might be expected that they might be perfectly capable of rendering satisfactory service to the State which employed them. He would not now call attention to the large sums which had been granted to these various individuals; but he should certainly like some little explanation from Her Majesty's responsible Minister whose name was connected with the Vote. In Ireland there was a great deal more spent in the support of luxury and in the support of imprisonment under this Estimate than in any other item brought forward for their consideration. He should like to ask for some explanation as to the retired allowances granted to the Professors of the Queen's Colleges. As he happened to be personally acquainted with most of these gentlemen, he would not say much upon the point; but he would draw attention to the fact that no idea was given as to the length of the service of these gentlemen or their age. Mr. Starkey, a Resident Magistrate, had been retired. Well, that gentleman was able to do precisely what he did eight or nine years ago. He lived at Queenstown, but was able to go to Cork and transact whatever business it was necessary to transact there. How came it that that gentleman had been retired on the plea of age, whilst there were other magistrates who were older than him kept in the Service? Personally, he understood why it was that Mr. Starkey had been retired. He was too lenient, and the Government could not get him to enforce the extremely to be reprobated policy which Her Majesty's Government were trying to carry out in Ireland.

MR. JACKSON said, that, so far as he had been able to follow the hon. Member, he had asked for information as to certain officials, and he would point out to him that probably he had overlooked the fact that he had been quoting from simple Memoranda showing those pensions which had fallen, and he would be glad to hear that in regard to those there would be no charge made in the future. As to Mr. Starkey, he would point out that he was retired because he was over 60 years of age.

DR. TANNER: Did he retire of his own free will?

MR. JACKSON: Certainly.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, he referred to the full details as to the Scotch warders, and he found there was no break in the service of the men pensioned at the beginning of the period of nine years.

MR. JACKSON said, that he had explained how it was that the periods of service in the case of warders did not appear longer than nine years. The Government was charged with only a a portion of the pension due to these men—namely, that which had occurred since the prisons had been taken over.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM asked, whether an official was bound to retire at the age of 60?

MR. JACKSON said, that he was not bound to retire at 60, but that after that age a medical certificate of incapacity to perform his duties was not necessary if a man desired to be pensioned. The hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) had asked him how it was that, comparatively speaking, so large a number of the prison warders in Ireland had been superannuated. He was glad to say it was partly due—perhaps he might say, even wholly due—to the fact that it had been found possible in Ireland, as it had been in England, to close a considerable number of prisons, and, therefore, to abolish a considerable number of warders.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he did not wish to quarrel about the item of £4, which appeared under the head of the Duchy of Cornwall. He understood that that was a compensation allowance to the late Secretary to the Lord Warden of the Stanneries. As the Representative of a portion of Cornwall, he did not see that this amount ought to appear on the Estimates at all. The Lord Warden of the Stanneries was the Duke of Cornwall; and, in his (Mr. Conybeare's) opinion, the Secretary of the Duke ought to be paid whatever compensation allowance might be requisite by the Duke himself. That, however, was only a matter of principle; but he hoped the Government would see that in future the allowance to the Secretary to the Lord Warden did not fall upon the Estimates. He had but very few words to say with reference to the second item upon the list. He felt it was absolutely necessary to protest against the allowance of £125 to the officers of the Order of the Bath. Formerly £389 had been allowed to these gentlemen. Considering the little interest which was taken outside the charmed circle of the Officers of the Bath, it was quite time these allowances disappeared from the Estimates. He did not intend to put the Committee to the trouble of dividing, but simply to content himself with protesting against the retention of these charges.

DR. TANNER said, that they had not yet received an answer from the Secretary to the Treasury, that in a case where superannuations had ceased, full information would be given, both as to the age of the gentleman in question, and also as to the salary paid and the number of years' service. Such information would be valuable, not merely as to the past, but as to the present. The Committee would also observe that reference was made to a deduction of £70 on account of an error in the previous Estimates. Perhaps it was as well they should have some information as to what the error was.

MR. JACKSON said, he was afraid he could not explain how the error arose; but, of course, it was necessary to make the Estimates compare with the Appropriation Accounts. The hon. Member had asked him if they could not put in the age of the persons who had died, or had ceased to receive allowances. He could not help thinking that if they gave the age of such officers, it would only very much confuse the Estimates.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there were two items in the Vote of some considerable importance. The first was for Consular Services, and the other for Diplomatic Services. In the Consular Services, he observed that there were 121 pensioners, which seemed to him a very excessive number, considering the number of men in the Service. On looking down the list, however, he did not see that he could complain of any particular item. The Diplomatic Service, however, was different. Up to 1866 or 1867 the Diplomatic Vote was not submitted to the House of Commons. The Ministers and Secretaries, &c., were paid out of the Consolidated Fund. He forgot exactly what the amount paid was; but he thought it was about £250,000. As long as the salaries to the diplomatists were kept within this amount they were not submitted to the House. At that time he moved a Resolution to the effect that the accounts of the Diplomatic Service should be submitted to the House, and that Resolution was carried. There was a special Act with regard to pensions to diplomatists; but there was a Rule in the Service that a gentleman had to leave the Service at the age of 70, and it was fully understood that he could not claim a pension until he was 70 years of age. There were several grades of pensions. The first grade was £1,700 per annum, the second £1,300, the next £900, and the next £700. Anyone must serve for any of these grades 10 years, and he was to serve for the first-class—namely, that of Ambassadors, three years, and for the second class, that of Envoy Extraordinary, five years. Of course, that was included in the 10 years. Why he thought the Estimate ought to be submitted to Parliament, and why he thought at that time he convinced the House of Commons that the Estimate ought to be submitted to Parliament, was that diplomatists were frequently given pensions long before they attained the age of 70 years. Diplomatists were given pensions because there was a great pressure put on the Foreign Office by persons who wished to obtain diplomatic posts, and the tendency on the part of the Foreign Office was to allow a man to

retire in perfectly good health before he attained the age of 70. In fact, they did rather more. They strongly hinted to a man that it would be rather a good thing that he should retire in order that a friend or someone or other should be put in his place. In the present year, for instance, Sir Henry Thompson had been given a pension. His age was 57. It was not said that Sir Henry Thompson was in ill-health. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not believe he was; but still he was granted a pension of £1,300 per annum. Again, Sir Edward Thornton, who was 69 years of age, had been granted a pension of £1,700 a-year. Both those gentlemen were in possession of excellent health. He had lately seen Sir Edward Thornton taking part in proceedings of Public Companies; he was Director of several Public Companies, and a very good Director. Sir Edward Thornton was, no doubt, in perfectly good health; and he was quite convinced that if that gentleman had been asked he would have been perfectly ready to remain with £8,000 per annum at Constantinople, instead of being elbowed or bought out of the Service in order that someone else should be put in his place. Again, there was Sir Augustus Paget. He noticed that that gentleman was about to retire, which meant that he was about to be retired. Sir Augustus Paget was about 65 years of age. That system ought to be stopped. He did not think they ought to give pensions for the sole reason of ennobling other persons to qualify themselves for pensions. The terms of the Act regarding the Diplomatic Service were exceptionally favourable. Indeed, in his opinion, there ought to be a longer term of service than 15 years to qualify for a pension. What occurred? He did not want to mention names; but take the case of a gentleman who had been in that House. He was appointed to a diplomatic post; he served for 15 years, and then might get his pension of £1,700 a-year. That was not intended. Pensions were intended for those who had joined the Diplomatic Service and risen in the ranks from the lower grades. Under those circumstances, he trusted the same argument which convinced the House of Commons in 1866 that the Estimates for the Diplomatic Service ought to be submitted to Parliament would induce the Committee to agree with him now that pensions were excessive and improperly granted. No one would deny that there were abuses; and he begged to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £500, in order that the House of Commons might use the authority which it had obtained in 1866 to restrain the excessive granting of pensions in order to give other gentlemen places.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item A, Superannuation Allowances, be reduced by the sum of £500, in respect of Diplomatic Pensions."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member knew full well that the pensions were given under a certain Act of Parliament; and that, therefore, the Committee had no power to refuse them. They were obliged to obey an Act of Parliament. Of course, if the hon. Gentleman would introduce another Act to amend the present, well and good; but he was afraid that as long as the present Act remained in force they must conform to its provisions.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would willingly bring in a Bill if he were assured by the hon. Gentleman that the Government would afford facilities for its passing. He presumed that the hon. Gentleman did not know much about the subject. His point was that they had a right to give a man a pension after 15 years' service, but that they were not obliged by the ordinary Rules of the Foreign Office to give a pension to a man until he had attained 70 years of age. He found, however, that pensions frequently were given to men long before they reached the prescribed age. Supposing a Gentleman were made a Minister at the age of 22, which was the case with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, did the hon. Gentleman mean to say that that Minister would have had the right to claim a pension of £1,300 at the age of 37, after he had been in the service 15 years? Unquestionably not. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe could not have claimed it. If he had asked for it at that age he would have been told—No; you are healthy, there is good work in you, and if we give you a pension we shall have to give another man your salary. The pension is an extra we cannot charge the country with. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not complain of the Act, but of the mode in which it was being

carried out by the Foreign Office. He perfectly understood that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) did not know the technicalities. He (Mr. Labouchere) was brought up in the service, and he happened to know all about it. If the hon. Gentleman would assure him that he would look closely into the matter, that he would consult the Foreign Office, and that he, acting for the Treasury, would exercise, if he thought it justifiable, some sort of pressure to prevent these pensions being given to gentlemen when they had got service in them, and when they were quite ready to do service. He would not press his Amendment. He could cite 10 or 12 cases of gentlemen who would have been delighted to have continued as Ambassadors against whom nothing was said, but who were put on the shelf with a pension simply because there were others whom it was desired to put in their places.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Gentleman had made a most reasonable demand upon him, and he had no hesitation in saying that he was quite willing to give the assurance asked. The fact was that they had been pursuing the very policy which the hon. Member recommended. Of course, the hon. Gentleman would agree that it would be very improper for him to give details. He believed they had been more or less successful; but he promised the hon. Gentleman he would look more closely into the matter, and do all he could to put a stop to the granting of pensions improperly.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would ask leave to withdraw his motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there was another item which required explanation —namely, "Grants in aid of expenditure in certain Colonies." He did not quite understand what this was. He saw that we were giving one gentleman, who, as Governor, had received £5,000 a-year, £1,000 per annum. He was under the impression that Colonial Governors, whether they were governors of Crown Colonies or otherwise, did not get pensions from the British taxpayers. If their salaries were paid by the Colonies, surely the pensions, if they got them, ought to come from the Colonies too. If the Colonies were not willing to pay the pensions, he did not see why we should pay them. He should like some explanation of the charge, and he should, also, like an explanation of the system that was pursued—as to whether it was not only Governors, but also other gentlemen in the Crown Colonies who received pensions. Let him give an instance. Some time ago there was a Gentleman in the House whom they all liked very much —he blocked Bills—Mr. Warton. Mr. Warton was appointed Attorney General to Western Australia by the Home Government. He (Mr. Labouchere) had seen it stated that Mr. Warton was about to receive a pension. He was always on friendly terms with Mr. Warton, but he certainly would object to him receiving a pension out of the Imperial Funds. He would like to know whether a gentleman in Mr. Warton's position, appointed Attorney General to one of the Crown Colonies like Western Australia, could, after two or three years' service, and without any certificate of ill-health, come upon us for a pension. He did not quite understand the subject; but he should be glad if the Secretary to the Treasury could explain what was done with respect to the pensions of Colonial Governors and of other gentlemen employed by us in the Colonies.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) said, that the pensions of Colonial Governors were all statutory, being provided for by the Statute 28 & 29 *Vict.* c. 13. They had no power to interfere with them.

MR. LABOUCHERE thought they must mark their objection to this, because it seemed rather a strong measure that the Attorney General of Western Australia—he did not attack Mr. Warton personally — because he found it did not happen to suit him there ——

THE CHAIRMAN: There is nothing in the Vote relative to that official.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, whether there was any gentleman who was either Attorney General or in some such position included in the Vote?

MR. JACKSON: No, Sir.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Who is?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: Colonial Governors.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked, if he was to understand that the Colonial

Governors cost us in pensions £14,048 per annum? [Sir HERBERT MAXWELL nodded assent.] Then he thought it was high time that this system should cease. If Colonial Governors got pensions at all they should get them from the Colonies. They took Tom, Jack, or Harry, and made him a Colonial Governor. Generally speaking, he was a Peer or a gentleman who had been a failure here. They made him a Governor, and he generally contrived to make an uncommonly good thing out of it. A Governor received something like £5,000 a-year, and when he had finished his term of office it seemed that the taxpayers were to be called upon to pay him a pension. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £138,510, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, that the hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had said that these pensions were given under Act of Parliament. He (Mr. Molloy) had not had time to refer to the Act; but he understood that, although there was power under it to grant pensions, the power was not compulsory. The granting of pensions was perfectly optional; but when objection was taken to the granting of a pension on any ground which was considered sufficient, they were always met by the Act of Parliament. The Secretary to the Treasury always told them they could not help themselves, as the matter was regulated by Act of Parliament. As the power was optional, he maintained there was no excuse for the granting of a pension if a pension ought not to be granted. The Act of Parliament under which pensions were granted was passed a long time ago, and now they had arrived at the days of economy. The whole of the debate upon the Estimates this year had been centred upon the one point—economy—and hon. Members had been answered from the Treasury Bench that their whole aim was economy. Let them throw aside this Act of Parliament. They were aware that if there was no authority to grant pensions, they would not appear on the Paper. The power was optional, and it was the Treasury who was reponsible for the granting of these pensions. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton that a number of these appointments might be styled "family jobs" or "governmental jobs." He could mention an appointment which had been made which would not bear the light of day; he could name removals which had been made in order to create vacancies for others to fill. Under the circumstances it was only right that they should protest against the granting of these exorbitant pensions, pensions granted to men who had had large salaries, and had saved a great deal, much to the annoyance of the people over whom they had been put. He sincerely hoped his hon. friend would go to a Division. Short discussions were of no use. Divisions, however, were of considerable use, for they stiffened the back of the Treasury and the Government, and enabled them to withstand the pressure put upon them from all sides, a thing which he admitted it was very difficult for them to do.

MR. JACKSON said, that the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Molloy) was correct when he said that the Treasury had power under certain circumstances to regulate the amount of pensions—they had power to grant pensions not exceeding a certain sum. As far as he had been able to gather from the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman there was no suggestion that the pensions which the Committee were asked to sanction had been granted otherwise than properly. There was one ex-Colonial Governor who was receiving a pension of £1,000 a-year. That gentleman had had 22 years' service, and his salary was £5,000 a-year. He (Mr. Jackson) did not think that anyone would pretend to say that £1,000 a-year pension was disproportionate to the salary. Not a single case had been brought forward in which it was alleged that a pension had been granted on other than sufficient grounds. The hon. member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had referred to their old friend, Mr. Warton. Now Mr. Warton was no more entitled to a pension than the right hon. Member himself, and Mr. Warton was not likely to get a pension. It was quite true that the Treasury acted under Act of Parliament; indeed the Act of Parliament was the authority for their action. The Treasury was not compelled

to grant the full amount, and in cases where the papers were not complete, and where the certificates were not complete, the Treasury had power to, and would, resist the granting of the full amount.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, with regard to the pension of Sir George Bowen, he should like to know whether the item in the Estimate was in addition to the pension from the Colony. The Committee should have a clear understanding upon this point. Was it, or was it not, in addition to the pension given by the Colony? The next case was that of the Resident Councillor at Penang. It seemed to him extraordinary that the Councillor should have been appointed at the age of 44 on a salary of £200 only, and that after 12 years he should get a pension. The pension was only £40, which seemed to him a very extraordinary amount for such an official.

MR. JACKSON said, that that amount was all that was charged to the Imperial Exchequer.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that there were two kinds of Governors, Governors of Crown Colonies and Governors of Colonies that were not Crown Colonies. The Imperial Government paid the pensions in respect of the Crown Colonies, and the Colonies which were not Crown Colonies, it was to be presumed, paid the pensions themselves. What he should like to ask was, whether this country paid pensions in all cases, or whether they only paid pensions in certain cases. The point his hon. Friends raised was a most important one. No one had ever asserted, nor was it likely that anyone would assert, that a man could accumulate pensions. The only plea, as had already been pointed out, upon which a pension could be given, was that a man had not means enough to live upon; and surely, when they granted a pension to one of these Colonial Governors, they ought, at least, to know whether the Governor received a pension from the Colony or whether he did not. Let them understand the system and know for certain whether all Colonial Governors received a pension at the end of their term of office from the Colony. If they did, then the payment made by the Colonial Government should be sufficient. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen lived in a style more like Presidents of the United States than anybody in this country. Indeed, the President of the United States received no pension. It was a curious fact that Governors General of Canada received a pension from this country, whilst those intelligent people, the inhabitants of the United States, close by Canada, elected their best man as President and——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the hon. Gentleman is now travelling beyond the region of this Vote. The hon. Member cannot criticize the Act of Parliament, but only its administration.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) said, he thought the House would not so often have these discussions if the Government would only give hon. Members more information. He did not know why it was that they had not the same kind of Estimate in the case of this Pension Vote put into their hands as they had last year. Last year the details of every pension under this Vote were given in full, and the House was able to arrive at an understanding as to the principle upon which the pensions were given. There was an efficient way of checking the Estimates. This year, however, they had no details of the kind, the only facts they were acquainted with being the amounts of increase and amounts of diminution of the different items. He thought the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would really shorten discussion if he would give full information.

MR. JACKSON said, that the explanation on this point was that last year a full list of pensions was prepared and printed and circulated. The question of printing the lists of pensions in full every year was considered for some time in Committee, and it was decided that really, for all practicable purposes, if a list were issued periodically, say, every three years, and if in the Estimates themselves every year they merely gave the additions to the pensions and the amounts which had been taken out, that information, coupled with the information which was to be found in the printed list of three years previous, would answer every practical purpose. The preparation of a full list would not only cost a considerable amount, but would increase the bulk of the Estimate itself very largely. Of course, if the House were of opinion that it was necessary to

provide this information every year there would be no difficulty in procuring it. It was a mere question of cost, and it was from a desire to try and avoid useless expenditure that a mere summary had been given.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) wished to know specifically whether the grants to Colonial officials in the Estimates were in addition to the pensions granted by the Colonies themselves? If they were in addition the Committee ought to know what were the sums granted by the Colonies. Such information was essential in order to show them whether or not the sum granted out of the Imperial Exchequer was excessive.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, that £14,000 was asked for in one class of items, and he submitted that the Committee ought to know the details of the Vote. Here was a Government desirous of effecting economy, and yet in the course of a discussion on the Estimates it turned out that when they had a discretionary power as to the amount of pensions they could allow, they gave the highest amount in every case. As a matter of fact, the Treasury treated a permissive power as if it were an obligatory one.

MR. JACKSON said, he had stated three times at least that it was not true to say that the Government granted pensions to the full extent of their power on all occasions. The Treasury, if they had the smallest excuse for reducing the amounts of pensions given by annual grant, or in full amount, always did reduce them. They always required to have produced, not only certificates of diligence and fidelity, but also what other certificates were necessary to complete the whole case. It was not true, therefore, to say that the Treasury exercised the power of giving the full pension in every case. He was asked by the right hon. Member opposite (Mr. Osborne Morgan) whether other sums were granted than the pensions mentioned in the Estimates, and in reply he had to say that he believed no other sums were granted.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM said, he was in the recollection of the Committee when he said that the hon. Gentleman had stated, when questioned as to how certain pensions were granted, that they were given under certain Acts of Parliament which left the Government no discretion in the matter. Well, when he (Mr. Handel Cossham) came to refer to these Acts, he found that the Government were not obliged to pay this money, but that their power was permissive.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that these were to all intents and purposes obligatory powers. The officials entered the service on the understanding that, after a certain period, or in certain contingencies, they would receive a pension, and it was the duty of the House to see that the conditions provided by Statute were complied with. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Northampton, as to whether a pension could be received by Colonial Governors after two, three, or four years, he would point out that it was laid down by Statute that no first-class pension should be granted until a Colonial Governor had served 18 years. Colonial Governorships, as a rule, were not given except to men considerably advanced in life, so that when a man had served 18 years as Colonial Governor, he would have given the best of his years to the service of his country, and was well entitled to a pension.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, whether the statement of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) was to be taken as final, that no other money was given in the form of pension to those officials than that which they found in the Estimates? Was it the fact that these Governors got their pensions from this House alone? He knew that Sir George Bowen had served in many Colonies, but he noticed as very peculiar that no age was given to him in the list. Were the pensions of Governors the same wherever the Governors might have served?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, they were told that a Governnor could not receive a pension unless he had served 18 years, and, if that were so in every case, he was afraid they would have to call upon some ex-Colonial Governors to refund a considerable sum of money. He had the Appendix to the Civil Service Estimates of last year in his hands, and he found there that there were other gentlemen besides Governors who received pensions. There were Chief Registrars; and even in one case he found that a pension was

given to a pilot in the employ of the Tasmanian Government. In the West Indies many Stipendiary Magistrates received pensions, and he found here an item: "Austin, J. G., Lieutenant Governor British Honduras, aged 65, service three years." It was remarkable to know how this post, which seemed a very comfortable one, had been filled. Here was "R. W. Harley, Lieutenant Governor British Honduras, service 10 years." He also had received a pension. Then there was Major Munday, who had also been Lieutenant Governor, and after a service of 10 years had received a pension. He also saw Governors down with service of 10, 14, and 15 years, and it was obvious that most of these Governors could have no sort of right to pensions, as their term of service was within the limited period of 18 years. Under these circumstances he should certainly persist in his Amendment. According to the Estimates there was a Chaplain receiving £100 per annum, who was called a retired officer of the Indian Department. They ought to have some explanation as to the service of this gentleman. If the Government has not a copy of the Estimates he should be happy to furnish them with his—the Estimates, he meant, of last year.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that last year they passed the Colonial Government Act, by which Colonial Governors were enabled to count towards pensions service in the other Colonial Departments of the State.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he had referred to the 28th and 29th *Vic.*, c. 113, of the Colonial Government Act, and it appeared therein that a Colonial Governor was entitled to a pension, not after the expiration of 18 years, but at the end of four years' service.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said, it was quite possible, as stated by hon. Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench, that these Governors, or some of them, might very fairly have earned their pensions, and that it would not be right to deprive them of their due, but what he understood hon. Gentlemen to say was, that the present system was wrong and ought to be altered, and, therefore, he thought the only effectual protest they could make would be to go to a Division, and express in that emphatic way their dissatisfaction with the Vote. The Government, if the Vote were against them, would re-consider the whole question, and come to some practical conclusion. Therefore, if he went into the Lobby with the hon. Gentleman who had moved the Amendment, it was not because he objected to these officials, but because he thought the system was a wrong one.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, he should like to probe this problem a little further. The hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had told them that service in other Civil Departments was to be reckoned in connection with the Colonial service for pension. Were they to understand then that if a man had a veneering of 12 months as a Colonial Governor, he was to be entitled to the highest rate of pension given to Colonial Governors?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: No, no.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the hon. Baronet had put the matter in that form—that where there had been three years' service as Colonial Governor a man would be entitled to reckon for pension service in other Civil Service Departments.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that what he had stated was that when a Civil servant was appointed a Governor previous service in the Civil Service would count towards pension. Of course, if an official served only one year as Colonial Governor he would not receive a pension as Colonial Governor, but a pension at the rate which governed the whole service. A Colonial Governor who had not been in any other department of the State must serve 18 years before he received a first-class pension.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would take the case of Lord Carrington, not from any personal reason, because he believed this gentleman's *bona fides* beyond question, but he mentioned him simply as a gentleman who might be so regarded. If Lord Carrington came back in two or three years and asked for a pension, would the Colonial Office think it their duty to give him one?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that Section 2 of the Act to which he had referred laid down the conditions under which the full rate of pension could be obtained. A first-class appointment must be held for four years before a pension could be claimed; but before a

Governor could claim a first-class pension he must have occupied the position for 18 years.

Question put,

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 81; Noes 114: Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 319).

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that before they passed from this particular item he thought that the House ought to realize the fact, which many would hear with horror, that Governor Eyre had been receiving since 1874 a sum of £750 a-year as a pension. He ventured to say that there were exceedingly few persons in the country who were aware of that fact, and this proved how exceedingly desirable it was that the Committee should have the fullest particulars given them with regard to these pensions, and how necessary it was that what was going on in connection with these Estimates should be thoroughly investigated.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that the Committee were not furnished with sufficient information, and that the mere supply of an abstract two years out of three was insufficient.

MR. JACKSON said, that in giving the full list of pensions only once in three years he was following the course recommended by Parliament itself. Of course, if it were thought necessary to publish full information every year it could be done, but there would be a great deal of labour attached to the work.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, the explanation of the hon. Gentleman was scarcely satisfactory. There was what was called a cheese-paring policy, which was a thing to be condemned, especially when there were many ways in which economy could be effected without curtailing the expenditure, it was necessary that hon. Members should have in their hands when dealing with Votes in Supply. He held it to be a mistake to cripple the capacity of the hon. Members for dealing with the Estimates. To say that they could go to the Library for this information was not the way to treat hon. Members in discussions upon the Supplies of the country.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £330, being the amount paid as a Home Office pension to Viscount Dillon. This was an interesting sample of the way in which the present system of pensions worked, and was to be found on page 34 of the Appendix issued last year. He found that this nobleman was appointed to the Home Office at the early age of 19 as supernumerary clerk, and that, after getting a salary of £660 for being a supernumerary clerk, in the year 1869 his services in that capacity were no longer required, and, being no longer required, he was given £330 a-year from the pocket of the taxpayer, and had received that sum yearly since February 1, 1869. He mentioned these facts for the purpose of drawing a comparison and instituting a contrast. Almost the next item that he found on the list were the pensions of two people who worked very hard at the Home Office, and had reached the age of 59. One of these persons he found was pensioned on £12 a-year, having been discharged for infirmity. The other received £14 a-year, having been discharged for ill-health. Now, these were charwomen. They were hard workers; they worked till they were 59, and a liberal Government gave them, after they were worn out in the service of the State, a pittance of £12 a-year. He placed these two cases in contrast—that of the charwomen with that of the Irish nobleman, who had received £660 for doing nothing for some years, and was pensioned at the rate of £330 a-year.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £139,180, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Hunter.*)

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he thought they should have some expression of opinion from the Government on this matter, as to pensions given to "the classes" who patronized them, and whom they, in turn, subsidized. He thought that when a reasonable argument had been addressed to the hon. Gentleman, who at the present time answered for the expenditure of the public money, that, at any rate, that courtesy, which was supposed to be the distinguishing characteristic of "the classes," should be extended to the Committee. It really seemed to him (Dr. Tanner) extraordinary that when an appeal was made as to the difference of treatment accorded to a poor woman

and an Irish Peer no answer should be given. One would think that in order to curry some little amount of favour with the masses the hon. Gentleman would feel it his duty to answer. Because, however, the question was about an Irish Lord the hon. Gentleman did not think it suitable to the occasion to give any reply or to show that courtesy which usually existed amongst gentlemen. He sincerely trusted that the hon. Gentleman would now find it to his convenience to give an answer.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had to make an appeal to the Committee. He believed that Gentlemen on both sides of the House had consideration for the reputation of the House of Commons. He wished to point out that the Government were not in the slightest degree responsible for the insertion of a provision in the Estimates for a pension granted 20 years ago. The Government were compelled by their duties to insert this pension in the Estimates, provision for it having been made under Statute. If the provision was wrong it must be repealed by Statute, but the Government had it not within their power to refuse the insertion of the item. He was sure that hon. Gentlemen who had knowledge of the duties and practices of the House of Commons would see that prolonged discussion of questions of this character was not forwarding but would seriously retard the Business of the country and endanger the reputation of hon. Members. The functions of Committee of Supply were most important, but there were some things in which it would be possible for the Committee to take action, and others in which they had no power to alter the Vote. The Government had responsibility, and, so far as they were concerned, also, there were some things which they could do, and other things which were impossible for them; and one of the things which was impossible for them was to alter the regulations as to pensions. After a pension had been formally granted by Statute, it was not in the power of the Government to abstain from putting it in the Estimates. Unless the authority under which these pensions were granted was repealed by Statute it was beyond the power of the House of Commons to refuse to grant the pensions. He earnestly hoped that the Committee would make progress with the Business with which they were now seriously in arrear, and that hon. Gentlemen would have some care for the reputation of that part of the House in which they sat.

DR. TANNER said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have some care for the reputation of that part of the House in which he sat. When a Question was asked, instead of getting up and reading a sort of homily to the Committee, it would be much better to answer it.

Admiral Field rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put;" but the Chairman withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate *resumed.*

DR. TANNER said, it would be better for the dignity of the Committee if the right hon. Gentleman would content himself with merely answering the Questions asked. He (Dr. Tanner) was very seldom called upon to inflict a slight correction upon the right hon. Gentleman, but he trusted that these few words would not be thrown away.

MR. CONYBEARE said, that as they had been promised a reform of these abuses in the coming Session, would it not be possible to introduce a repealing clause to get rid of them now, the right hon. Gentleman himself believing in the existence of those abuses?

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 69; Noes 126: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 320.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. William Henry Smith rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 130; Noes 75: Majority 55.—(Div. List, No. 321.)

Original Question put accordingly,

"That a sum, not exceeding £139,510, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons

formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 145; Noes 72: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 322.)

(2.) £4,400, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, as the Estimate was framed the Committee did not know what they were voting for, or the circumstances in which the pensions were given. In the Appendix for the Board of Trade he found a long list of Gentlemen who had got pensions on the abolition of their office or on re-organization.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he did not see how the hon. Gentleman connected this with the Vote.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the Vote was for seamen's pensions; and there was a long list of superannuation allowances to officers on abolition or re-organization of office. [MR. JACKSON: No, no!] That only showed how important it was to have the Estimates clearly drawn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I have laid it down earlier in the evening that it is the duty of every hon. Member to bring to the discussion of Public Business adequate knowledge and adequate intelligence.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, under the circumstances, he had not adequate knowledge as to how the Vote was to be expended, and he did not feel himself justified as one of the guardians of the money of the public in assenting to it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, his hon. Friend's contention was that the Committee had no means of obtaining adequate knowledge in respect of the Vote. He had himself voted against the Government on the last Division, not because he thought the Votes were wrong in themselves, but because he did not think the Government were justified in not giving the Committee adequate information, and he said the Committee were entitled to know what the present pensions were for before they voted the money.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) said, he thought he could explain the object of the Vote. Before 1851 it was compulsory on merchant seamen to subscribe so much a-year to a fund for pensions. The fund became bankrupt, and in 1851 an Act of Parliament was passed by which a considerable sum of the remaining funds had been paid to the Exchequer, and the liability for the pensions to those who had subscribed was taken over by the Exchequer. Ever since that time an annual Vote to meet the pensions had been asked from Parliament. That Vote, however, had diminished every year by about £1,400; in 1852-3 there were 26,000 pensions, and this year the number was only 5,000, so that in a few years the Vote would become extinct.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the answer of the right hon. Gentleman was entirely satisfactory.

Vote *agreed to*.

(3.) £488,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he wished to suggest in the interest of the unfortunate people concerned that it was a doubtful policy to accumulate them in large asylums. He believed that the massing together of large numbers of insane people was a great disadvantage to them—that it crystallized them, so to speak, in insanity, and pressed them down in their unfortunate condition. He suggested that the Government should consider whether these large establishments should not be broken up and the inmates distributed in places where they might receive more individual attention than could be given under existing circumstances. Again, he suggested that every case taken into these large institutions should go through a regular course of hospital treatment. He believed there were many cases of persons drifting into hopeless insanity because they had not been treated systematically, and if for 12 months they were subjected to hospital treatment there would be a much greater chance for many of restoration to health. In Scotland they had carried out the Belgian system of boarding out lunatics; that system worked well, and he believed the influence of home treatment had been attended with excellent results. Again, he wished to refer to the bad effect of associating idiot chil-

dren with lunatics, which was that the former incurred bad habits, and were at the same time terrified by their surroundings. He hoped the House would some day take into consideration the question of remedying the present condition of things, which amounted to nothing less than a public scandal.

MR. MOLLOY said, that the reports showed that certainly one if not three cases of death had been caused by the violence of lunatics; inquests had been held in the majority of cases, and it was proved in one case that death had been caused by the treatment of the attendants. There was also the case of a broken arm, and another of a broken leg, which showed that the greatest violence had been used without any justification; and, although the verdict was that this was the result of unnecessary violence, nobody had been brought to account. As far as he could see the Commissioners had done very little in the matter, and he did not wonder at this, because it was utterly impossible for them to give adequate attention to the immense number of cases which they were supposed to look after. He asked the Home Secretary whether some investigation could not take place which might result in the more inhumane attendants being removed from the service. In Belgium such cases as he had mentioned were never heard of, and the number of cures owing to the humane system in operation there was far in excess of anything we could show in England.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, that as far as he was concerned, he should be extremely happy to promote investigation into cases of brutality coming under the hon. Gentleman's notice. Such cases, he regretted, would occur from time to time, but the Lord Chancellor was of course the chief authority in the matter, and the appointment and dismissal of the attendants would be subject to the Court of Quarter Sessions.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) said, as a guardian of some experience he had taken great interest in this question, and he must give his opinion that pauper lunatics greatly benefited by removal from the workhouse to the central establishment, inasmuch as they were then at once placed under enlightened medical treatment and submitted to the most careful consideration; they were treated on the highest and best principles, and the most gratifying results had followed. He did not know anything more gratifying to himself and the other guardians than to see the improvement which had taken place in workhouses by the removal of those miserable masses of pauper lunatics who used to crowd the wards, and who were now removed to central asylums of the Counties and there treated as he had said with the most beneficial results. With reference to the alleged prevalence of brutality which the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) had spoken of, he confessed he was very sceptial on that subject, and he did not think the allegation was proved by adequate evidence. If any cases of outrage ever occurred he believed that they were very rare indeed, and that when they were discovered they were always made the subject of most searching investigation, and severe punishment inflicted on those who committed them. When charges of that kind were made, unsupported by evidence, he believed that great mischief and not benefit was caused to the patients themselves, and that injustice was done to those who were responsible to the country for their proper care.

MR. MOLLOY said, the hon. Member who had just spoken had intimated that he had made a statement on this matter without justification and unsupported by evidence. The cases to which he alluded were reported in the public Press, and he had instanced cases where inquests had been held and verdicts of unnecessary violence returned, although no one was brought to account. The majority of them were cases in the Metropolis and not in the country; but as to the evidence on which they rested, the hon. Member had only to look for it in the reports, and he would find in the public Press during the last year leading articles calling the attention of the authorities to the subject.

MR. F. S. POWELL said, he had admitted that some few cases of misconduct might occur where they were dealing with a great number of persons, and he said that every charge of that nature would be thoroughly investigated, and if misconduct were proved it would be severely dealt with.

Dr. Farquharson

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, the hon. Member for Wigan and the Home Secretary himself had admitted that cases of the kind referred to had occurred, but he (Mr. Conybeare) respectfully dissented from the doctrine that it was not the right of Members of that House to bring them forward. He invited the Home Secretary to consider the suggestion that Members of Parliament for County Divisions, in which the asylums were situated, should have the right of visiting the pauper lunatics inside. So far as he was aware, Members of Parliament had no *locus standi* in this matter. It appeared to him that the knowledge that Members of Parliament had the right to visit asylums and see how things were administered in them would be very beneficial, and, therefore, the suggestion being not wholly without reason, he submitted it to the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston) said, it was desirable, in his opinion, that no false impression should go forth as to the frequency of cases of brutality in these asylums. There were, no doubt, instances in which the inmates had been treated with harshness; but he believed that a great many of the cases reported in the Press did not justify the general charges which had been made. He pointed out that there was a condition of the bones in cases of lunacy which rendered them easy of fracture. He made that remark in order that there might not go forth a false impression as to the frequency of such treatment as had been referred to. He thought his hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) had done good service in drawing attention to the question of large numbers of lunatics being massed together in county asylums. His own opinion, however, was that it was very desirable that lunatics should be removed from workhouses, where they did not get special treatment, to county and borough asylums, where they would have the advantage of such treatment. He agreed with his hon. Friend that in many of those asylums they had too many unfortunate patients congregated together, because the system was injurious to the individuals themselves and to the prospects of recovery. It was well known that medical men often had far too many patients under their care for them to give that individual attention thatwas necessary to success in the treatment of insanity. He agreed that if we could introduce something similar to the Belgian system, much more good might be done in the treatment of mental disease. He hoped the Government would take the question into consideration with the view of issuing some orders by which this great aggregation of lunatics in central asylums might be avoided, and of seeing whether they could not introduce the system which had proved so useful in Belgium in humanizing these unfortunate people and contributing to their happiness and welfare while they are afflicted with this calamity.

MR. JACKSON said, that while he agreed very much with the words that had fallen from hon. Gentlemen opposite, he thought it would not long be in the power of the Government to deal with this particular question, because this would probably be the last time that the Vote would appear on the Estimates; the matter would in future be dealt with under the Local Government Act by the County Councils.

MR. LLEWELLYN (Somerset, N.) said, that when the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) stated that there were three or four cases of the kind he had brought forward, he believed he was within the mark. He thought, however, that if the cases which came before the public represented all that occurred, the small number was satisfactory with regard to the treatment of pauper lunatics. As to the number of the Commissioners, he thought it was an absolute farce that so few men should be expected to do the work relating to lunacy for the whole of England. It was not only a mistake from a medical point of view to keep lunatics in workhouses, but it was practically cruelty towards the inmates of those establishments, and accordingly he protested against it. He denied that anyone could suggest greater cruelty than to put into a workhouse ward, where a number of poor old people had to end their days, half-a-dozen lunatics.

SIR WALTER FOSTER said, that although the county asylums would be handed over to the County Councils, the Guardians would still have the power of sending lunatics to county asylums, and it was desirable that some expres-

sion of opinion should be elicited in that debate with regard to the conditions under which pauper lunatics were grouped together in those establishments. He said that the Committee were not doing justice to the pauper lunatics if they did not utter some definite expression of opinion for the purpose of securing for them the best mode of treatment. Therefore, he hoped they would not allow it to go forth that they washed their hands of this question and threw it upon the County Boards.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.) said, that his experience as a visitor of County Lunatic Asylums, and of the work of supervision done by the County Magistrates, led him to believe that no institutions were better managed than the great county asylums throughout England. He thought therefore, the sweeping observations which had been made with regard to them were not quite justified by the facts. He had also had opportunities of witnessing the general practice with regard to imbeciles, and he was of opinion that a very great improvement had taken place in their condition and treatment. He believed that there was not a harder-worked class of men than the Inspectors of County Lunatic Asylums, and he did not like to hear one class of medical men attacking another class who had no opportunity of defending themselves.

SIR WALTER FOSTER said, he had not attacked the gentlemen in question. He had simply said they had too much to do. Nothing was further from his thoughts than an attack upon the medical officers of the country; he said no more than that it was not desirable that so many lunatics should be grouped together in any asylum.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, he was glad to have elicited this explanation, because several hon. Members understood that an attack was made on the medical officers of the asylums, who, as far as he was able to see, looked to every individual case with the greatest care.

DR. TANNER said, he had heard with much satisfaction the remarks which had fallen from the hon. Gentleman opposite. He thought it would be a very good thing if before this matter passed from the control of the House, an arrangement were made that pauper lunatics should be relegated to places where they would be properly treated by specialists. He sincerely hoped that the Committee would do a good stroke of work that evening in favour of these unfortunate people.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £13, to complete the sum for Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he wished to point out that this deficiency should no longer exist. Parliament had brought into existence the Post Office Savings Bank in which there was Government security and no risk of poor people losing their money through the action of fraudulent trustees, and he hoped that the Government were prepared to change the existing law and place the savings banks referred to in the Vote in the same position as joint-stock banks, and benefit societies in the same position as insurance companies.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, that the hon. Gentleman and the Committee must be aware that a Committee had sat to consider the question of Trustee Savings Banks, and had not yet reported, except to the effect that they should be re-appointed next year, as no doubt they would be. The Government looked with interest to the recommendations which the Committee might make; as the hon. Gentleman would know he himself had taken considerable interest in the matter, and was most anxious to see the Trustee Savings Banks put upon a proper footing. With regard to the Vote the deficiency with which they had to deal was an accrued deficiency, and did not relate to one year only. They had to make good the result of what might be called an imperfect administration in the past, the deficiency having arisen under circumstances different from those which now existed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked whether the Vote included any charge due to the reduction of interest on the National Debt?

MR. GOSCHEN said, that would depend on various circumstances—the value and nature of the securities held.

DR. CLARK said, he thought the Government should themselves seri-

ously consider this matter before the Committee reported, because the Trustee Savings Banks offered larger interest than the Government.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM pointed out that the Savings Banks and Friendly Societies were investing in all kinds of securities.

DR. TANNER asked how it was that the deficiency was so very large?

MR. GOSCHEN said, that the deficiency on the 20th November, 1877, was £1,820,000, and the insolvency was determined at that date.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £338, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for certain Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances in Great Britain."

DR. CLARK said, he hoped this Vote would be soon altogether removed from the Estimates. The unfortunate Spaniards to whom payment was made 80 years ago were still receiving their pensions. It was very curious to observe how long those who received pensions lived. Then there was Her Majesty's charity to Scotland, and he thought that these matters should be investigated by the Secretary to the Treasury, and the claims, where possible, commuted.

MR. JACKSON said, he very much agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman, that commutation should take place where possible.

DR. TANNER said, the Committee had no information as to how the Polish refugees mentioned in the Vote had become dependent for support upon this country. The only thing satisfactory about the item was that they had cost the country £5 less this year than last. Then with regard to the distressed Spaniards, if these were men who became connected with the British service during the Peninsula War he felt at liberty to ask the Secretary to the Treasury for some further information on the subject. He thought it well to inquire into the justice of such claims as these, because of having been witness to an immense amount of distress in the City of London which he thought ought to be dealt with before the case of these so-called distressed foreigners.

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) said, that many hon. Members on those Benches desired information as to the precise age of the distressed Spaniards represented on the Vote. He should be the very last person to refuse payment to persons who were entitled to it by services rendered to the country, but he was bound to say that, chronologically, he could not understand how these Spaniards, on principles of ordinary longevity, could be receiving the money at the present time. He agreed that the amount was small, and might be passed on this occasion only, but he hoped on this occasion only. There were some Members in that part of the House who felt that a continual leakage was going on with reference to small amounts in the Estimates which were very imperfectly discussed, and they who had to render an account to their constituents would like to be able to explain on higher authority than their own imagination how such matters as these arose on the Estimates. He would, therefore, be glad to have an explanation of the items in question or an assurance that they would not re-appear.

MR. JACKSON said, he was sorry to find that his hon. Friend had a new leader, but would endeavour to answer his question. If his hon. Friend compared the present Estimates with those of the last few years he would find that this amount was steadily and continuously diminishing. The country had entered into an obligation to pay the money, which must be discharged, and although the Committee would not think it necessary for him to read them, he had before him the names of the distressed Spaniards who were in receipt of the pensions. Hon. Gentlemen in discussing the Vote had assumed that the money was given to persons who actually rendered service to the country. [MR. BYRON REED: So it says.] But it might be that it was continued to the descendants or relatives of the distressed Spaniards, of whom two received £2 8*s.* a-month, and five were in receipt of £2 a-month. He had caused strict and searching inquiry to be made into the question as to whether the proper precautions were taken in the matter, with the result that he found that the payments were not made except on proof of identity, or that the individuals were entitled to receive the

money. He had satisfied himself that the payments were made either on life certificate, or on personal application to the Government officer who had been in the habit of making them; but it was highly probable that in the course of a few years these items would altogether disappear from the Estimates.

MR. BYRON REED said, he was bound to say his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury had not quite met his objection. He was perfectly well aware his hon. Friend would be the last Member of the House or of the Government who would perpetuate anything like an anomaly in the shape of perpetual pensions. But his (Mr. Byron Reed's) complaint was that, if the case was as the hon. Gentleman represented—and, of course, the Committee would accept the hon. Gentleman's representation—it was not accurately and adequately expressed in the terms of the Vote, because the terms of the Vote were—

"For the relief of certain distressed Spanish subjects residing in this country"

—it did not say out of this country—

"without the means of subsistence, who were employed with the British Army, or under British Authorities in Spain, or who otherwise rendered service to our military operations in that country during the war from 1808 to 1814."

It was no answer to that to say that this was in continuation of payment made to such persons, and he (Mr. Byron Reed) held very properly made. This Committee and the country had a right to know the precise terms upon which the money was voted, and it would not do for the Secretary to the Treasury to say that the money was to be applied to the descendants of persons on behalf of whom the obligation was originally contracted. According to the terms of the Vote before them, it was the original persons themselves who were receiving the relief. It might be that the Vote merely required a verbal Amendment. He had no doubt that was the case, and he was quite prepared with that reservation to accept the explanation his hon. Friend had made.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he considered that this item for the relief of Spanish subjects who were employed with the British Army from 1808 to 1814 was a ridiculous one, and that it disgraced the Estimates. There was another item in this Vote which, though a very trivial one, he did not think the House of Commons ought to be called upon to vote. It was the sum of £5 6*s.* 8*d.* for "Creation Money payable to the Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the counties of Cambridge and Hunts." What was the real meaning of it? It was time, in his opinion, that most of these items were cleared off the Estimates.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.) desired to ask one question before they left this interesting Vote. He wished to know from the Secretary to the Treasury exactly who the Polish refugees were, and also from what they were refugees? [An hon. MEMBER: From Ireland.] Were they gentlemen who, having been engaged in a struggle for Polish independence against Russian power, and having broken the laws of that country by an act of rebellion, were now——

DR. TANNER, rising to a point of Order, said, he wished to know whether his hon. Friend was within his right in moving what was practically a Vote of Censure on a friendly Power?

MR. GILL, continuing, said, he would like to know whether this was the case, because it would be a strange fact if the Government of Great Britain, who were now engaged in a most powerful resistance against the Irish people in their constitutional demand for some recognition of their national sentiment, were actually voting, out of the public purse, a sum of money for the purpose of maintaining certain Polish refugees, who had fled from justice in their own country.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, that he should be glad if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would explain the items under Sub-head F. Why should we pay to the Corporation of Berwick for repairs of bridge, £90 9*s.*? That might be a just charge, but it certainly needed explanation. Then what was meant by the payment of £89 9*s.* to the Bishop of Sodor and Man, to be distributed among the incumbents and schoolmasters of the Isle of Man? The next item was a more serious one—namely, £1,000 as—

"Compensation for the loss of the privileges of printing and vending almanacks, originally granted to the Universities by Royal Charter under the Great Seal (44 *Geo. III.*, c. 98)."

He could not see why we should go on

paying £1,000 for what was considered to be a very gross abuse. He had no objection to vote money for the maintenance of seats of learning, but he could not understand why on earth there should be this large compensation paid annually. The other item on which information ought also to be given--namely, £5 6*s.* 8*d.*, for Creation Money, payable to the Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the counties of Cambridge and Hunts, had already been referred to.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that with regard to the Polish refugees there was a very extraordinary fact which ought to be taken into account. The allowances were not for the maintenance of Polish refugees in this country, but they were allowances to Poles who might quit the country. The words of the Vote were—

"Allowances for subsistence, medical expenses, and commutations to Poles who may quit this country, including £25 for medical attendance."

He should be extremely glad if the Secretary to the Treasury would explain this extraordinary item.

MR. JACKSON said, he was afraid he could not give any more information with regard to Sub-head F. than was given in the body of the Vote itself. It was perfectly clear, as hon. Members must be aware, that these items were charges which Parliament had laid upon the Exchequer, and there was no power to get rid of them, except by commutation. It had been suggested that they should be commuted and got rid of, and he entirely agreed with that, and indeed efforts had been made, and the allowances from time to time reduced in number, by reason of some of them being commuted. [An hon. GENTLEMAN: Abolish them.] It was all very well to say they ought to be abolished, but these allowances were debts and obligations, and he was extremely sorry that anybody with any experience should suggest in the House that the State should repudiate its legal obligations. It was quite clear that there was no power to repudiate these obligations. One hon. Member had called attention to the pension to the widow of a French refugee clergyman. At one time there were a number of these pensions, but they had all been commuted except this one. In this case the terms asked for commutation were such that it was not considered to be to the advantage of the State to accept them. Then, the item of £1,000 for compensation for the loss of the privilege of printing and vending almanacks stood precisely in the same position. The privilege of printing almanacks was an old one which the Corporations of the Universities possessed, and he need not say that this charge had been continued under an arrangement made in the interests of the State. The hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Gill) and others had asked for information concerning the allowances to Polish refugees. He was afraid he could not give very much information upon the subject. No doubt hon. Members might think it somewhat strange if such charges were imposed in these days, but these were very old charges. When the allowances were first made, it was considered by the Government of the day that they were allowances which ought properly to be made. They had been continued by the House of Commons for many years, and he thought it was rather late to raise the question whether we should cease to discharge the legal obligations we had entered into.

DR. CLARK said, that he tried, some time ago, to get an idea as to the age of the poor Indian who was receiving £6 as commutation for rations, and he was told that he was 115 years old. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had not referred to their old friend, the Indian. Now, by the proposed Universities Bill, the Scotch portion of the compensation for the loss of the privilege of printing almanacks was to pass away. He certainly thought that this compensation ought to be brought to an end some time or another. Again, why should not the Corporation of Berwick repair its own bridge? All the other Corporations had to repair their own bridges, and the cost of repairing the Berwick bridge ought to be placed either upon the new County Council, or upon the Corporation of Berwick. Then the charge of £99 9*s.* distributed among the incumbents and schoolmasters of the Isle of Man ought surely to be defrayed out of the local taxation of the Isle of Man, out of the school rates or the church rates of the island. He did not think that anything had been said by the Secretary to the

Treasury which ought to induce them to vote this money. Were they to understand that the hon. Gentleman would endeavour before next year to get rid of these charges? If full and complete inquiry were made regarding the individuals by whom these monies were claimed, he had no doubt that the Estimates would be relieved of many of these items.

MR. PICTON said, he felt it his duty to move to reduce the Vote by £1,186, being the total of the items under Sub-head F. He did not think that the explanation given had been at all satisfactory; he did not think it was fair to say to the Committee that we were committed to the payment of these items. There ought certainly to be a re-arrangement made. It was playing with the House to ask them to discuss, and then to vote, sums of money which they were told they could not refuse. It was high time all this kind of empty formality was done away with, and therefore he begged to move to reduce the Vote by the total of the items under Sub-head F.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is only £338 left to be voted.

MR. PICTON: Then I beg to move to reduce the Vote by that amount.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman will therefore say "No" to the Question.

MR. BARING (London) said, that the country could not repudiate obligations deliberately taken upon itself. Indeed, it would be very dangerous to the credit of this country, which was higher than the credit of any other country, if it did even in the smallest manner repudiate its deliberate obligations. On one matter he might, perhaps, throw some light. It was possible that hon. Members did not recollect that the Royalty or Kingship of the Isle of Man was taken over from the Duke of Athol, and that certain bargains were made which must be fulfilled. The Duke of Athol entered into certain conditions. Those conditions he presumed would not last long, but he thought the country ought not to degrade its honour by repudiating them. As to the compensation paid to the Universities, he had no doubt, speaking from experience, that the Universities would be very glad to commute the amount. Indeed, he thought it would be better that all these amounts should be commuted as soon as possible. So long as, however, they were not commuted they must and they should be paid.

MR. PICTON said, that in order to put himself in Order he begged to move that the Vote be reduced by £100 under Sub-head F.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member would be perfectly in Order in saying "No" to the Vote.

MR. PICTON said, that he would prefer to move a reduction.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £238, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he could not suppose that Consols would fall and that it would be impossible to issue loans if this £100 were not given to the incumbents and schoolmasters of the Isle of Man. It appeared, according to the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Baring's) proposition, that an engagement was made with the Duke of Athol. It was quite clear that this was a sectarian Vote in the interests of the Church of England, or of the Church of Man, or of Sodor, or of whatever it was. At any rate, he did not think that this was a Vote that the House of Commons, which was not sectarian, but which represented Members of all the different sects, ought to agree to any longer.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL could not allow the Vote to pass without protesting against the doctrine that the country could not abolish these old abuses without commuting the payments made in respect of them. He maintained it was in the power of the House of Commons to abolish any abuse. The mere fact that an abuse had existed for a long period was no reason why it should be continued for ever. It had been said that the allowance to the Bishop of Sodor and Man was made for a valuable consideration, but surely in the case of the compensation to the Universities for the loss of the privilege of printing and vending almanacks there was no valuable consideration. The Committee were unquestionably entitled to disallow these charges.

MR. JACKSON said, that the Committee was no doubt aware that the privilege of printing and vending almanacks was granted to the Universities

by Royal Charter in the Reign of George III. The privilege had been repealed, and the allowances in question were made payable out of the general stamp revenue. They were continued to be made out of the general stamp revenue until 1858, but in that year, under the provisions of an Act of Parliament, they ceased to be defrayed out of that revenue and were charged on the Votes of Parliament. He thought that the House of Commons would be hardly prepared to repudiate the obligation which had been entered into.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: Why not let the Universities print almanacks again?

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) begged the hon. Gentleman to give the Committee some explanation of the item of £90 9*s.* which was paid to the Corporation of Berwick. Surely that Corporation ought to be able to repair its own bridges.

MR. JACKSON said, that the allowance of £90 9*s.* was made under an old Charter of Charles II., and it was made towards the maintenance of this bridge, which was built by James I. There was a proposal that this charge should be paid out of the gross revenue, but it was on the recommendation of the House of Commons itself that that course was not adopted, and that the item appeared in the Votes laid before Parliament.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, that he was under the necessity of having to vote against the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton). He had no interest in the Corporation of Berwick, still less in the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, but he desired to say that the £1,000 given to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was given to them under Statute, in compensation for the abolition of a monopoly. It was all very well to say that the Universities might be allowed to print almanacks again, but it must be remembered that there was formerly a monopoly in such printing, and that this was a statutory sum given to them. He would be glad if the sum were commuted, but at present he could not support the Motion his hon. Friend had made.

MR. CONYBEARE said, that one question was put which had not yet been answered—namely, how it came to pass that they were asked to vote £685 for "Her Majesty's Charities and Bounties to such indigent and necessitous persons as shall be approved of by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury?" If Her Majesty wanted to give charities and bounties, why should she not give them out of her own pocket?

MR. GILL said, that with regard to the Polish refugees he did not wish it to be understood that he desired to say anything which could hurt the feelings of these patriots. Quite the contrary; his sympathies were entirely with them, and while calling attention to this very anomalous item, and the extraordinary fact that the British Government was engaged in voting money from the Treasury for the support of the refugees, he considered that the matter was highly creditable, both to the British Government and to the Polish refugees. He simply wished to enforce the observation that, when rebels were engaged against a foreign Power, and the nationality for which they were struggling was not a nationality at the Government's own doors, the Government of Great Britain was generous enough to vote money out of the public purse to support them.

DR. TANNER said, he would appeal to the Secretary to the Treasury to give them information as to the Sub-head to which he had already called attention—namely, Sub-head E. Surely Her Majesty had quite enough money to mete out charity to her distressed subjects in Scotland without her coming upon the Treasury for this small subsidiary Vote?

MR. JACKSON said, that these were charitable charges which were originally advanced out of the hereditary revenues of Scotland. They were gradually in course of diminution, because as any of them fell out they were not renewed. In 1874 the Treasury issued a Minute in which they stated they would not sanction the award of any new pension from the Queen's Charity Roll, and that they intended, as the existing pensions fell in, the Roll should be reduced and ultimately abolished. The charities were small sums, never exceeding £10 a-year in any case, and ranging from about £3 or £4 up to £10.

DR. TANNER asked when the last grant was made?

MR. JACKSON: Certainly not since 1874. The Roll is in process of extinc-

tion, for, as I have said, when grants fall in they are not renewed.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £422, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Portrait Gallery."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had now to move that the Chairman report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. He did so as a protest against the action of the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith). He asserted that when the Standing Order which gave the right hon. Gentleman the right to move that a debate on a particular evening should be continued after 12 o'clock was under discussion there was a distinct pledge given by the First Lord of the Treasury, in answer to a question put to him by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), that a Motion would never be made except on the occasion of a great debate taking place in the House—except when a debate had lasted several days—and the opinion was that it was desirable that it should be allowed to continue a short time longer, in order either that the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the measure, or the Leader of the opposition to the measure, should be able to finish his remarks on that night. He could not quote the words of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, because they were used in debate on the 26th of February last. He was sure that if any hon. Gentleman read the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury he would confirm what he (Mr. Labouchere) stated. In fact, he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman was not now present, for he believed that he also would say that what he was stating was the pledge given. The Rule was agreed to upon the distinct understanding he had mentioned. Now, the First Lord of the Treasury had moved day after day, when there had been no great or lengthy debate, that the proceedings should continue after 12 o'clock. They commenced their proceedings at 3 o'clock. That was part of the Rule. That was the *quid pro quo* that was given. Twelve o'clock was to be the ending of the House so far as a debate was concerned, only unopposed Motions being allowed to be taken subsequently. He was glad that now the First Lord of the Treasury had returned to his place, and he put it to the right hon. Gentleman himself, whether there was not a distinct pledge that on certain occasions, and only on certain occasions, which had not occurred during the present period of the Session, the right hon. Gentleman would move the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule? He and his hon. Friends asserted that it was not fair for the right hon. Gentleman, having got powers to make this Motion when there was a great debate to be brought to a conclusion, to make the Motion this evening when they were in Committee of Supply, and when there was no great debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that unfortunately he did not hear the earlier part of the hon. Gentleman's remarks, but he had no doubt the hon. Gentleman referred to the Question he put to him (Mr. W. H. Smith) earlier in the evening. He understood the hon. Gentleman objected as a matter of honour to his (Mr. W. H. Smith's) action.

MR. LABOUCHERE: No; misunderstanding.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he understood the hon. Gentleman objected to him moving the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule day after day in reference to Supply. Now, he thought in taking that course he was really discharging the obligation that fell upon him to endeavour to forward the Business of the House under certain circumstances which were perfectly exceptional and extraordinary. It was unfortunate that the right hon. Gentlemen the Leaders of the Opposition, to whom it was usual to communicate on matters of this kind, were not now in their places. But he must recall the recollection of the House

to the fact that he stated on Wednesday night, in reference to the suspension of the Rule for the rest of the Session, that it was his earnest desire to arrive at an understanding which would be agreeable to all Parties in the House with a view to facilitate Public Business. A Motion for the suspension of the Rule he put on the Paper for Thursday, but it was objected to by the hon. Member; and, as it appeared probable that a debate would have occurred in which it was not very likely they would have arrived at the unanimous decision he desired to arrive at in the interests of the House itself, he thought it better to postpone the Motion, and to endeavour, by the methods which were open to hon. Members, to arrive at an understanding to facilitate the Business of the House. He was still in the hope of arriving at that understanding with hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. He had taken the steps necessary in order to do so, but it did appear to him that the circumstances in which they were placed as regarded Supply were so peculiar and so exceptional, and that if there was a desire to get away from the discharge of their duties before Christmas some effort must be made on the part of the House to sit for a longer time and on Saturdays. That was his view and his recommendation to the House. He should be extremely sorry if any authority he possessed in the House were exercised in a manner which would be offensive or disagreeable to hon. Gentlemen; he was most unwilling to exercise his authority or influence in any unfair way. His belief was that it was necessary in the interests of the country, in the interests of the House itself, and for the discharge of the duties which fell upon them, that they should make some effort, and an unusual effort, at this very late period of the Session, to dispose of the work which now remained to be disposed of.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) said, he would appeal to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) not to divide on his Motion. [MR. LABOUCHERE: But I shall.] Of course, it was quite open for the hon. Gentleman to do so, but he reminded the hon. Member that all the Members upon the Front Opposition Bench divided at the opening of the Sitting to-day against the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman to suspend the 12 o'clock Rule, in the belief that the exceptional and extraordinary circumstances in which they found themselves, to use the right hon. Gentleman's own words, were really due to the action of the Government. The Government had unquestionably placed the House in its present exceptional position, for they had introduced legislation which had delayed the proceedings of the House. At the same time, having made their protest against this breach of the Rules, they felt they ought not further to oppose the desire of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury referred to the absence of right hon. Gentlemen with whom he usually made his arrangements. He (Mr. Mundella) heard all that was said to-night. His right hon. Colleagues deprecated this constant practice of suspending the Standing Orders; they expressed the opinion to him that it was really the fault of the Government that the House was placed in its present position. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] The hon. Gentleman the Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) must not complain, because there were few Members in the House who were more ready to stop the progress of Business than the hon. Gentleman himself.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) asked if it was in Order to throw a charge across the Table of the House against him for which there was not a shadow of evidence?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he should be sorry to say anything which was offensive to the hon. Gentleman, but he had in mind the course the hon. Gentleman took the other evening on a Bill which he believed——

THE CHAIRMAN: I invite the right hon. Gentleman to address himself to the Question before the Committee.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) would be content with this protest, and that they would not go to a Division, because it would only waste a quarter of an hour of the time of the House. He thought they might be allowed to finish this and the next Vote, when he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) would agree to report Progress, and begin with the new class of Votes to-morrow.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he really could not accept the suggestion of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella), who had just come down to the House after passing the evening in gay and festive society. What did the right hon. Gentleman say? He spoke for his Colleagues. Where were his Colleagues? His Colleagues went off to bed, and the right hon. Gentleman came down as their spokesman and asked them to go on and work all night. His (Mr. Labouchere's) contention was that they had started work early in the day, and that they could not now give fair and proper attention to the Votes. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, however, had not met the chief point he (Mr. Labouchere) had raised, which was that there was a specific pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman that the Rule should only be suspended when there was a big debate to finish. The right hon. Gentleman should not now, after having wasted and squandered the time of the House, call upon them to sit after 12 o'clock. It was his own fault, and owing to the right hon. Gentleman's own mismanagement of the Business of the House, that the House found itself in its present position. The right hon. Gentleman was not justified in moving the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule, except under conditions such as specified in his speech on the 26th of February.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked permission to differ from the hon. Gentleman, who, he was sure, did not wish to misrepresent him. The engagement into which he had entered had reference to a particular class of debates. It had no reference to any condition of affairs like the present, which no Minister responsible for the conduct of the Business of the House could have dreamed of. It was not for the purpose of forwarding the Business of the Government, not for the convenience of the Government, but for the convenience of the House, and of the public, and of the country, that he had moved the suspension of the Standing Order.

MR. BYRON REED said, he understood the question before the Committee was the Motion of the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to report Progress. He did not intend to support that Motion, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not take a Division. His reason for doing that was that they came down earlier in the afternoon, and gave special facilities to the Government under what the Government justly regarded as extraordinary circumstances. He held that their conduct in coming down and giving those facilities might justly be very seriously called in question if they were now, half an-hour after midnight, to give up the work they had undertaken to do. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) in his contention that after the next Vote, which ought to raise no discussion, they should close the Business of the Committee for the night. The only justification for the special facilities they were asked to give was that they should sit there to whatever hour it might be necessary for them to sit to transact the Business of the public. He hoped the Government would assist their supporters in this matter.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL desired to make a suggestion. It seemed to him a very great pity that the House should become debauched by the habit of late hours, after getting into decent honest habits of going to bed in reasonable time. Everyone must have noticed the change that had come over the character of the House; there was an unwillingness to sit after midnight, as they used to sit before they reformed their habits and became decent and honest. For the *impasse* in which they found themselves the Government were to blame. If there was a necessity that the Estimates should be passed before Christmas, let the hours of work be lengthened, but let the House meet earlier, not sit later. Let the House meet at 10 o'clock in the morning, as Legislative Assemblies did in all other decent civilized countries. For his own part, he would be perfectly ready to come down to the House at that hour.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, personally he was not ready to come down to the House at 10 in the morning. One observation he had to make in reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for East Bradford (Mr. Byron Reed). That hon. Member said he was ready to sit to any hour to do the Business of the country, but why should he not be ready from patriotic motives to do the same thing on any

day? Why not on Christmas Day even? Why not sit on irregular days as well as sit into irregular hours? The interest he took in the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton arose from his regarding it as a precedent for a similar Motion that would doubtless be made when Votes in which he was more particularly interested came on for consideration next week. It would be well to have from the First Lord a general statement as to the hours the Committee should be asked to sit. If they reverted to the old Constitutional hour of 4 o'clock, which suited everybody——

THE CHAIRMAN reminded the hon. and learned Member that the Question before the Committee was to report Progress.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would not dwell upon that; he merely mentioned it as being a reason against sitting later that the House met an hour earlier than was the old custom. It would be far better for the health of every Member to sit a few days longer than to sit extra hours every night when the Business of the House became intensified, far better than to prolong every Sitting with the result that work was scamped and hon. Gentlemen were apt to become excited as they were to-night. The circumstances led the Committee to expect some general statement from which they might learn the views of the Government as to a constant suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had already intimated that he was endeavouring to arrive at an understanding with right hon. Gentlemen opposite who were responsible for the conduct of the Business of the Opposition—[Mr. LABOUCHERE: Oh, no; not at all.]—to arrive at an arrangement which would be for the advantage of the House generally, and he hoped on Monday to be in a position to make a statement which would satisfy the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. T. M. Healy). And now he had to ask the Committee to consider what course should be taken, and he hoped there would be no occasion for any serious division of opinion. There remained in Class IV. five Votes which were usually taken without an expression of any great difference of opinion. ["No, no!"] He might be allowed to state a fact without interruption. Those Votes were for the National Portrait Gallery, the grants to Learned Societies, the Vote to the London University, the Grants in Aid to Universities and Colleges, and the Vote for the Deep Sea Exploration Expedition. If the Committee would be so good as to pass these Votes—Votes usually taken without any opposition at all—taken almost as a matter of course in discharge of obligations entered into by previous Parliaments and Governments, then he would propose to report Progress.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 60; Noes 133: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 323.)

Original Question again proposed.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said, without detaining the Committee at length, he desired to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what were the Government's intentions with regard to the National Portrait Gallery? Some five months had elapsed since the right hon. Gentleman received a deputation from the Trustees and a Memorial setting forth the desirability of providing a permanent home for the portrait pictures now on loan at Bethnal Green Museum. To this deputation the right hon. Gentleman replied that the Government would give the subject earnest and serious consideration. In the five months which had elapsed, perhaps the Government had had time to give that earnest and serious consideration. Any Member who had been to see the important and valuable collection of pictures lately would have no hesitation in saying it was housed in a very discreditable way. Bethnal Green Museum was quite an unsuitable place; the pictures were badly hung and could hardly be seen, and the result was that when he visited the Museum recently, on a Saturday afternoon, when it might have been anticipated there would have been many visitors from the working classes, there was scarcely a human being about the Gallery. Members would see by reference to the Report of the Trustees that when the pictures were first exhibited the number of visitors was very large. Since 1885 all additions to the collection by gift or purchase had been sent to a temporary home in a house at Westminster. Last year there were 25—he did not know how many there were altogether. He would like to

know whether this temporary home was in a fire-proof house? Anybody who knew anything about pictures would know that oil pictures kept away from the light lowered in tone, lost their colour, and it took a long time of exposure to sunlight to restore them to proper condition, if they ever recovered. He would like some information, for the time had arrived when a permanent home should be found for a collection of great historical interest, and containing many fine examples of the English school.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, perhaps the hon. Member would allow him to answer his inquiry as to the National Portrait Gallery. He might say at once that he quite agreed with the hon. Member in thinking it was desirable that as soon as possible a permanent home should be found for this valuable collection. He could not quite agree with the hon. Gentleman as to the unsuitableness of Bethnal Green Museum as a temporary place of exhibition, nor did his experience of a visit there coincide with what they had heard. The Gallery seemed well fitted for the display, and many persons of the artizan class seemed to be enjoying the pictures very much. But he did not say this as in the least denying the proposition that it was desirable to find a permanent place of exhibition for the collection, of easy access generally, and he could assure his hon. Friend that since the First Lord gave his answer to the deputation his right hon. Friend had been in communication with himself and others in reference to this business, and he was at present in communication with Mr. Scharf, the very able custodian of the collection, on the subject. Several proposals had been discussed, and he hoped before long to arrive at a conclusion that would satisfy the hon. Member.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he was very much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for an answer that was very satisfactory.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Grants in Aid of the Expenditure of certain Learned Societies in Great Britain and Ireland."

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he wished again to call the attention of the Committee to some of the items in this Vote. It was very doubtful whether any money voted by the House for the benefit of science had ever done very much good to science. Perhaps the hon. Baronet the Member for London University (Sir John Lubbock) could tell the Committee of some discovery or some practical result from the money voted year after year to Learned Societies? A sum of £4,000 was granted to the Royal Society, as to the distribution of which there was a great deal of jealousy, and even dissensions, as he understood, in the Royal Society itself. But what he felt strongly was that the Meteorological Vote was utterly indefensible. To the Meteorological Council £15,000 was granted, and the way they spent the money was very amusing. First they spent £1,000 on themselves. The hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Stokes), since he became a Member of the House, had resigned his seat on the Council. Last year he produced a valuable paper, but, with all due deference to the hon. Gentleman, it could scarcely be said to be worth £15,000. Having spent £1,000 among the Fellows who formed the Meteorological Council, they then gave £800 to a Fellow who acted as Secretary. Looking at their Report, which was not yet out, though he happened to have a copy, he found there was an increase of expenditure under the head of pensions. The expenditure for administration was £3,837 14*s.* 3*d.*; next there were items of £1,299 and £1,844 for ocean observations and discovery; but looking at the Report it would be seen that very little indeed was obtained for the £15,000. There were three papers, one by the Secretary in return for the £800, but it would be seen the money was not used as it ought to be used for carrying out scientific work, but was used among the Fellows, and they had even begun to form a Reserve Fund which, growing year by year, had reached £3,000. Having this Reserve, they surely ought not to ask for more than £12,000. Some information he would be glad to have from Fellows of the Royal Society who might be present;

perhaps the hon. Member for Cambridge University, who, until last year, was a member of the Council, could say what return there was for £15,000.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) said, he had intended to make some remarks upon this Vote, but he would forbear in deference to a general desire among hon. Members to spend their Christmas at home. He would, however, like to have an assurance that on a future occasion opportunity would be given to criticize the distribution of the money voted under this head. He did not agree with the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) that the amount was excessive; but, if time permitted, it would be possible to show that the distribution of the money might be improved. The amount of £800 to the Secretary of the Meteorological Council was but a small remuneration for the onerous duties he performed. The Secretary had charge of those weather reports daily published in the papers, and these involved a large amount of labour and scientific knowledge.

DR. CLARK said, that as no information was forthcoming from the Government or from the Representatives of the Society in the House, he would move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,900, be granted for the said Service."—(*Dr. Clark.*)

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) said, he was not one of the Meteorological Committee, and the Report of that Committee had not yet been issued, so that he was not competent to give any information; but as the hon. Member had referred to him, if he remained silent it might be supposed by the Committee that he thought there was a case for the reduction of the Vote. Although he was afraid he was not in a position, under the circumstances, to give the information asked for, still he felt bound to say that he believed the general opinion of scientific men was that the Committee was a very strong one, and money was well spent. The hon. Member spoke as if the scientific members voted the money to themselves, but the real truth was that membership of the Royal Society was a very much coveted honour among scientific men in England, Scotland, and Ireland, so that almost every man of science was glad to belong to the Society, and the most distinguished men in the Kingdom were members. The men most competent to serve on such a Committee were almost sure to be Fellows of the Royal Society. The hon. Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) would, he felt sure, confirm him in that. He did not believe there was any difference of opinion among scientific men as to the distribution of these sums, and he should be sorry to see any reduction.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he did not rise, because the hon. Member for Caithness had referred personally to his hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge University, from whom he thought it possible the Committee would learn more as to the points raised.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he would just observe that the Vote included three items for Irish Societies, and to that extent should be included in the arrangement for Irish Votes.

MR. JACKSON said, he hoped the hon. Member would not take exception to that, or raise any objection to the Vote being taken now. This was always taken as a non-contentious Vote, and he did not think that anywhere there was a wish to strike out the Irish contribution. He was not aware that any question arose in connection with the Irish portion of the Vote, or that there was any dissatisfaction in regard to it.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): said, there was very considerable dissatisfaction as to the expenditure of the money allotted to the Royal Irish Academy. For his own part, he had no idea that the Vote was going to be proceeded with. He understood that none of the Votes that contained matter appertaining to Scotland and Ireland would be taken to-night, and it was extremely strange, not to say suspicious, that the Vote should be included after the pledge given by the Leader of the House, and after Irish Members had left, supposing that the Votes to be taken had relation to purely English affairs. Upon these items a good deal might be

said in reference to important interests involved. He sincerely hoped the Vote would not now be taken, and that supporters of the Government would have regard to the plighted word of the First Lord of the Treasury.

MR. SEXTON said, he had something more than a technical reason for referring to the Vote. The foundation of the Royal Irish Academy lately came under the cognizance of the Endowments Commission, and a new scheme had been framed having relation to the control of a large bequest given partly to the Academy and partly to the Dublin Corporation. That scheme was now before the Lord Lieutenant waiting approval; and he desired to know whether approval was to be given, and how the money would be expended by the Royal Irish Academy? Also he wished to know what had been done towards the spread of musical knowledge among the working classes by the Academy? In the absence of information it was undesirable the Vote should be taken.

MR. JACKSON said, he would be sorry that the opportunity should be lost for raising any question in relation to the Vote, and he suggested that the opportunity would be afforded if they agreed that the Report stage of the Vote should not be taken until next week. In the meantime he would be glad to obtain any desired information.

MR. SEXTON said, he would be satisfied to take that course if the hon. Gentleman would kindly undertake to say on Report whether the Lord Lieutenant had, or had not, approved of the scheme; and whether the assent had been accompanied with any suggestion to provide better facilities for the dissemination of musical culture among the working classes?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he should like the same principle to apply to the first Vote in Class VI. taken that evening. ["Order, order!"]

DR. TANNER said, that the Government were not fulfilling their pledge. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh at the Leader of the House of Commons, who had given a distinct pledge that Irish and Scotch Business should not be taken. The cachinnations of hon. Members below the Gangway notwithstanding, the Leader of the House had broken his pledge, and he called the serious attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to the fact. To defer discussion to Report would be to allow the Government to appoint any hour of the night for the purpose. He had no faith in the magnanimity of the Government, and protested against such an arrangement. The Leader of the House came down to the House, coercion in one hand, and breach of his word in the other. It was an insult to Members, the Leader of the House was not as good as his word.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(8.) £4,852, to complete the sum for London University.

(9.) £7,000, to complete the sum for Universities and Colleges, Grants in Aid.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) said, before this Vote passed he desired to address a question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was nearly two years since a large and important deputation waited upon the right hon. Gentleman in reference to Grants in Aid of English Colleges, and many of these Colleges were still in a state of great anxiety and uncertainty, because no effect had yet been given to the promise then made; indeed, in some cases he understood they were on the point of dismissing some of their Professors, and others were in a state of impecunious anxiety, from which he hoped a word from the Chancellor of the Exchequer would release them. With respect to Wales itself, although the Welsh Colleges had benefited more than the most sanguine would have expected from the grants which had been made, the neglect of the intermediate grant promised by the Government for the last three years was a source of the greatest anxiety and dissatisfaction.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he ventured to press the same question. When £14,000 was voted to Wales, £32,000 to Scotland, and £11,000 to Ireland, then there was a good claim on behalf of English Colleges doing precisely the same work. He would not go into the question at length.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) said, he desired to add his endorsement to the request, and in particular to urge the claims of Yorkshire College to a share in the distribution under this Vote. The College based its claim on the width of its curriculum, covering a wide field of

ancient and modern learning, and the number of its pupils, 1,000 day scholars and 1,200 in the evening—no small number, having regard to the character of the instruction given. Further, they based their claim on their own efforts. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he received the deputation referred to, said that each district must make an exertion in the first instance. The contributions to the Yorkshire College amounted to £120,000, and, adding the contribution from the Clothworkers' Company, the amount for the year was £150,000. It must be remembered that the College did a special work, as all the culture and knowledge promoted by it had been brought into the midst of the great manufacturing districts of the North.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, he did not think it was two years ago that he received the deputation; it was during last year. As right hon. Gentlemen opposite would be aware, it was impossible to make grants of this kind without developing some scheme under which to determine what Colleges ought to be encouraged and what Colleges should not. It was an exceedingly troublesome matter to devise safeguards which would prevent benefit being conferred on Colleges having no fair claim to public support. The claims of some were clear, but as to others extremely doubtful. He was sure the Committee would appreciate the great difficulty there was with the requirements of an Autumn Session in dealing with all the subjects which had been pressed upon the attention of the Government. During the last few weeks he had been making every effort to bring this matter to a conclusion. A scheme was now before him, but it required verification in some particulars, and he would have to ask the assistance of Members of the House and others to bring this scheme to perfection, so that no College worthy of assistance should be excluded, while avoiding abuses in the other direction. His hon. Friends might rest assured he would do his utmost to bring the matter to a speedy determination, and he was quite aware of the anxiety felt on the subject.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) asked, in view of the great importance of the matter, and the interest and anxiety expressed in all parts with regard to English Colleges, whether the right hon. Gentleman would name the sum proposed to be set apart for the purpose? He was quite aware of the difficulty of distribution among the Colleges; but that might be settled afterwards.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he was not prepared to name the sum to be definitely decided upon. He had a sum in his mind, and should not object to have it confidentially known; but he was not prepared to state the sum to the Committee until he could explain the matter thoroughly. He must leave the matter where it stood with his first observations.

MR. MUNDELLA asked, as the scheme was near completion, if a sum for the purpose would be placed on the Estimates for next year?

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes; he thought he might say that the Estimates for next year would include Grants in Aid to certain Colleges, according to the scheme in preparation.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he hoped that before the scheme was finally adopted the right hon. Gentleman would allow it to be discussed by a Select Committee. The present grants were allotted on a very irregular basis, one College receiving £62 per head for every student, and another £78 per head. There should be a uniform basis for England, Scotland, and Ireland. Scotland at present did not get a fair sum; Scotland, so far as science was concerned, did not get a penny. Before anything further was done, the whole question should be gone into, in order that the claims of each portion of the Kingdom might be settled.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, it was so far satisfactory that a certain sum would be voted next year; but these Colleges were led to hope that a Vote would be taken this year, and there would be much disappointment if this were not done. Once more, therefore, he would ask, was it not possible to include the sum in a Supplementary Estimate this year?

MR. GOSCHEN made a gesture in the negative.

DR. TANNER claimed that Questions should have an explicit answer.

DR. CLARK asked the right hon. Gentleman to give some indication of

the basis upon which the sum was intended to be distributed. Would it be per head of students, or according to Professors; would it be allocated for Scholarships or Bursaries?

MR. GOSCHEN said, the hon. Member would certainly be entitled to ask these questions before the money was voted; but he indicated those precise difficulties upon the solution of which he was engaged. As to the suggestion of a Select Committee, he was afraid the Colleges themselves would regard this as deferring the settlement still further. So far as the Government were concerned, they would not be sorry to get rid of a very difficult task by the convenient method of handing it over to a Select Committee; but, except under pressure from those most interested in the decision, he could not come to the conclusion that a Select Committee was desirable. In reply to the hon. Baronet, he was sorry to say he could not propose an Estimate this year.

DR. CLARK said, in relation to this question, it would have to be considered how Parliament had discharged the burden transferred to it by the Act of Union of maintaining the Scotch Universities.

Vote *agreed to.*

10. £1,000, to complete the sum for Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).

DR. CLARK asked, how long this expenditure would last, and were they near the end of it? It was 12 years since the *Challenger* came back; how long would the services of the Directors and other officials be required?

MR. JACKSON said, he hoped the end was very near at hand.

DR. TANNER said, it was satisfactory to learn that, for the expenditure had been very great. The results as set forth in the Reports were doubtless valuable to various scientific Societies; but for pecuniary reasons the great mass was beyond the reach of the general public. One question was pertinent to this subject, and had relation also to the earlier discussion upon pensions. This Deep Sea Exploration business had been going on for a long time; when the work concluded—if it ever did—would any pensions accrue to the gentlemen engaged upon it?

MR. JACKSON said, there was no power to confer pensions in this case.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. SEXTON said, before the Chairman left the Chair he had to protest against the manner in which the closure had been applied to the discussion of the Vote of £68,000 for Superannuations and Retiring Allowances; in the first place, because it was in contravention of the arrangement by which it was understood that Irish Votes would not be taken until next week, and this Vote contained many Irish items, and because, also, no opportunity was allowed for the discussion of these items before the application of the closure. Irish Members had waited until English Members had concluded discussion of items in which they were interested, and then the closure was applied, stopping discussion of many items that called for critical examination. He had to ask now that the opportunity should be allowed on Report stage which Irish Members had been denied in Committee. He had also to ask if the Irish Votes would be taken next week in their order of succession?

MR. CONYBEARE desired to add his protest. He was about to ask—["Order, order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: It is quite irregular to proceed in this way on a Motion to report Progress. There is no relevancy in these observations.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he deferred in obedience to the Chairman's ruling. He merely wished to ask a question, but if this was not the time to do so he would put it on the Motion for the Adjournment of the House.

MR. JACKSON said, he was unable at the moment to say in what order the Irish Estimates would be taken, but he would give the information to-morrow. If he were in Order in doing so he would say in answer to the hon. Member's reference to the Superannuation Vote that there certainly never was any understanding that this was an Irish Vote in the sense in which Irish and Scotch Votes had been postponed. It must be clear to everybody who looked at the

Notice on the Paper that this was not within the term Irish and Scotch Votes to be excluded. Of course, if some of the items in a Vote being Irish brought the whole Vote within the category of Irish Votes, very many other Votes would have been brought within the arrangement; but this was never contemplated. Certainly the Government had no desire to evade discussion.

MR. SEXTON said, he accepted the statement of the hon. Gentleman and would not press the matter further; still he did not quite see why a sum of a few hundreds should be excluded on the ground of its being an Irish Vote, and thousands should be included in another as an English Vote.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he would only point out that whether the Vote of a particular item came under the Rule or not they were not allowed a single opportunity of raising the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: This cannot be discussed on a Motion to report Progress.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

SAND GROUSE PROTECTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Sydney Buxton, Bill for the better protection of Sand Grouse in the United Kingdom, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir George Trevelyan, Lord Charles Beresford, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Henry James, Mr. Richard Power, Sir Edward Birkbeck, and Mr. Broadhurst.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 391.]

TRIBUNALS OF COMMERCE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jacoby, Bill for the establishment of Tribunals of Commerce, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Jacoby, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Montagu, Mr. James Maclean, and Mr. Esslemont.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 392.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. SEXTON asked, at what hour would the House meet to-morrow (Saturday)?

MR. JACKSON said, the Sitting would be subject to the Wednesday Rule.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he desired to refer to a question he had endeavoured to raise in Committee just now. During the evening, while Vote 1, Class VI., was under discussion, he rose for the purpose of asking a question in relation to the largest Vote the Committee had passed, and the First Lord of the Treasury promptly closured the debate. He had now to ask whether the Government would do as they had done in respect to smaller items, postpone the Report of the Vote until such a time as would allow Irish Members and others to ask questions in relation to the large sum in the Vote, and to discuss it as they had a right to do? He did not say they desired a lengthened debate; but it was a most improper proceeding, when a large sum of money was being voted, that Members should be absolutely precluded from making inquiries as to the money they were asked to vote, and to discuss the expenditure if disposed to do so. It was all the more important, because Irish expenditure was included in the Vote, and, therefore, according to the understanding, the Vote should not have been taken until next week. He protested, in the strongest manner, against the abominable manner in which an important debate had been closured, and he should oppose the Vote until he had full information in regard to it.

MR. GOSCHEN said, of course the hon. Member could make his protest, but he must bear in mind that if there was a necessity for the application of the closure, no Member was more responsible for that than the hon. Member himself.

MR. CONYBEARE, who was met with cries of "Order!" said, he had a right to repudiate the charge of Obstruction made against him. ["Oh, oh!"] He challenged anyone to say whether he had in any single instance done anything that by any interpretation could be called Obstruction? ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. SPEAKER: This discussion is somewhat irregular. It refers to circumstances that took place in Committee, and the application of the Rule of Closure there, of which the House is not cognizant.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, would the Report of the first Vote in Class VI. be taken first in to-morrow's Business?

MR. JACKSON said, it would be taken at the next Sitting, but not as the First Order.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he should oppose it.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked the hon. Gentleman to say after what hour the Report of this particular Vote would not be taken?

MR. JACKSON said, it would come on in the usual course, but it was impossible to fix a time, for it was impossible to say when the Committee of Supply would finish its proceedings.

DR. CLARK asked, would it be competent to take Report of Supply after half-past 5?

MR. SPEAKER said, that would be so according to Standing Orders.

MR. CONYBEARE asked, then what opportunity would there be to discuss the Vote?

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 1st December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committe* —CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, Vote 1. *Resolutions* [November 30] *reported.*

MOTION.

SITTING OF THE HOUSE (SATURDAY).

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Sitting of the House this day be held subject to the Rules and Orders in force with regard to the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, whether they were to understand that, if the Sitting were held under the Rules applying to Wednesdays, the Government would enforce the Sessional Order which enabled them to take the Report of Supply after half-past 5 o'clock, under which Order the House had been kept sitting after 6 o'clock on a recent Wednesday? On the preceding night a Vote of £68,000, in connection with superannuation allowances in Ireland, had been passed without a single Irish Member having the opportunity of saying a word upon it through the First Lord of the Treasury moving the Closure; and as many Members were interested in the discussion of the Vote, he thought the Report of it ought to be taken earlier than half-past five o'clock, if it were to be taken at all that day.

MR. SPEAKER ruled the hon. Member out of Order in referring to these proceedings.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he did not think he should be justified in interfering with the operation of the Rules and Orders of the House with reference to any particular Vote before the House. Hon. Members knew it was necessary for the Public Service that the money they had asked for should be granted. It was necessary in the public interest, in order that the Exchequer might meet the demands that were made upon it, that the Report of the Vote should be taken that evening.

QUESTIONS.

NAILERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS —NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1888— STANDING ORDER 27 (DISORDERLY CONDUCT) — MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM ORDERED TO WITHDRAW.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, before the end of the Session, he will give a day to discuss the Motion of the hon. Member for Dudley (Mr. Brooke Robinson) relative to the chainmakers of Cradley Heath?

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, whether the Report of the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade in reference to this subject could be printed in a cheap form for circulation in the district? He had received representations from the district, and one from a large Association of workmen, that a cheap reprint would be very useful.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) said, he would cause in-

quiry to be made, in order to ascertain whether the suggestion of the hon. Member could be complied with.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): We have already informed the hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire that the subject to which he has drawn attention is receiving the earnest attention of the Government. Owing to the pressure of Public Business, I cannot make any other disposition of the public time than that which I have already announced.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that he has not in the least degree answered my Question. I asked a definite Question, whether he would afford facilities for the discussion of a Motion of one of his own supporters? If he does not do so, I characterize that Motion as a dishonourable trick to avoid discussion.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is conducting himself in a most unusual and un-Parliamentary manner in making use of language of that kind. I must request him to withdraw the expression he has made use of.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I never withdraw. I simply said what I mean.

MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member to withdraw the expression "dishonourable trick," which is a strictly improper and un-Parliamentary expression.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Mr. Speaker, I wish, as on a former occasion, to acquit myself of any intentional discourtesy to you; but I am compelled again to characterize the action taken with regard to this Motion by the hon. Member for Dudley as a dishonourable trick.

MR. SPEAKER: I must again ask the hon. Member to withdraw so improper and un-Parliamentary an expression.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I refuse, Sir, to withdraw it.

MR. SPEAKER: Then I must ask the hon. Member to withdraw from the House.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Certainly, Sir. I will go to Cradley Heath.

The following is the Entry in the Votes:—

"Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of Standing Order 27, relating to Disorderly Conduct, ordered Mr. Cunninghame Graham to withdraw immediately from the House and its precincts during the remainder of this day's Sitting."

Main Question put.

Ordered, That the Sitting of the House this day be held subject to the Rules and Orders in force with regard to the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £46,260, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, that under this head appeared an item for Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General in Egypt, and in connection with that Vote he desired to occupy the attention of the Committee for a short time in reference to the prospect which was being opened out for us at Suakin. He believed that that was a matter which came strictly under this Vote. It was proposed, as the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) had on more than one occasion recently told them, to employ a British Force at Suakin. He should like the Committee to go back to what had happened in Suakin during the last five or six years. He did not propose to recapitulate the whole of the events which had occurred. He only desired the Committee to recall the previous occasions on which British troops had been employed, the enormous destruction of the Arabs following that employment, the great and serious loss of life to British soldiers and British officers, and the futile result of all the operations which had taken place there. He thought it would be found that the result of all the operations in connection with Suakin during the last five or six

years, so far from effecting good in the future civilization in the Soudan, was absolutely nil. He did not think it would be denied in any part of the House that this shedding of blood and this waste of treasure had been followed by absolutely no good whatever to any object of public policy either English or Egyptian. In the remarks he proposed to make he should endeavour to keep perfectly clear from Party feeling. He did not make that remark in the ordinary conventional way, but because he thought that it could not be denied that both Parties were equally responsible for this horrible and dreadful waste of treasure and bloodshed. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] He thought that hon. Gentlemen who said "No" could not have been in the Parliament of 1880. It could not be denied that both Parties were compromised in the history of those transactions, but he only wished the Committee to follow what had been going on during the last 12 months. As he was informed, up to March last, after a considerable interval, Osman Digna and the Arab Tribes and Dervishes had been completely quiet. In March Osman Digna came down to Handoub, a place about nine miles from Suakin, where a fierce encounter took place between his forces and the Egyptian troops who were in the occupation of the Soudan. These encounters were followed by an armistice, and that armistice lasted until September. It would then appear, from information received from the English officer serving under the Egyptian Government in Suakin, that communications were going on between Osman Digma and the Mahdi, who refused to allow Osman Digna to enter into amicable or civil relations with the General commanding at Suakin, and sent orders that the infidels in Suakin were to be put to the sword, and that the Egyptian Government and all its representatives were to be driven into the sea. About the middle of September some of the Arabs entrenched themselves around the wells about a mile from Suakin, on which Suakin depended for water. There were at first about 250 horsemen, but they were subsequently reinforced by 3,000 men on foot. From that time until now every attempt to dislodge those forces from their entrenchments had been entirely futile. It would appear that they had got decent guns, abundance of good ammunition, and as to their courage and bravery, we had experienced them before, and that courage and bravery had not diminished since. The defence of the outworks was most intrepidly conducted, and the operations since had assumed a formidable character, so formidable that General Grenfell felt it his duty to go to Cairo to make representations to Her Majesty's Agent there, and to request that the garrison should be reinforced by a body of British troops. That was the present situation. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury promised the other day to lay the Papers as to the communications of General Grenfell with the Egyptian Government before the House, but unfortunately they were compelled that day to discuss the subject in the absence of those Papers, and they had no means of knowing what representations were made to the Egyptian Government, or what was the general view taken of the situation by Her Majesty's Government in London. Possibly the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State (Sir James Fergusson) might be enabled to enlighten the Committee as to the views of Her Majesty's Government. What he wanted to do shortly was to protest against the repetition in 1889 of the kind of bloody and aimless operations that were carried on in 1884-1885. He had no desire to discuss the Soudan policy at large, but to impress upon the Committee how shameful it would be if Parliament allowed the Government once more to embark on a similar purposeless operation without as strong a protest as they could possibly make against them. He was afraid that they were bound to treat those operations as absolutely purposeless. He did not wish for a moment to tie the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to any accidental phrase which might have fallen from his lips in answer to the question, but the right hon. Gentleman had on three occasions repeated a remarkable phrase —namely, the Force was to go from Cairo to Suakin and then back again to Cairo. If that manœuvre was to be shared in by British troops, then he would repeat again a protest against such operations as absolutely purposeless. He would base his protest on this proposi-

tion, and he defied the Government to produce one item of testimony in contravention of it. His protest was that Suakin, as Suakin, was absolutely useless for any good purpose. They must either go beyond Suakin, or direct the Egyptian Government to abandon Suakin. The mere retention of Suakin on such terms as it had been retained since the operations of 1885 was absolutely useless for any good purpose. He knew it was said that we were there in order to prevent the nefarious operations of the Slave Traders, but then they had a great body of evidence from our own agents, naval, military, and political, all to the effect that for the purpose of suppressing the Eastern Soudan Slave Trade the retention of Suakin by the Egyptian Government was absolutely useless. He would not trouble the Committee with more than a few extracts. Colonel Schaefer, who was officially connected with the Slave Trade Department, had been instructed to present a report as to the position of the Soudan Slave Trade, and he would only read what that gentleman said in reference to the position of Suakin.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON asked, to what page in the Papers the right hon. Gentleman was referring?

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, it was the correspondence that was laid before the House on the Slave Trade in June, 1888. At page 125 of the Blue Book it would be found that Colonel Schaefer first of all described the state of things at Jeddah, which, as hon. Members were aware, was the great market where the slaves brought from the Eastern Soudan were disposed of. Colonel Schaefer said—

"All the dealers say that they had any such amount of slaves available, and that never before had there been such a glut of slaves in the Jeddah market."

He said, further on—

"I cannot insist too much on the fact that if this is allowed to go on, all measures taken by the Egyptian authorities on the Red Sea Littoral will be thrown away, and representations must absolutely be made at Constantinople, in order to bring about a change in these scandalous proceedings."

In a succeeding Memorandum, at page 127, this gentleman explained how it was that the Egyptian Government were very badly situated with regard to means for checking this great evil effectively. He says there are two ways of crushing the Slave Trade. The one is to go to the source, the other is to go to the market. Hon. Members would observe that, according to this view, we must either close the source, which was the East of the Nile, or close the markets. Colonel Schaefer added the operations in the Red Sea Littoral, the retention of the Soudan, and the operations of the cruisers in front of the coast were absolutely useless for the purpose of protection. For obvious reasons, going to the source of the Slave Trade was out of the question, and according to Colonel Schaefer, an attempt to close the market at Jeddah was the only practicable remedy under the circumstances. The only thing the Egyptian Government could do was to try and stop the caravans in their passage; but the stopping of the caravans in their passage was not to be done at Suakin. The retention of Suakin was altogether unconnected with any effective measures for stopping the caravans. In another passage Colonel Schaefer said that so long as no measures were taken by the authorities of Jeddah or other parts of the coast to prevent the landing of slaves from the slave dhows, any other measures would be of no avail. If it were contended that the retention of Suakin was of importance in connection with the operations of the English cruisers who were engaged in intercepting the slave dhows from one coast to the other, they would find that Colonel Schaefer was of an entirely different opinion, for he said, at page 128 of the Blue Book—

"The coast of the Eastern Soudan is protected by a chain of reefs, rendering navigation extremely difficult. Therefore I do not think that this control"—

the control maintained by Egypt—

"was of any great use. The dhows are always able to see a steamer a long way off, and the crew at once make for the shore and sink the boat, after having landed the slaves."

Neither by the retention of the Soudan nor by the employment of our cruisers are we able to prevent the importation of a single slave upon the opposite coast. It was now understood that two new regiments of Egyptian troops were going to be raised, equipped, and transported, and his contention was that the Egyptian Budget would be by no means able to support so heavy a

burden. Therefore, from the point of view of the financial embarrassment of Egypt, as well as from the point of view of humanity towards the unfortunate Arabs—an effective operation for the suppression of the Slave Trade—we were simply doing what was worse than purposeless. Her Majesty's Government would soon be driven to consider whether they would not advise the Egyptian Government to abandon Suakin altogether. The only other alternative was to attempt to suppress the Slave Trade by introducing a policy of civilization into the Soudan itself. He should look upon such a policy with the greatest misgiving, as one that would involve us in serious embarrassment. The Egyptians were distrusted by the Arab tribes, and to invite the Egyptians to undertake operations in the Inner Soudan would be inevitbaly disastrous. That, however, would be a matter for future debate. The point now before the Committee was, whether Her Majesty's Government were now to be encouraged in embarking in a course which would inevitably lead to a repetition of the odious transactions which took place at Suakin in 1884-5.

SIR LEWIS PELLY (Hackney, N.) said, that when he entered the House he had no intention of intervening in the debate, but he confessed that he had never himself been able to follow our policy in Egypt. He had, to the best of his ability, watched the course of events in Egypt since he was there in 1880, but he had never been able to understand it. It had been marked by ignorance of Oriental character and modes of thought, and by a vacillation of purpose produced by the exigencies of Party Government. He would not, however, enter further into that subject, but as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) had touched on the question of the Slave Trade, he thought that, without arrogance, he might submit to the House some results of his own experience, derived from 15 years' employment in connection with the Arabs from the head of the Persian Gulf to the Mozambique Channel. In accordance with instructions from the Indian Government he had many years ago prepared a Report upon the general question of the Slave Trade. If the right hon. Gentleman would read that Report, he would find that many of the phrases he had used in his speech were in exact accord with the statements contained in the Report. He (Sir Lewis Pelly) added that he had been engaged in chevying many thousands of slaves, and the operations with which he had been connected were conducted with care for the slaves themselves in the general interests of humanity. But the conclusion he was compelled to arrive at at last was, that we were doing more harm than good, and he accordingly tendered to the Government of India, in a respectful manner, the resignation of his appointment. The policy, however, to which he objected had been persevered in, and what had been the consequence? They had recently heard from the Prime Minister himself that the Slave Trade was carried on with increased vigour; and what were the consequences to the slaves themselves? Instead of being taken on the open seas as they used to be, they were now dodged along the coast until an opportunity arrived for taking them over to Asia by sea or overland at an immense loss—probably 60 or 70 per cent. The evils of the trade were admitted on all hands, and so were our good intentions, nor could anyone admire more heartily than he did the dauntless energy, the perseverance, the heroic endurance, and the deliberate daring displayed by our officers and men cruising for weeks in open boats among perilous and unsurveyed reefs. But what he deeply regretted was that our proceedings should be capable of suspicion, and that our motives should be suspected by the Natives, who think that we unite in our cruisers the functions of policeman and Judge, and that the captors benefit in money by an award against the party they have apprehended. He well knew how largely the Natives erred in this opinion. But not the less true was it that they had regarded us with those feelings with which human nature will regard a supposed tyrannical but irresistible force. They consider, in brief, that we have exhibited along the East Coast of Africa that most frightful of spectacles—the power of civilization without its justice or its mercy. But it was not the local Executive, but the Policy that he arraigned. Although actuated with the best intentions, we had done a good deal of harm, and, in his opinion, the slavery pervading Africa could not be eradicated

by force used at sea. We must trust to the progress of civilization for slowly eradicating a great and long-standing evil. We must either stop the demand, or go to the source from which the slaves were produced. He had submitted, in former days, that something might be done by spreading civilization in Eastern Africa, and making arrangements for carrying goods from the interior to the coast-line without the aid of slave porters. In Mombassa, for instance, we find what Captain Owen, R.N., has described; one of the finest harbours in the world—its climate is salubrious, and inland lies a magnificent territory, capable of considerable mercantile development. All along the coast-line, at various distances from the sea, produce, whether in ivory, seeds, copal, skins, or what-not, is marketable. Slaves drawn from the interior, having been either taken in war, kidnapped, or sold for debt, carry down the produce as "porters" to the coast. He was glad to add that a few gentlemen had now subscribed a quarter of a million of money as a nucleus for endeavouring to introduce, through Mombassa to Lake Victoria Nyansa, and by the instrumentality of our British Indian traders, civilized means of transit and the ordinary administration of a British Government. Something might be done against the Slave Trade by watching the ports to which the slave craft run on the Arabian coast and at the entrance to the Gulfs of Oman and Persia. But he would repeat that we should never root out slavery in Africa unless we introduced civilization there and the means of transport. We must trust to the slow process of civilizing influences, and not to the force of arms, to get rid of this long-standing curse.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) said, that he did not rise so early to interpose between hon. Members and the House. On an ordinary occasion he would rather allow the debate to proceed further; but the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) were of so grave a character that the Committee would feel they deserved an immediate reply, and possibly what he (Sir James Fergusson) should be able to say, in answer, might remove some misconceptions from the minds of hon. Members, and place the subject, at any rate, on a foundation of fact. No one could take exception to a right hon. Gentleman in the position of the right hon. Member challenging the policy of the Government, and, at all events, asking the most distinct explanation of the nature and intention of the operations which were known to be contemplated. The right hon. Gentleman had abstained from recapitulating the events of late years, although he had alluded to them; and certainly the memory of costly expeditions in the same region, of terrible loss of life, and of acknowledged failure in material objects would discourage any Government from embarking in any similar undertaking. But when Her Majesty's Government came into Office they found matters in a certain stage. Her Majesty's Forces and the Egyptian troops had been withdrawn from the Nile Valley. He did not question whether the resolution in its entirety—whether Dongola, for instance, might or might not with advantage have been held—was wise or not; but the frontier post was fixed at Wady Halfa, and Suakin was the only point retained on the Red Sea. There Her Majesty's Government, who had gone only as far as advice, had counselled the Egyptian Government to remain; and it had been the deliberate policy of the English Government ever since to maintain a purely defensive attitude, with as small a force as might be adequate for the purpose, and, in the meantime, by spending all the money they could spare on the improvement of the country, to place the finances of the Egyptian Government on a better footing to enable it to meet the necessary expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman had remarked upon the absence of any advantageous objects resulting from the waste of blood and treasure in the Soudan. That was a melancholy fact, for which Her Majesty's present Advisers were certainly not responsible. He was not going to rip up old sores, or to renew old complaints, or to make taunts against those who were responsible. The question for him was the present and not the past. As regarded the recent sequence of events and the new disturbances on the frontier, they were not material to the present issue. The Prime Minister had lately used a remarkable expression with respect to

the petty warfare which was going on—namely, that it was "the surf upon the advancing wave of civilization." Egypt was not the only country which had a troublesome frontier and troublesome neighbours, against whom she had to maintain a defensive war. Russia had such troublesome frontiers and neighbours, and so also had India, where we were sometimes obliged to take up more than a simple attitude of defence. The right hon. Gentleman, referring to the present situation, had alluded to the attack upon Suakin, and to the intrepid attitude maintained by the besiegers. No recent attempt had been made to dislodge them, and it had now come to this—either that the troops must be withdrawn to Egypt, or a British Force be sent to support them. He would remind the Committee that there were only two kinds of policy of a military nature that were possible in Egypt with regard to Suakin and the Nile Valley. Either Egypt must remain there entirely on the defensive, or operations must be resumed on a scale sufficient to drive back the hostile forces to a great distance and to render them incapable of resuming the attack. It was agreed on all hands that the latter policy was abandoned; and, therefore, there was no alternative possible, except the purely defensive policy we had adopted, and from that there was no intention to depart. It was quite true that the garrison at Suakin must be put on a scale adequate to meet any future emergency, and to cope with a large force from the interior, furnished with arms of precision, and understanding how to use them. It was, therefore, obvious that in face of the pertinacious attacks made on the place it was necessary that reinforcements should be sent, in order to maintain the defensive attitude which had been adopted. It must be borne in mind that any attempt to advance beyond the lines which the Soudanese had taken up was immediately stopped, and that had been the case for several weeks. What was to be done? Were the Arabs to be allowed to remain threatening Suakin, firing shots into the place, killing and wounding the inhabitants and some of the defending forces, and shutting up the garrison, even if it was not seriously threatened? Was it possible for the Egyptian Government to allow matters to remain in that position? Did the right hon. Gentleman suggest the alternative that the Egyptian troops should be withdrawn, and the place left to the tender mercies of the Slave Traders? Did the right hon. Gentleman seriously suggest that that was the course which the Government ought to adopt?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: That is one of the courses.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, that was a course which he thought the House would consider it very improper to adopt. The only course, therefore, was adequately to defend the place; and, accordingly, a force was being sent there which, in the opinion of the Military Authorities, would be sufficient for the purpose. Her Majesty's Government had authorized the employment of a portion of the small British Force now in Egypt in support of the Egyptian troops, who were dispatched for the defence of the place. The General in Egypt, an officer of great ability, was of opinion that the force would be sufficient for the purpose, and he was absolutely certain that there would be no failure. The Military Authorities did not entertain the slightest doubt of the success of the operations in driving away the Arab Tribes. He could assure the Committee that there was no intention of doing more than defend Suakin. The policy of the Government was simply to defend the place, and that object had been hitherto successfully accomplished by the Egyptian troops without the aid of British troops. They had shown their ability to defend themselves without our assistance. There had been unfortunate exaggerations with regard to the situation in which Suakin was placed. The Correspondent of *The Times* said, a little while ago, that the town might be taken by a rush. That was not the case; and now the British Authorities did not entertain the slightest doubt that the force to be employed in the defence of Suakin would be able to drive away the besiegers, but that in any case the capture of the place was absolutely impossible. There was no intention to do more than defend Suakin, and he had no doubt they would be able to defend it. The Egyptian troops had shown, without the aid of British soldiers, their ability to maintain themselves in several hot engagements.

Let them hope, then, that that was one of the last recurring waves by which barbarous troops were seeking, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, to sweep away civilized Government and drive the Egyptians into the sea. The right hon. Gentleman said that Suakin was of no use for the suppression of the Slave Trade. [Mr. JOHN MORLEY: Hear, hear!] That was not the opinion of many persons of high authority. They were of opinion that if we were to give up the station from which our ships were able to operate conveniently along the littoral, the Slave Trade would very soon assume much larger proportions. And it stood to reason, because, *à priori*, if you removed your Forces to a great distance you could not act with the same effect. The right hon. Gentleman had said that a man-of-war was a very large object, and that when the slavers saw it they kept out of the way. As soon as it was out of sight, then came the time to run across the sea. That was a sensible observation, but naval officers were sensible men; and as the same idea had occurred to them, they employed boats and they fitted out native craft which could creep along the coast and watch the trade. It had been said that there were only two effective ways of stopping the Slave Trade—the one at the source and the other at Jeddah, and that the best way was to go to the Ottoman Government and secure its co-operation and assistance. Well, that was exactly what was being done. He was happy to say that during the last fortnight some slave dhows were chased by boats from a man-of-war. They landed in the neighbourhood of Jeddah; the Mahomedan Governor was appealed to, and he, without the slightest delay, sent the police, and, though some of the slaves had been removed, a considerable number were recovered, in consequence of his energetic proceedings, and set free. The right hon. Gentleman had said that we were going to impose new burdens upon the Egyptian Government by this increase in the Army of Defence. Well, it was hard to please everybody. There had been many statements of late in the newspapers to the effect that the Egyptian Force was too small for the work it had to do. He thought that the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had expressed that opinion. [Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: Hear, hear!] The matter was referred to the Egyptian Government, and the latter proposed — it was not suggested by Her Majesty's Government—to make a small increase in their Army, so that it might not be necessary to keep troops on the Nile without relief, and to transfer them when any emergency threatened Suakin. That increase would be only a couple of battalions of Black Troops and one squadron of Cavalry, and the expense would probably be less than £52,000. The burden imposed would not be considerable, and it was capable of diminution. The right hon. Gentleman said that, with the low Nile and the consequent diminution of the Revenue, that would be a serious strain upon the resources of Egypt. He was happy to say that, owing to the improvements going on in Egypt, and the better condition of the people and the Revenue, it was not contemplated to impose any considerable increase of taxation on account of this increase. It would be interesting to the Committee, and would show the result of the policy of the Egyptian Government, encouraged by Her Majesty's Government in their attitude of defence, if he were to refer to a Despatch recently presented to Parliament from Sir Evelyn Baring, inclosing a Report from Mr. Clarke showing the extraordinary improvement in the condition of the Egyptian peasantry during the last two or three years. The Despatch was full of the most interesting details in proof of that result.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Who is Mr. Clarke?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, he was one of the officers attached to Sir Evelyn Baring's Mission.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: What office does he hold?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, he believed Mr. Clarke was Second Attaché, or Secretary. According to his able Report, the financial resources had so much improved within the last three years that there would be a surplus this year on the assigned revenue of nearly £500,000, in spite of the expense connected with the defence of Suakin and the loss caused by the low Nile. It was a mistake, however, to suppose that this was by any means the lowest Nile known within the last few years. The Nile in two former years had been absolutely lower; neither was

there any interference with the channel of the Blue Nile. On the contrary, the colour of the water showed that the Blue Nile was flowing down. The irrigation works had considerably modified the loss which would have been otherwise felt, and probably about 250,000 acres would be out of cultivation, entailing a loss of £200,000 upon the Revenue, which would be made up in a great part from other sources. In short, the improvement in the Revenues of Egypt was making up for the new burden. With regard to what had fallen from his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Hackney (Sir Lewis Pelly), who was, no doubt, a great authority on the subject, he must remind the Committee that many years had passed since his hon. and gallant Friend was at Zanzibar, and the means of coping with the Slave Trade were more effectual now than they were then or ever were before. It was true that the overland Slave Trade was the cause of more misery than the sea-going Slave Trade. The slaves carried across the open sea were but the remnant of those who were dragged from their homes and carried across sandy deserts. They were more used by the merchants as carriers of ivory and valuable merchandize overland than for the purposes of sale. Some of those who survived were sold to plantations in Africa, and only the remnant was shipped across the sea. Still, if we did nothing to put down this traffic we should be untrue to our tradition. It was entirely untrue that our efforts to suppress the Slave Trade had been unsuccessful, because the activity of our cruizers on the Coast of Zanzibar had been so successful as to drive the traffic into new and less guarded points. But were we doing nothing to check the traffic at its source, and to wean those who indulged in it to better courses? He might point to the fact that Her Majesty's Government had proposed to the Government of Belgium to initiate a fresh Conference of the Powers on the lines advocated by Cardinal Lavigerie in order that some further effort might be made to check this long-standing evil. Again, what were we doing in concert with the Germans on the Coast of Africa at this moment? He was sure that the words in which the concert had been announced to the world by the Emperor of Germany as well as by Her Majesty's Government, put it beyond doubt that it was intended to strike a heavy blow at the Slave Trade if it could be got at. What was the object of the trading companies which Her Majesty's Government were encouraging in East as well as in West Africa? It was the development of legitimate trade; and was it not by the development of legitimate trade that the Slave Traffic in West Africa had been put down? It had been shown that by fostering a trade in palm-oil and other products a better living could be got. [An hon. MEMBER: No.] Well, that was not his opinion. It was, undoubtedly, the policy of the Government to encourage lawful commerce in, and the settlement of, East Africa, so as to compete successfully with the costly and ruinous system of slave-carriage. If roads were pushed into the interior of the country, so that cheap and easy carriage could be afforded for produce, this terrible system of slave porterage would no longer be necessary. It was by developing legitimate commerce that the Government hoped to contend with the slave operations inland as well as on the coast. It was not alone on the Coast of Africa that this work had been prosecuted with success. He would read to the Committee an extract from the Blue Book to show what had been done in the Persian Gulf—for the Persian Gulf was the object of many of the slavers who started from the East Coast of Africa—

"On the Persian Gulf much good work has been done by officers and men, though but one capture has been effected. This has not been for want of zeal and energy on the part of the officers and crews of the vessels employed upon the service, as will be seen from the Reports of the Senior officers, who have had charge of the Division during the year, which I enclose for their Lordships' information, as they give a clear and intelligent account of the manner in which the work is carried on during the running months September and October, and April to June. I agree entirely with Commander Gissing, that the strict blockade which has been established on the Arabian Coast during the past two seasons, has, to a great extent, stopped the transport of cargoes of slaves in large numbers from Africa to the Arabian Coast and the Persian Gulf."

This Despatch was from Admiral Richards. He would also read an extract from another Despatch—

"Though the actual result in release has been so small, still I think the moral effect of our

presence on the coast acts as a strong deterrent sufficient to prevent any fairly rich Arab, or owner of a good dhow, embarking in it; at any rate, at present it is not a trade as it used to be, but merely a smuggling business at the best, carried on by Arabs who enjoy the spice of danger which a possible encounter with our boats or ships give to it, and were our cruizers withdrawn, I feel sure it would revive again, as all the Arabs I have ever talked to not only see no harm in it, but consider that God gave the Africans for servants, and resent our preventing their getting them for that purpose. The coast here to be protected is very large, and landing places almost everywhere; also the population inhabiting the country is against us in this matter to a man; therefore it is no wonder if some get through the watch we keep."

He was happy to think that he had a son at this moment engaged in the service on the coast of Africa. In his judgment, no more honourable service could be followed by officers of Her Majesty's Navy; and he trusted that the Committee would neither say nor do anything which might allow it to appear that we were indifferent to this work which had been pursued so long and with such success as well as with such blessings to the human race.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) had called attention to the subject, and that the Committee had heard the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for North Hackney (Sir Lewis Pelly). The impression which he had derived from a perusal of the Blue Books dealing with this subject was that the great majority of naval officers of the present day coincided in believing precisely what the hon. and gallant Member for North Hackney had stated. He found that it was said by those who had personal experience of this subject that we had not succeeded in putting down the Slave Trade, but that we did more harm than good. The slaves were subjected to terrible sufferings. The Slave Trade was not very great after all; it was only domestic slavery, and the Arabs treated their slaves very kindly. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State stated that Her Majesty's Government had counselled the Egyptian Government to hold Suakin. Was this strictly in the interest of the Egyptian Government; if not, in what interest?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, he had not stated that Her Majesty's Government had counselled the Egyptian Government to hold Suakin. What he said was that they had accepted the defensive position as they found it, and were prepared to support the Egyptian Government in maintaining it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he must have misunderstood the words used by the right hon. Gentleman, but the right hon. Gentleman had certainly used the word counsel. Now he (Sir George Campbell) was not a Party man, and he did not wish to speak of one Government more than another, but of the English Government in general. He wished to know whether Her Majesty's Government did not counsel the occupation of Suakin?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, there was no use in merely playing at words. The hon. Member might come to that conclusion if he liked. Her Majesty's Government had counselled the Egyptian Government to maintain their defensive attitude, and not to make any fresh advance.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that if the Egyptians wanted to keep Suakin it was only because they had a hankering after the Soudan. He thought it was very hard indeed that the Egyptian Government should be encouraged in holding Suakin in the hope of recovering the Soudan. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, that that was an object which could only be injurious to Egypt herself, and he should be glad to know whether there was some hope that the Government might revise their policy of encouraging the Egyptian Government to hold Suakin. If this place was to be held at all, it should be held honestly, on our own account, rather than make the Egyptian Government the scape-goat. He differed altogether from the version which had been given by the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State of the past history of these matters. The right hon. Gentleman had dealt very lightly with that part of the history that did not suit him. He acknowledged that serious blunders had been made by the late Government in their Egyptian policy; but that was no argument to be urged in justification of the present position of affairs. He had no wish to do more than review the history of the period for which Her Majesty's present Go-

vernment were responsible. He believed that the war in the Eastern Soudan was really and truly a popular rebellion against the Egyptian Government; it was a genuine rising of people struggling to be free. How had this new war begun? The right hon. Gentleman said nothing about that, but would have implied that the Mahdists came down from the interior of Africa and gratuitously attacked the Egyptians. It was not a gratuitous attack on the part of the Mahdists. On the contrary, it was a matter of history that the Egyptian Government and the English officers representing this country were the aggressors who had brought on the war. He did not know whether he would be in Order in quoting the remarks of a noble Lord in "another place," but the bare facts of the matter made it perfectly clear that it was the fault of the Representatives, both of the Egyptian and the British Government, that the war at Suakin had been brought on. Unfortunately our policy was a "kill and retire" policy. There were hopes a short time back that the policy of "kill and retire" was at an end so far as Suakin was concerned. The present Government found a condition of peace prevailing at Suakin. For 18 months the out-posts had not been fired upon. Officers could go out shooting for 20 or 25 miles without molestation. That was the state of things which Her Majesty's Government found on entering into Office; but last December, in pursuance of the unfortunate policy of trying to regain the Soudan, the Tribes were stirred up and a war begun. Colonel Kitchener imagined that he was strong enough to nip Mahdism in the bud; and, with the aid of friendly tribes, an expedition was got together for the purpose of attacking Toka—a place 40 miles off. Our precious Ally and his tribes at once took to plundering the cattle of the enemy, who, getting Osman Digna to assist them, rallied and defeated us. The result was that we got into a war with the local tribes.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, that the local tribes took no part in the attack.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he maintained that the war in December last was a war in which friendly tribes were induced to attack the local tribes. Notwithstanding that they were accompanied by British officers, they were defeated by the local tribes, and Colonel Kitchener himself was wounded. The force he led returned defeated, and the enemy pressed on and besieged Suakin. That was the state of things which had been going on ever since. It was, therefore, entirely due to our aggression that the peace which Her Majesty's Government found existing in this part of the world had been broken; and now we had been driven into our intrenchments, and were, to a certain extent, besieged. What was the policy being pursued on the spot? Colonel Kitchener had been withdrawn to another appointment, but what had become of his policy? In a recent letter Colonel Kitchener stated that he was in favour of peace, but insisted that the people should give up Mahdism. What right had Colonel Kitchener to interfere? Were we going to embark in a religious war in Africa? He hoped that they might understand that, Colonel Kitchener being withdrawn, his policy would also be abandoned. It was not very often that he agreed with *The Times*, but in an article in *The Times* the other day he thought it was very well exposed what was going on, where it said that—

> "The military people had got a few hundred Dervishes in front of them; they saw nothing else, and their instinct was to go and pound those Dervishes without stopping to inquire what substantial interest is secured when they have done it, or what new hosts of enemies may be raised up in the process."

He could not, however, agree with the other part of the article of *The Times*, because it suggested that we should establish a Protectorate over the Eastern Soudan. He did not know exactly what a Protectorate meant. When they did not want to annex a country, nor to commit the Government definitely one way or the other, they always talked of a Protectorate. It was of no use to talk of a Protectorate unless we meant to take possession of the Eastern Soudan. He was glad that the Government disclaimed that policy, but he wished that their practice might be such that they would not be drawn into it against their will. He, therefore, wanted to known what their policy was? The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State said it was the policy of the Government to stop the Slave Trade. It was hardly necessary to go into the question of the Slave Trade that day, because there was

the Slave Trade Vote on which it might be gone into by-and-bye. But the Slave Trade was always brought forward to justify everything. He admitted the dreadful horror of the Slave Trade, but the Slave Trade by sea to Arabia was, he believed, a comparatively small trade. It was not a trade in gross, but only a trade in detail, and in a letter from the Anglican Bishop of Zanzibar, the other day, it was declared to be a comparatively small trade. In fact, in Persia, Arabia, and other Mahomedan countries there was no predial slavery, the slaves being employed in domestic service and becoming members of the families in which they were engaged. However, he admitted that the Trade, as far as it went, led to extreme horrors; but what he wanted to know was how the holding of Suakin did anything substantial to stop the Slave Trade. No doubt our operations did tend to stop the small, detailed, dribbling Slave Trade which existed. We did not stop it, but we did something now and then to interfere with it. Our officers, in the course of a year, boarded and captured a good many dhows, but in 19 out of 20 cases there were only one, two, or three slaves in them—there was not one case out of 50 in which 20 or 30 slaves were captured at one time, and our officers were paid not in proportion to the number of slaves captured, but to the amount of the tonnage of the dhows. A cruiser capturing a dhow received £5 per ton for the capture. What he wished to know, however, was what was the substantial use of holding Suakin for this purpose. There might be a difference of opinion whether we did good—even a little good—by retaining Suakin. He held that it did worse than good; we did positive harm. There were plenty of other places from which our cruisers could go out—such as Aden and the Egyptian ports. What he contended was that Her Majesty's Government must make up their minds whether, in order to stop slavery in the Red Sea, it was necessary to take possession again of the Eastern Soudan. It was quite absurd to carry on a war in the neighbourhood of Suakin with the idea of doing anything material to stop the Slave Trade. There was one point which the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State had admitted. The town of Suakin was not in the least danger. It was only connected by the mainland by a causeway, and if it were considered expedient to stop the communication with the main land, that causeway could be easily banked up. Sir Andrew Clarke reported that the town of Suakin was perfectly safe as long as the British ships commanded the harbour. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary asked whether the unfortunate people of Suakin should be deserted and left to the mercy of the Arabs. Now, who were the people of Suakin. They were Mahomedans like the Arabs, and one great difficulty was, that they always were in communication with the Arabs, and were friendly with them. He did not think, therefore, that there was any ground for apprehension on that score if Her Majesty's Government made up their minds that there was no particular advantage to be derived from continuing to hold Suakin. If the Government could make out that for naval purposes there was really any object in holding that place, let them hold it; but they must face the fact that the British taxpayer would have to pay for it. He thought it was a foolish thing that they should do so; on the other hand it would be much to their credit to give up the policy of holding Suakin. The Committee were entitled to know more clearly what was the policy of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman told them that we were going to fight in the immediate neighbourhood of Suakin and not to go any further. It seemed to him that we were likely to go much further; he thought we were likely to drift, and if we did not succed in putting down the Arabs at once we should have to go much further. If Her Majesty's Government wanted to hold Suakin why not be content with holding it. They were told that there would be no difficulty in holding it. The people of the town were accustomed to shells which did no harm, as the Arabs could not produce the large weapons which were produced in our arsenals. Then why not let them fire away their ancient shells? If they waited long enough the enemy would go away, and we should continue to hold the town, as we were perfectly able to do now, without any more fighting. It was a dangerous, absurd, and unnecessary policy to send British troops to fight the Arabs on the mainland when, as had

been shown, the town of Suakin was perfectly secure. He would suggest—if they thought that in order to put down the Slave Trade a European Power was justified in holding the Soudan—they should make it over to the Italians, who were ambitious of having a slice of Africa and were extremely good colonizers. We had better not grab everything for ourselves. With regard to the Egyptian Army, he only touched upon that question because it had been opened up by the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary. He agreed that it was now a great deal too small, and he was glad to hear that it was to be increased, although he had his doubts as to the financial facilities for defraying the cost of that increase. It was quite clear that the Egyptian Army was not sufficient as it stood at present, and if they sent out two or three battalions to Suakin they would be obliged to send reinforcements of British troops to Wady-Halfa. He maintained that we were not fairly treating either the Egyptians, the English soldiers, or anybody concerned. We had starved the Egyptian Army, and were continually oscillating in our policy. What was necessary was the establishment of a good and efficient Egyptian Army. It was stated to be the policy of this country to make Egypt self-supporting, but that object would never be attained until there was an efficient Egyptian Army. Hitherto sufficient financial support had never been allowed to the Egyptian Army. In fact, although we had reduced the British troops in Egypt, it was really the British Army that was defending Egypt, and not the Egyptian Army. The position of the Prime Minister was that Egypt must be defended; that we had not succeeded in defending it yet, and, therefore, we must stay there. Of course we must stay there because we had not taken the proper means to make Egypt self-supporting. The first step should be to provide Egypt with a proper Army, but to do that it was necessary to provide her with means. Only a few months ago the strength of the Egyptian Army was reduced, very much against the representations of most competent officers. He regretted that the House could not have the presence there that day of the late hon. and gallant Member for the Finsbury Division of Holborn (Colonel Duncan), who was well acquainted with the Egyptian Army, and had always warned them against the suicidal policy of reducing it as it was reduced last year. They were now obliged to increase it again the moment they got into trouble. It was unfair to say that it was owing to the cowardice of the Egyptian soldiers that we could not successfully fight the Arabs in the Soudan. He thought there was overwhelming testimony to the excellence of the Egyptian soldiers, and if it only had fair play it would be a very good Army indeed. They could not expect the Egyptian troops to go out in their present condition and cope with an enemy which had defeated some of our best battalions. No doubt some increase of the Egyptian Army was necessary, but he protested against the view that it was required for the prevention of the Slave Trade. What they wanted was a self-supporting Army, and to get that they must give sufficient money. They could not have an Army without money. The right hon. Gentleman said that two battalions of Infantry and a squadron of Cavalry could be got for £52,000. He (Sir George Campbell) did not believe it. It was certainly anything but a sanguine estimate. It had always been represented that the Egyptian Army could be maintained for an absurdly small sum. What they must do was to face the bondholders, and insist on getting a proper Budget allowance for the Army. What country in the world could defend itself on 3½ per cent of its revenue? Most countries spent 50 per cent. We certainly did, as well as other countries, and yet 3½ per cent was all that the Egyptian Budget allowed. If it was our *bonâ fide* intention to retire from Egypt as soon as possible, and to leave the Egyptian Army with the duty of defending Suakin, we ought to do our utmost to strengthen the Egyptian Army. He had only a few words more to say on the financial aspect of the question without desiring to enter into general financial details. He wanted to know whether it was really the case that the finances of Egypt were as properous as they were supposed to be? He would not, however, enter into that question now, nor the question of the administration of Egypt. If the Government succeeded in bringing the present Session of Par-

liament to a close before Easter next, there might be other opportunities afforded for discussing that question. There had been two or three prosperous years in connection with the finances of Egypt, and they had been able to do many things in reference to the Loan and the Budget. He wished, however, to know whether Her Majesty's Government were prepared to do justice to the Egyptian fellahs, whose crops had suffered from the low Nile. Would there be a remission given, such as was given in India, or would the full revenue be extorted from the unfortunate fellahs? He would not criticize the policy of Her Majesty's Government further. It seemed to be simply this—that we were in Egypt, and meant to stay there. He wanted to know why the Cadastre had been stopped? It had been stopped, and he wanted to know why? He believed he could forestall the answer. It had been stopped because they wanted to save money to pay the coupons. But why had it been stopped altogether? Was it for want of money, or for some other reason? We had been assured by the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State, on the authority of a Mr. Clarke, that there was a great improvement in the Egyptian finances, and also in the condition of the fellaheen, who were really prosperous and better off than ever. This was very satisfactory as far as it went; but they only had it on the unsupported testimony of Mr. Clarke, a gentleman he had never heard of before. Who was this Mr. Clarke? Could they place reliance on his report? It was contrary to the experience of the last 100 years. Were we, then, to accept the view of Mr. Clarke, a subordinate of the Egyptian Mission, as an authority on this great subject? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have something else to tell them as to who Mr. Clarke was. At first he had thought that Mr. Clarke was some eminent authority, but it would appear now that he was only an understrapper connected with the Egyptian Mission, filling some capacity the right hon. Gentleman did not quite know what. He could not, therefore, accept Mr. Clarke's authority. He had only one word more to say, and it was in connection with the mixed tribunals. He desired again to express his opinion that they were a very great evil. The Egyptian tribunals were the power by which the claims of the bondholders were enforced in Egypt as no other country in the world would enforce them. So long as they were maintained the Egyptians would be slaves to the foreign bondholders, and full justice could not be done to them.

MR. LEGH (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) said, the history of our dealings with Suakin was not such as to fill us with much pride; in fact, for his part, he was inclined to regard it as little short of a national disgrace. What he would suggest to the Government was, that they should give careful consideration to the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell). In 1885, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was in Office, a similar state of things to that then existing in Suakin, was existing in Massowah; and Lord Granville, who was then Foreign Secretary, offered, with remarkable generosity, the Port of Massowah to the Italian Government. He said with remarkable generosity, because it was obvious that Lord Granville had no right to do anything of the kind. He would point out to Her Majesty's Government that they now had an opportunity of performing a similar act of generosity. Having persuaded the Italians to take possession of Massowah, it ought not to be impossible to persuade them of the advantages of Suakin. He was not present when the right hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) made his statement, but he presumed the right hon. Gentleman had expressed reluctance to abandon Suakin for fear that the Port should fall into the hands of some unfriendly European Power; and there was no difficulty in discovering who that unfriendly Power was. It seemed to be thought that there was a danger of France taking possession of the place. If, then, Her Majesty's Government could persuade the Italians to go there, it would be satisfactory to everybody.

An hon. MEMBER: Not to the French.

MR. LEGH: Well, he was sure that the hon. Member would agree with him that it could not be desirable to have the French at Suakin. And, although they might not please the French by the

arrangement he proposed, they would, at any rate, please the Italians; and it could not possibly signify to the Arab Tribes or the Dervishes whom the Italians would have to fight. These people were indifferent as to whether Suakin was occupied by Italians or Egyptians. If the arrangement he proposed were adopted, it would be the means of keeping the French out of the Port, if there was any danger of their ever getting there, and would prevent the disagreeable consequence that might attach to the sending of British troops there.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he found the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman opposite so extremely unsatisfactory, it was so clear that Her Majesty's Government were simply drifting and did not know what they were going to do in regard to Suakin, that he begged to move the reduction of the Vote for Egypt by the sum of £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, &c., be reduced by the sum of £500, part of the Salary of the Agent in Egypt."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid) said, he rose to support the general outline of the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), and the hon. and gallant Member for North Hackney (Sir Lewis Pelly). He thoroughly agreed with the general expression of the opinion of those hon. Members, though he certainly differed from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle, in allotting blame for the unfortunate condition of affairs which still existed in Egypt, and in allotting the responsibility for what had occurred in the past. To his mind it served no good purpose to renew the discussions as to which of the two political Parties in this country were most to blame for the condition of Egypt. The point the House had to deal with was the question of the Slave Trade. Had the British House of Commons and the British people an interest in the endeavours to suppress the Slave Trade—were they endeavouring to do their duty to mankind, to Christianity, and to civilization, or were they merely angling for Votes in the British constituencies? He believed the British people were able and willing to support an honest, progressive, and just policy; and, therefore, he was not afraid, in brief outline, to put such a policy before the constituencies. He himself joined in the regret which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle had expressed that the reply they had received from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) was not of that perfectly satisfactory kind which everyone on that (the Ministerial) side of the House hoped it would be. With regard to the Slave Trade, he believed that the French, the Germans, the Belgians, and the Italians, and all the other civilized Nations of Europe, were in earnest in dealing with the question, and he thought it had been conclusively shown that the way in which we were dealing with it was not satisfactory. If we wanted to deal with the Slave Trade in an effectual manner, we must deal with those who purchased the slaves and with those who sold them. It was nothing short of a waste of time and money and energy to deal merely with those who were the means, and what he might call the instruments, of the passage of the slaves from one country to the other. We had hitherto been dealing with the carriers of slaves, but if we wanted to put an end to the traffic we must deal with the purchasers and vendors. If we wanted to deal in a satisfactory manner with the traffic we must deal with the Sultan at Constantinople, with the Port of Jeddah in Arabia, and with Bagdad at the head of the Persian Gulf. This was the intelligent way to deal with the matter, and not to go on spending millions of money as we were doing now. Diplomacy would effect a good deal with the Sultan of Turkey, and he (Mr. De Lisle) maintained that we should be justified in seizing the Port of Jeddah if it was essential to put an end to the trade, which he believed it was. What was the use of trying to catch slave ships travelling along these coasts—what was the use of keeping our sailors on this sea where it was extremely difficult for any European to live? What was the use of expending men and money in this way when, by merely assuming dictatorial powers at Jeddah, they could put an end to the traffic at once? If they were not prepared to deal effectually with

the Slave Trade, let them acknowledge it at once and cease those mistaken efforts which were worse than useless; but if they were prepared to deal with it, then Jeddah was the place to begin. He was sure that if they adopted a course of this kind, public opinion in Europe would support them in their proceedings. He did not say how this was to be done, but believed diplomacy would point out the way. He was firmly convinced, however, that Jeddah was the point to which their efforts should be directed. As to Suakin, he had to say this, that he could not support the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle, as he did not wish to put Her Majesty's Government into a difficulty. He sincerely agreed, so far as he had been able to ascertain from what the right hon. Gentleman had said, with the motive which had dictated the Motion he had placed before the Committee. Our action at Suakin had now been sufficiently clear and vigorous. If we were prepared to take Suakin and hold it as we did Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, let us do so; but if we were to go on wasting lives for years without accomplishing anything, and without a set purpose before us, the sooner we left the place the better. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), or some Member of the Government, would state clearly what their object was in sending this expedition to Suakin. If they were going to spend more money on Suakin and carry out expensive operations, was it with the view of adequately defending it and holding it permanently? He did not wish to go into the question of general policy, although he believed that this question of Suakin was one which turned upon our general policy in Egypt. He believed that if we wanted to make the nations which clustered round the Red Sea enjoy our civilization, we should have to go back to Khartoum, which was the civilized centre of that part of the world. There was a time when Khartoum was the centre of a glorious Christian civilization. He remembered conversing with a Catholic Missionary, who, at one time, had a congregation of 11,000 people in Khartoum, but all of whom had since been massacred through our vacillation, and this gentleman had told him that within a radius of 30 miles round Khartoum there were still to be seen the foundations of 34 Christian churches of the third and fourth centuries. If we went back to Khartoum it would be quite possible to restore the state of things which existed there some hundreds of years ago. He would not go more fully into this question, but would merely say that if we wished to justify our position in Egypt, we should take measures to re-establish some civilization in Khartoum and to control the power of the Egyptians in the Valley of the Nile. With regard to the bondholders, he held that many of the crimes which Great Britain was guilty of in connection with Egypt were owing to a great deal too much deference being paid to the interests of these people. As a matter of fact, he regarded the bondholders as the bloodsuckers of Egypt. Egypt had been a tributary country since the days of the Pharaohs, and a subject country she would remain; but at the expense of the bondholders should her regeneration be effected.

MR. ALLISON (Cumberland, Eskdale) said, he was glad that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. De Lisle) agreed with them on that (the Opposition) side of the House, but was afraid that that agreement would be of very little use unless he also voted in the same Lobby. At any rate, they might take it that the hon. Member's agreement without his vote was better than nothing. He (Mr. Allison) was glad to find that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) had taken the earliest opportunity of calling the attention of the Committee to the operations in which we were engaged at Suakin. He thought that these operations, after all the warnings we had had in the past, were full of danger and hazard to this country. We had had many warnings. He remembered the case of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), who on one occasion had drawn a subtle distinction in this House between what he called "military operations" and "war;" but he confessed that that right hon. Gentleman had been out-Heroded on the present occasion by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), because he

had described the operations as a promenade from Cairo to Suakin, and from Suakim to Cairo. A few nights before he made that statement the right hon. Gentleman had informed the House that he was no prophet. Therefore, whilst the expedition from Cairo to Suakin would take place, it was by no means certain that there would be a return from Suakin to Cairo as prophecied. They could not tell how far the right hon. Gentleman's prophecy would be fulfilled. They had heard that it was the Party on that (the Opposition) side of the House who was to blame for previous trouble in the Soudan; but though he (Mr. Allison) was not in the House at that time, he believed hardly any protest was ever made on the other side of the House against those operations. They were told by the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State (Sir James Fergusson) that the Government had the best intentions. Well, he never yet knew a Government who had not the best intentions on occasions of this kind. They, no doubt, intended that these operations should be limited and small in their character, but he contended that by the single operation of going to Suakin in the manner they were doing now, they were binding themselves by a chain of circumstances from which they would not be able to escape. That had been their universal experience. All would remember what had happened in Burmah, where our operations were merely to be a military promenade for the purpose of extending the trade and commerce of this country. He remembered the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) giving the weight of his experience in favour of that expedition, on the ground of the commercial advantages which would accrue. [Mr. J. M. MACLEAN: No, no!] Well, the hon. Member spoke in that sense to a great extent. So far from the expedition to Burmah being a mere promenade, the country was still far from settled, and trouble existed in those parts of Burmah that were already in our possession and had been settled long ago. In Suakin we found exactly the old circumstances cropping up again. Once more we had the name of Osman Digna familiar to our ears. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty had told them the other night that Lord Ashbourne's Act had knocked the bottom out of the Land League. Well, Osman Digna was like the Land League. He had been destroyed over and over again, but he always cropped up again, full of vitality, just as did the Land League. With all this experience before them they ought to pause in these new operations they were undertaking. A great deal had been said about the Slave Trade. Well, nothing was more familiar to the Committee than when engaged in operations of this character, to have the veil of some excellent cause thrown over what was being done. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State made admirable use, at the conclusion of his speech, of the feeling which all entertained with regard to the Slave Trade, but the same state of things as that existing at Suakin was to be found at the present moment in East Africa. We were told that in order to put down the Slave Trade there certain operations were necessary, but we had it from the authority of men on the spot that those operations were doing nothing to suppress the Slave Traffic, but were rather making matters much worse than they were before. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State had quoted the opinion of the Emperor of Germany with regard to the position on the East Coast of Africa; but that was an opinion which was not usually quoted on the side of peace, and the operations in the East of Africa did not commend themselves any more to his (Mr. Allison's) mind because they had the approval of the Emperor of Germany. The opinion of a late hon. Member of that House—whose death all Parties on both sides deplored—namely, the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Finsbury Division of Holborn (Colonel Duncan), had been quoted by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, who had made a mistake in attributing to the late hon. and gallant Member an expression in favour of the enlargement of our forces in Egypt.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: The Egyptian Army, not the British Force.

MR. ALLISON said, he was glad to have the correction. The hon. and gallant Member had said that he had such confidence in the Egyptian Army that he was in favour of reducing the British troops from 5,000 to 4,000, and concluded his speech with an emphatic expression of his opinion that the

evacuation of Egypt should not be long deferred. Well, the natural result of the operations which were about to take place would be that our troops in Egypt would need to be reinforced, and that certainly was a condition of affairs which should not lead the Committee to sympathize very heartily in the operations which Her Majesty's Government were undertaking. As he had said before, they had had many warnings, and with these warnings in view, he believed the wisest policy would be to withdraw from Suakin altogether. The Amendment before the House was one he was bound to vote for, unless the Government could give a more intelligent idea of their intentions and policy of remaining in Suakin than they had hitherto offered. Up to the present they had heard nothing upon this point, except the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State as to the abolition of the Slave Trade, while even those on the right hon. Gentleman's own side of the House, who had long experience in this matter, and were best qualified to judge, entertained a very strong opinion that our position at Suakin did nothing in the direction of putting an end to the Slave Trade, which all so much deplored. There was always the danger of our being drawn into much larger operations than were originally contemplated, and this danger it behoved the House to do its best to avoid. He was, therefore, glad that the attention of the Committee had been drawn to this question. He hoped the Government would pause before they entered into what might easily become a most dangerous and hazardous and highly expensive expedition to this country.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I propose to make a few observations on a very limited point indeed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), who has moved the reduction of the Vote, has based his Motion on the fact that he cannot clearly understand the policy of Her Majesty's Government; and it will be my object to make that policy absolutely and perfectly clear. The object of the policy of the Government in sending English troops to Suakin is to raise the siege of Suakin. This is no secret purpose, it is no hidden intention; it is not intended to start an expedition for the re-conquest of the Soudan; it is not intended to embark in large operations. We hope and believe we shall accomplish quickly and easily the purpose we have in view. What is the position in which Suakin is at the present moment? It is always daily shelled by the guns of a hostile force who have taken up a position within easy reach of it. I notice than an hon. Member opposite has said that the people of the Soudan suffer no inconvenience from this, but personally I should have thought that very considerable inconvenience would result to the people, who are deprived of their water supply, and are liable day by day to be killed by shells bursting amongst them. But, undoubtedly, as the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has said, Suakin, at the present moment, is reasonably safe. And why is that? Why, it is because Suakin is protected by the guns of English ships lying opposite to it. The intention of Her Majesty's Government, in the operations which are about to take place, is not only to raise the siege of Suakin, but to enable Suakin to hold its own without the protection of British ships lying off the shore. Well, the Government has taken the very best possible advice on this subject, and we have been advised by Sir Evelyn Baring, and we know also the opinions of the officers commanding the British troops in Egypt, and the Egyptian Army, and these authorities recommended the expedition in the full belief that it can be very shortly and quickly brought to a successful issue, and that then our troops can be brought back to Egypt. I should like to say this to the House—What is the alternative of the policy of the Government? I understand that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) has proposed that we should simply withdraw from Suakin under the guns of an enemy, who is at the present moment attacking the place.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I left the whole question of the Soudan policy open. All I said was that retirement was one alternative, and that undertaking the government of Egypt was another. I did not express my own solution of the difficulty.

MR. E. STANHOPE: What is the alternative to the policy the Government are now taking? The right hon. Gentlemen accepted the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary's statement—"That therefore the right hon. Gentleman must be in favour of withdrawing at the present time." Is the right hon. Gentleman in favour of retiring from Suakin or not?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I did not discuss that question.

MR. E. STANHOPE: But the House should discuss it. The alternative is immediately to withdraw entirely from the defence of Suakin, and allow Suakin to be taken by the tribes now besieging it. I will not dwell upon the cruelty of any such course. Is the English name to be so sullied as that for a moment we should think it right that friendly tribes, who have been acting on our behalf, and the people of Suakin who have been on our side, should by a sudden reversal of our policy, be handed over to our enemies who are waiting for us outside? Think what position the Government of Egypt would be in. The Government of Egypt has undertaken the defence of Suakin. Are we to say to that Government that they are immediately to withdraw from Suakin? Does not everyone see at once the whole of our frontier policy would be in much greater danger than it has hitherto been, and that we should approach the Egyptian Government in this matter under far greater difficulties than we have ever before encountered? I, therefore, contend that the policy of immediately withdrawing from Suakin and handing the tribes over to their enemies is absolutely and entirely impossible. Whether it was wise or not originally to advise the Egyptian Government to take possession of Suakin I will not argue. The present Government are not responsible for that. That advice was given by our Predecessors, and the present Government find themselves, in the person of the Egyptian Government, occupying Suakin. That leaves us no alternative. We must occupy Suakin for a limited purpose, and, that purpose being effected, we have no desire to attempt any of those great schemes mentioned to-day. We desire simply to make Suakin safe from the attacks to which it is subjected.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he entirely acquitted the Government from blame in getting into this mess with regard to Suakin. He did not think he was exaggerating when he said that he had divided former Houses of Commons at least 50 times when proposals had been made to expend money on expeditions of this kind. He did not think the House very clearly remembered what had taken place before, and what had led to our going to Suakin. We gave an assurance that we would defend Egypt—a most foolish assurance—he had been against it altogether—and we included in that assurance that we would also defend the Red Sea Ports—namely, Suakin. Well, in consequence of that assurance we sent troops to Suakin—troops went there and came back again. Hostilities took place, and he would remind the Committee of what occurred there. He had the honour of proposing to the House a Resolution to the effect that there seemed no adequate cause for their troops remaining at Suakin and fighting there. Well, the whole Conservative Party as one man came and voted with him. That so shocked his right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) that he positively said that the Conservative Party was guilty of a "dirty trick." He Mr. Labouchere) did not see anything dirty or tricky in the action of the Conservative Party. He was delighted to see that for once the Conservative Party were wise, and were convinced by the arguments he used. It was a little strange that any hon. Gentleman on the Ministerial side of the House should get up to defend our holding Suakin when they themselves, when in Opposition, were strongly against it as to be accused by an hon. Member of the opposite Party as being guilty of a "dirty trick." What was the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs? Why, he had heard that speech delivered, not once, but 50 times, and not by the right hon. Gentleman alone, but by his Predecessors. Gentlemen in his position at once fell back upon the Slave Trade. They always said—"You are going to put an end to the noble policy which has always distinguished England." Why, again and again it had been pointed out

to these Gentlemen that these operations at Suakin had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the Slave Trade. That argument of the Slave Trade was used, because it was too absurd to say that this country would defend Suakin for no other earthly reason than we had said, in a hasty moment, that we would do so. At the moment when we gave this assurance to Egypt we were, as a matter of fact, registering our own intentions, because Egypt was not independent, but simply under our foot. When we declared that we would defend Suakin for the Egyptians we simply meant that we would defend Suakin, in some sort of way, for ourselves, probably to prevent some other Power from going there, or some reason of the kind, but certainly there was no engagement with Egypt of any sort or kind. Some Liberal Gentlemen fell back on the Slave Trade, but that was an old hare. We had, no doubt, done a great deal of good in trying to put an end to the Slave Trade, but this plea for the suppression of the Slave Traffic was one which, in a great many respects, was responsible for a great deal of harm. What had the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State said? He had said—"What are we doing in connection with the Germans?" Well, what on earth had what we were doing at Zanzibar to do with what we were doing at Suakin? His own impression of what we were doing at Zanzibar was allowing ourselves to be humbugged and led by the nose by Prince Bismarck. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State said—"Look at the Charters we have given to Companies along the Niger—what a noble work we are doing!" Why, the Niger Companies were just the men to enable Gentlemen—and there were some of them in that House—to obtain large dividends by driving out the ordinary traders and putting huge duties on imported goods; and, under the pretence that they were making a war against the liquor traffic, they were simply sending to the Natives exceedingly bad liquor, putting heavy charges upon its exportation. The North Borneo Charter was another noble example of what we were doing for the suppression of the Slave Trade he supposed. Why, in that Charter there was a clause—and no one was more strongly against it than the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst)—that we were to give up slaves. He would not pursue that point, but he was simply answering the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when he endeavoured to convince them that the occupation of Suakin was part of a great and noble scheme to secure commerce to the whole world and to put down the Slave Trade. To secure commerce indeed! Did anyone think that by sending our troops to Suakin we were opening up the Soudan? We were doing nothing of the kind. How could it be supposed that we should make the Natives admire our commercial policy and love us by bombarding them? As a matter of fact we were doing in Suakin everything we could to prevent, and hinder, and hamper legitimate trade. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State had told them that the Government were going to send down Egyptian troops at the cost of £52,000 per annum. Was that to put down the Slave Trade?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, the hon. Gentleman was mixing up the two things. The sum of £52,000, which he had mentioned, was simply the estimated cost of the addition proposed to the Egyptian Army. It had nothing to do with the present operations.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that the addition to the British Army was on account of the operations taking place at Suakin. He was told that it was simply absurd to talk about the Slave Trade in connection with Suakin. It was well known that slaves were never exported from Suakin. The Red Sea was a sort of wide river, generally very calm. The Arab dhows come along, the coast-lights were shown, and they took over the slaves during the night and ferried them across to Arabia. It had been pointed out that never were the slave markets at Jeddah so full as at the present time. But we did not blockade the coasts, and the great proof of that was that the Soudanese were able to export cannon and guns and ammunition to their heart's content. The Government evidently thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State had not a good defence for these operations. What did he say? He said he would

be frank with the House. Ministers always said that. The right hon. Gentleman said his object was to raise the siege of Suakin, and nothing beyond that. Well, supposing they did that, Osman Digna and his friends would go away. The Government said they were not going to stay at Suakin. Well, when the British troops left, Osman Digna and his friends would immediately come back again and throw up earthworks and begin to bombard the place again. That had been done dozens and dozens of times. We had heard again and again of Osman Digna and these Native tribes being driven away into the Desert and nothing being heard of them. We brought back our troops, and no sooner had we done that than Osman Digna and his friends re-appeared. It was the height and climax of absurdity to say that we were going to send British troops down there to raise the siege of Suakin and provide the place with bread because it was open to the sea-shore. It was not necessary to provision the place, and it was absurd simply to drive away the unfriendly Soudanese, and to leave the district as soon as we had done that. They were told that the presence of British troops would rally the Egyptian troops, and they were told that it would be cruel to leave the friendly tribes to fight it out with the unfriendly Soudanese. Why, as to the friendly tribes, it was merely a question of £ *s. d.* Leave these people alone, do not encourage them to fight each other, and they would either fight it out and have done with it, or shake hands. Let us leave them alone—friendly tribes fighting against their own country were the most contemptible people under the sun. Who were these friendly tribes? They were simply people who wanted to sell to the soldiers, sutlers, and the like, and if it was feared that by evacuating Suakin we should leave these people to a melancholy fate, why not take them with us? We could easily induce the Egyptian Government—for we could do anything with it—to leave the Soudan alone, and we should soon have in Suakin a happy family of tribes. He simply protested against the use of so many British troops in that town. No one had explained who was to pay for this. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had said it was a simple operation—that we were going from Cairo to Suakin and coming back from Suakin to Cairo. Well, our men would go from Cairo to Suakin, but it was doubtful how many of them would ever return to Cairo, judging from what had happened in the past. He wanted to know why British blood and treasure should be expended in a cause that was absolutely and entirely indefensible? He trusted the House would join with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne in recording a protest against this system. He knew the difficulties of the Government, and that they would like to be strengthened by the House. They found themselves in possession of Suakin, and had some difficulty in getting out of it. Then let the Committee strengthen the hands of the Government. Let hon. Gentlemen opposite support the policy he was advocating, which they had voted for on a previous occasion, and put an end to this expenditure of blood and treasure. He was sure that if they consulted the body of English opinion, even outside the House, they would have exhibited, as they had in the past, the strongest feeling against any further operations at Suakin.

MR. HOWORTH (Salford, S.) said, he felt constrained to take part in this debate, because he had joined with a number of influential Members of the House in putting before the Government an alternative plan for putting an end to the present difficulty, which he and others had thought had some promise about it—some promise that did not seem to be present in the circumstances of the alternative schemes with which they had been favoured that afternoon. It seemed to him, in the first place, that the pivot upon which all these difficulties turned was the political question, which had not been referred to at all. As a matter of fact, Suakin did not belong to Egypt. It belonged to Turkey, and was a tributary of Turkey. It was the Turks who conquered it originally, and in 1830 it was leased to the Egyptians for a portion of the Egyptian tribute. Turkey, therefore, would have the reversion of Suakin whenever we left it. That was a phase of the question which was a very important factor indeed in considering how the problem was to be solved. Were we prepared to abandon Suakin to-morrow, in order that it might fall into the

hands of a great slave-dealing and slave-owning Power? If we were not prepared to do that, and the English conscience would revolt against such a thing, were we prepared to face the alternative—namely, that Suakin and the Littoral of the Soudan should inevitably fall into the hands of some other European Power which had no friendly feeling towards us in view of the policy we had sustained for many years past in the Red Sea? It seemed that when they put the question simply, whether or not it was right to abandon Suakin when we were there, no doubt vicariously on behalf of the Egyptian Government—having behind the Egyptian Government the real owners of the place to whom its reversion was going if we abandoned it—we could not face the abandonment of Suakin to Turkey, or the nominees of Turkey, without a feeling that it would bring great disaster upon us. Now, if it were impossible, or rather unwise, to adopt the policy of abandonment, no doubt the great difficulty we had to face was the fact that the tribes of the Soudan—the Haddendowas, and other tribes of the Eastern part of the Soudan, would not submit to the domination of Egypt. They had a continuous tradition of tyranny and oppression from the Egyptians in their memory, which made them determined, at all hazards, not to submit again to Egyptian rule; and it was a fact, as he had been told by a friend who had lived for some years in the Soudan, that while an English officer could go out from Suakin amongst the Arab tribes, and be invited to hunting parties, and be treated like a prince, if he went out the town by another gate with an Egyptian fez upon his head he would be immediately shot as a representative of the most tyrannous Power that the Soudan Arabs had had to deal with in the course of their past history. And what the Egyptians had done in the past the Egyptians were doing now. There were a great many people in Egypt who were determined that the trade of the Soudan should go down an unnatural channel—that was to say, down the Nile, and in order to secure that end they had taken measures to divert the internal trade from the ports on the Red Sea, and were starving out those tribes from those advantages of trade and culture and civilization which were their natural heritage. The fact was, we had closed the whole of the ports in the Eastern Soudan, preventing ingress or egress from them, the Egyptians being determined that the produce that reached these ports from the Upper Nile should go down the Nile and become the property of the Egyptian merchants who traded in Central Africa. It was true, and it was a very good thing indeed, that the Government of Egypt had recently modified their policy, and modified it with great promise of securing lasting benefit to the country. There were four or five of these tribes who divided the Littoral of the Soudan. Each one of these had its own trading port on the coast. We compelled them all to come to Suakin for purposes of trade, and if there was one thing which embittered the relations between the internecine tribes it was to compel them to cross each others' frontiers from time time in order to get to a common port for trading purposes. It seemed to him that if we were to settle the question of the Eastern Soudan and Suakin, we must go there and attach ourselves, not to the Egyptians, but to the Soudanese tribes themselves. The Soudanese were really the most interested people in putting down the Slave Trade. None of them were interested in that trade which was in the hands of Arab dealers from Jeddah. No doubt the Haddendowas and the Littoral tribes now sympathized with the Mahdi and his Dervishes and with the Arab traders, but why? Because the Arab Dervishes and slave traders sided with them in the traditional hatred they bore the Egyptians. So long as they had before their eyes the fact that our object was to restore them to the ancient domination of the Egyptians, so long should we have them hostile to us, and so long would the difficulty exist. If, however, we taught them to believe that we were not only going to introduce trade, but also cotton growing and sugar growing on a considerable scale, and sent amongst them some Englishmen in whom they had confidence to give them an assurance that it was not intended that they should become subject to the domination of the Egyptians, we should have them then as our best possible allies in putting down the Slave Trade. Be it remarked, as had been said many times already in that House, that the great horrors of the Slave Trade were those which occurred

on the overland route, and one effect of our interference which he should like to mention was this—that the poor little children who were imported into Turkey, and had been imported into Egypt, and who were mutilated for certain purposes, were formerly taken by sea to Arabia and Turkey, where the mutilation was done with care and prudence, were now mutilated before the slave dealers set off with them on their journey. The mutilation was effected in a way that cost the death of 90 per cent of these children. It seemed to him that the penalty we paid for our ineptitude in dealing with this question was a terrible heritage for the conscience of this country. He could not help feeling that when we considered that it was not merely men and women, but children, who were carried off in this way, but that this infernal traffic in these poor children was made so much worse by the conditions under which it was carried out increased our responsibility enormously, and that it was our duty to meet it, as we could meet it, if we adopted a rational policy —namely, that of making the tribes themselves along the coast, through whose country these little children were carried, our allies in putting down a traffic which they detested, and which they would be only too willing to exchange for trade and culture, and the advantages of civilization, which we could so easily give them. It seemed to him that there was another reason why we should not only hold Suakin, but adopt a policy of this kind. It was the shocking fact that any man who chose to go there now would see the country within 10 miles of Suakim covered with the bones of 150,000 of the bravest of these Littoral Tribes who were killed in defending themselves, not against us, but against Egyptian domination, which they had refused to accept. It seemed that England, in the face of history and in the face of heaven, would never release herself from the penalty of shame which attached to this terrible hecatomb unless she did something to improve the condition of this Eastern part of Africa, by making that portion of the country over which we had some authority the highway by which something better should be imported into this dismal Continent, with its terrible history and vicissitudes in the past. He would conclude by expressing a hope that the English Government would not abandon the Soudan, and that their policy would rather be in the direction of conciliating the Soudanese tribes, and assuring them that in the future they would not be dominated, as they had been in the past, either by Turkey or Egypt, but would be the foster children of England, the mother of civilization and progress.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) said, there were very few hon. Members on that (the Ministerial) side of the House, or on the other, who would not concur with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) in deprecating the renewal of what he described as purposeless and abominable military operations at Suakin. There could be no doubt that the series of campaigns undertaken in the Eastern Soudan by this country were amongst the most unsatisfactory and discreditable in our military annals, though they were illustrated by great acts of valour and heroism on the part of our officers and soldiers. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) had said that both Parties were compromised in these operations, and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr Labouchere), or some other hon. Member on that side of the House, had said that the Conservative Party had approved throughout of the conduct of the late Government in the Eastern Soudan. Now, he (Mr. J. M. Maclean) was bound to say, though he was not in Parliament at that time, yet as having followed the discussions which occurred in the House with great interest, and taken some part in the discussion of the matter outside, that the line taken by the Conservative Party at that time was distinctly this—that either those operations should be conducted in a thorough manner, or else that we should leave the Soudan entirely alone; and it was a fact that the Conservatives approved of the policy of going to the Eastern Soudan, but what they complained of was the execution of the policy—the indecision of purpose which so often paralyzed the strong right arm of England. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne said—"Why should we renew these purposeless operations?" Well, that question might be replied to

in this way—"Why should our action be purposeless?" What was one of the chief causes of the failure of the expedition sent to recover the Soudan? It was because, in the first instance, the troops sent were entirely Egyptian troops, and a great disaster followed, and the tribes were emboldened to assume an aggressive attitude and finally to gather in such numbers that they even confronted British troops. Well, but the Government, in the present operations they were going to carry out at Suakin, were avoiding the great blunder that was committed by their Predecessors. They were sending British troops to stiffen the Egyptian troops, and they, therefore, undertook defensive operations against the Arabs with a pretty certain assurance of success. It was said that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) had spoken as though this were simply to be a military promenade to Suakin and back again, and the right hon. Gentleman was taunted with having told the House the other evening that the troops were simply to go to Suakin and then return to Cairo. But he (Mr. J. M. Maclean) apprehended that the right hon. Gentleman on that occasion was simply speaking of the financial aspect of the operation — namely, that the cost of this expedition would be simply the cost of sending so many troops from the Egyptian garrison to the Soudan and bringing them back again to Cairo, and that that cost would entirely fall upon the Egyptian Government. If, however, the right hon. Gentleman thought that that was all we were to undertake he might have founded himself upon the famous precedent of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) when Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the beginning of the Crimean war, when he put down an estimate for taking the Guards to Gibraltar and bringing them back again to England. But he did not suppose that the Government proposed to undertake any futile operations of that kind. They intended to relieve the siege of Suakin, but he was bound to say he should like to have some more definite statement from the Government as to the extent to which these military operations could be carried. He had a great distrust himself of wars of limited liability. He did not believe it was possible to say they would send so many troops, and then that they would only carry on hostilities within a certain radius of that place. Even if they drove the Arabs away and filled up the trenches and did away with the possibility of a fresh seizure of the positions now held by the enemy, yet as soon as we advanced our outposts, unless the tribes were thoroughly defeated, they would make fresh attacks, and we would have to send fresh expeditions. He maintained, therefore, that the Committee ought to have some straightforward answer from the Government as to their policy in remaining at Suakin. He thought with his hon. Friend (Mr. Howorth), whose excellent speech he had listened to with great admiration, that they were bound in every case to hold a place like Suakin. He did not hold, as some people did, that Suakin was essential to the suppression of the Slave Trade. This debate had been remarkable for letting in some light on the sufferings caused by our crusade for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and he thought that the British public would do well to study such speeches as that of the hon. and gallant Member for North Hackney (Sir Lewis Pelly) and learn the misery we brought upon the unfortunate people we sought to save, these miseries being greater than the cruelties inflicted by the slave-traders themselves. From all that he had read and heard, and from his knowledge of Oriental feeling, he had always thought that it would be impossible for us to do away with the Slave Trade unless we could close the market to which the slaves were supplied. It was often said, "We suppressed the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa, why should we not do it on the East?" But not all the cruisers of the British Navy could have suppressed the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa if slavery had not been abolished in the West Indies and the United States, the great markets for slaves. Unless we could suppress the trade in Arabia, in Turkey, and in Egypt, we should find it impossible to do away with this infamous traffic, whatever steps we took in the way of cruisers and blockades. But, if we did not remain in Suakin for the suppression of the Slave Trade, why were we bound to remain there? We were bound to

remain there in order that no Foreign Power should possess itself of the place. We had the responsibility of governing Egypt and maintaining our communications through the Red Sea to India and Australia, and when we saw every other European country snapping up every strategical position that was by any possibility left open to them, in order to appropriate it to their own service, he asked was this the time to abandon Suakin, which gave entrance by sea to the Eastern Soudan, and was absolutely necessary for the defence of Egypt? An hon. Member had referred to something he (Mr. J. M. Maclean) had once said in that House with regard to the annexation of Burmah. He defended that annexation precisely for the reason he defended the holding of Suakin—because it was necessary to put an end to foreign intrigues in that country, and to secure the defence of India. For exactly similar reasons, he said that it was absolutely necessary that we should rule Egypt and continue to hold Suakin. But then, as we were there, surely it was time that we should abandon the barren and fruitless policy of simply remaining there, and saying that we would raise the siege of the town and continue to hold it, and that we would never do anything more. He regretted that the policy of this country with regard to the Soudan, since the death of General Gordon, had been a policy of despair. The Government declared that they adopted a purely defensive policy. We had certain positions bequeathed to us, and we must continue to hold them; but was this to be the end of all our boasts that we had gone to Egypt in defence of the cause of trade and civilization throughout Eastern Africa? Why, he maintained that the condition of the Soudan at that present moment was a disgrace to English rule. What opening had the Soudanese obtained for their trade, and what chance had they to enter into peaceful relations with us? Surely it was worth while for the Government to re-open relations with the Chiefs of the tribes, and prove to them that, if they would only have recourse to legitimate trade, we would do the utmost we could to insure the peace and prosperity of the Soudan. The Government were told by hon. Gentlemen that they had responsibility enough already, and why should they take any more upon their shoulders? Why, it was this dread of responsibility which led to so many evils in everything we undertook, and why should we be afraid of responsibility? The responsibilities of this country, ruling as she did at the present moment over so vast an Empire, were infinitely smaller than they were 50 or 60 years ago. We had now all the resources of India at our back, and had not an enemy there that we need dread, and we had Australia not only secure against attack, but able to give us assistance either in India or in Africa if we should want it. Surely, then, we had power to advance our interests in Egypt and Eastern Africa, and we should not shrink from making the attempt. While he heartily approved of the resolution of the Government to hold Suakin, not only in the interest of Egypt, but of England, who was the real ruler of Egypt, he should be greatly pleased if the recommendation made by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Howorth) were accepted, and the Government showed a more far-reaching and generous desire to reconcile the people of the Soudan to our rule, and to the ways of modern civilization.

Mr. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland) said, he doubted very much whether Her Majesty's Government would derive much gratification from the speech they had just heard. Hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House, however, might feel some satisfaction with that speech, for it showed very plainly what were the necessary results of the policy Her Majesty's Government had undertaken. It was plain from the hon. Member's (Mr. J. M. Maclean's) remarks that the sending of British troops to Suakin would entail upon this country further operations, such as we had had in the past. The hon. Member spoke of doing the work thoroughly at Suakin, and it was impossible to see how that statement could be reconciled with the statement of Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State appeared to have given up the whole case of the Government, because he declared that Suakin was in no need of defence at all.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON said, the hon. Gentleman had misunderstood him. He did not say that Suakin had no need

of defence, but that there was no danger of its being taken.

MR. PAULTON said, that was precisely the same thing. If the place was in no danger of being taken it could not be said to be in any need of additional defence. The place was in no danger of its being deprived of its water supply, and what was going to happen there? Why, Her Majesty's troops would, no doubt, be able to drive back the Arabs from their entrenchments, and it was possible that the outworks of Suakin might be extended a certain distance, but the Arabs would only retire for a few miles, and the moment they had an opportunity would return again. Our policy could only result in one of two things—either the most useless and wanton slaughter, such as we had already had, or a permanent English garrison at Suakin. With regard to the renewed slaughter policy he felt very strongly. He had seen a great deal of the horrible slaughter that went on in connection with the previous expedition, and he could fully bear out the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, that the expeditions which we had undertaken against these Arabs had been absolutely useless. Suakin was spoken of as important for strategical purposes, but it was very difficult to find out what strategical advantage the position of Suakin gave to its possessors. It was said that a Foreign Power might take possession of it if we abandoned it, and all he could say was that, if any Foreign Power did take it, he wished them joy of it. He was sure that France, for one, was far from desiring anything of the kind. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. Maclean) had spoken of the necessity of re-opening communication with the interior; but by this policy which we were commencing, of hostility and stirring up difficulty with the tribes of the Soudan, we were doing everything we could to prevent the opening of a trade in those regions. He believed if Suakin were abandoned its inhabitants would experience no difficulty with the tribesmen. He did not think there was the slightest danger of the slaughter of the inhabitants, because, as the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had pointed out, the majority of them were Mahomedans, and such persons as would be fully disposed to co-operate with the tribes in the trade which they desired to carry on. They were told, when General Graham's expedition went to the relief of Tokar, that the operations entered upon were to prevent the massacre of the garrison. Well, the expedition achieved its object after a most appalling slaughter of the bravest men in the country, and, when Tokar was reached, it was found that the garrison were on the best possible terms with the Arabs. A few huts were demolished, the arms of the Arabs were taken away, and all their ammunition destroyed; but nothing else was done, and the result of that vast expenditure of money was absolutely nil. The Egyptian troops were perfectly well able to hold Suakin, and he concurred with the remarks which had been made on the improvement of the Egyptian Army. He wished in this matter to give the greatest possible credit to General Grenfell and others, who had done very much to reorganize the Egyptian Army; but he thought we were going the wrong way towards maintaining the efficiency of that Army by adopting the policy of sending British troops to their support whenever they had an obvious duty to perform, giving them no opportunity of showing whether or not they were efficient for the purpose. They had had it clearly stated that it was not from the Egyptian Government that this demand was made for British troops. An admission had been extracted from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that this step was taken on the initiative of the British Government; and, for his own part, he believed that it had been entirely arranged at Cairo, and the obvious result of this step seemed to be so futile and useless that he had felt bound to utter this protest against it. The remarks made by Lord Salisbury were extremely pertinent. Speaking on a Vote of Censure in "another place," on the 12th of February, 1884, Lord Salisbury said—

> "It is idle to hope that any real impediment to the slave traffic can be interposed by the attempt to control the shores of the Red Sea, and to imagine that in so unwholesome a climate your ships can at all times of the year prevent the passage across by which the Slave Trade is maintained."—(3 *Hansard*, [284] 575.)

That was the view at that time of the present Prime Minister, and if that be

still the view it was, no doubt, the view of Her Majesty's Government. Therefore, the retention of Suakin could not have, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, any appreciable effect upon the Slave Trade. He (Mr. Paulton) did not hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs one word or argument in favour of retaining Suakin. The right hon. Gentleman fully admitted that nothing could be done in the neighbourhood of Suakin towards the suppression of the Slave Trade. He believed the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary spoke of negotiations and operations in the neighbourhood of Jeddah.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I never said that nothing was done in the neighbourhood of Suakin towards the suppression of the Slave Trade. On the contrary, I said a great deal had been done. Dhows have been fitted out under British crews, and I have before me a list of 13 vessels taken in two years by one of these dhows.

Mr. PAULTON said, he did not hear the right hon. Baronet mention those facts; but he understood it was agreed on all sides that the naval operations in the neighbourhood of Suakin had done very little, if anything, to diminish the Slave Trade. But even supposing that some good had been done by the naval operations in the Red Sea in reference to the suppression of the Slave Trade, he maintained that the results of the retention of Suakin by British troops were not worth the loss of treasure and the bodily suffering which ensued. They had received indications of the policy which would be pressed on the Government. When they had driven the Arabs to a short distance from Suakin, the Government would have pressed upon them the necessity of keeping a garrison at Suakin in order to maintain the position. And so the old story would go on. No one blamed more strongly than he did, in his humble way, the policy, or, it might be said, want of policy, of the Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). He deplored and regretted it most deeply. But that policy had some excuse; no doubt it was a policy of vacillation, but the very fact of it being such a policy showed that the operations were undertaken unwillingly; every means were resorted to to obviate war it was said there was necessity for. At any rate we had gained something by it; we had gained experience that ought to have been of value to the Government in the present circumstances. He regretted to find that the experience—the miserable, sad, and deplorable experience—which was gained in those two years had been entirely lost on the Government, and he wished to enter his strongest protest against the resumption of a policy which was so disastrous, not only to this country, but to the best interests of Egypt and the Soudan.

Lord CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) said, that surely the question of the policy of retaining Suakin depended entirely on what we were going to do in Egypt. If we were going to remain in Egypt it was imperative that we must keep a garrison at Suakin, because, if we did not, the Mahdi's host would soon appear in Egypt. They would appear there a great deal quicker if we gave up Suakin than if we did not. He agreed as to the horrors of the war in which we were last engaged. It was a most painful thing to have to shoot down and to destroy one of the most gallant enemies ever opposed to English arms. At the same time he believed our intervention at that time was necessary. He believed it was necessary to send English troops to stiffen the garrison that was at Suakin at this moment, because, if we did not, we stood a very good chance of the garrison there being unable to cope with the fanatical men they had to fight against. He appealed to hon. Members opposite whether it would not be a grave thing to this country, which was actually supporting the Government of Egypt, and which was actually responsible for Suakin being in the possession of the Egyptians, if the troops sent out to retake the Wells were not competent to do so? He conceived that by sending a regiment or two out the garrison would be able to recapture the Wells. On the other hand, if the troops at Suakin were beaten—and he conceived there was every likelihood of them being beaten if they undertook aggressive action against the Arabs—we might have to send out six or seven regiments. In such a case our expenses and responsibilities would be enormously increased, and then we should only be very much

in the same position as now. What was best to be done was a very difficult question to decide. His own opinion was that we should never get the Soudan question, which had become a fanatical and a religious question, settled until we gave a Company, independent of our Government, a Charter similar to that given to the East India Company, and allowed them to begin commerce in the way the East India Company did, which was more or less at the point of the bayonet. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Perhaps he put it in the wrong way. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, the result had not been very bad in India. We had got a very great trade with India, and he did not think there were many Englishmen who would care to give up India. Our merchants went out to India and had bayonets to defend their merchandize. The Natives, however, gradually came in and began to buy. He believed that if the same method were carried out in the Soudan—if we allowed a Company to get a Charter—we should have an enormous trade developed between that country and this. Until that was done we would never have real peace in the Soudan, and we would always have the difficulties under which we had laboured for years. He had always, publicly and privately, expressed the opinion that our going to Egypt was a mistake. The reason why we went to Egypt was, in his opinion, a mistaken reason; it was that we were afraid of the Suez Canal being blocked in time of war. But surely anyone who knew anything about it would say that the best thing to do in time of war was to block up the Canal. He believed it was a Conservative Government which entered into some sort of Convention which could never be carried out when war was declared. Any Minister upon the Treasury Bench would not dare to say that the Convention would be null and void if war were declared; personally, he certainly considered it would be. He mentioned this because he believed that the question of the retention of Suakin depended upon what the policy was going to be with regard to Egypt, and he held most firmly that we had no right to think of giving up Suakin unless we also intended to give up Egypt. If we were to give up Suakin we must increase our forces in Egypt. Our responsibility would increase, and we should have to enormously increase our expenditure with no good result whatever.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.), said, he desired to make a few observations to the Committee by way of explaining the exact grounds upon which his right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) had moved the reduction of this Vote. His right hon. Friend at the commencement of the discussion made some observations upon the general question, and asked the Government for an explanation of their policy. It was not until the Government had had an opportunity of stating what their policy was intended to lead to, that his right hon. Friend moved a reduction of the Vote. The fact was that they had not been able to discern that the Government had any fixed purpose in the matter whatever. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) was very loud in disclaiming any secret purpose. They did not accuse the Government of having any secret purpose, but what they were afraid of was that there was no purpose whatever in view. It was a question, fortunately, which could be discussed, it seemed to him, without any regard for Party considerations or Party interest. It was quite true that it was a former Government which practically brought us into the position in which we were at Suakin; but the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) had distinctly stated that the present Government had encouraged the Egyptian Government to remain at Suakin, so that there could be no matter of reproach between the two Governments. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was free to own that, in his humble opinion, the whole of our policy in Egypt within the last half-dozen years had been one series of mistakes. Of course the mistakes were committed with the best motives and intentions. Indeed, he believed it would not have been possible within the capacity of most men to have avoided them. But let them not indulge in any recriminations of the sort, because such recriminations did not advance the country one step from the position in which it found itself, and Her Majesty's Government had, at least,

been long enough in Office to have made up their own minds on the subject, and to have formed conclusions as to what ought to be done. With regard to the immediate operation which was proposed, he confessed he did not share the fears expressed in some quarters as to its successful result. The Government had had the opportunity of consulting, perhaps, two of the most capable men who could be found—Colonel Kitchener and General Grenfell—and if they acted on the advice of those officers he should say we ought to feel every confidence as to the result of the operation, whatever it might be. Upon that point let him say that as several hon. Members had spoken of the Egyptian troops having been used, and having been found to fail, he understood they were entirely Black troops who would be used at Suakin, and the Black troops had not been found to fail when put to the test. What seemed to him to be the most important point was, even supposing this operation was successful, what would occur. Having driven the enemy away from Suakin we were to retire. Having succeeded in the purpose we had in view we would withdraw, but our troops would not have gone far on their way up the Red Sea when the very men we had chased away would be around Suakin again. He did not see what ultimate advantage was achieved by the whole proceeding; therefore, we had to consider: What do we stay at Suakin for; and is it a good policy for us to remain in the occupation of Suakin? That was the real point at present before the Committee. One thing was abundantly clear on the slightest examination of the Blue Books which had been presented to the House, and that was that our retention of Suakin had had no palpable effect on the Slave Trade. The Blue Books contained some most remarkable Papers from Colonel Schaefer, who was a most competent officer, and who described the state of things as being as bad as it ever was. Colonel Schaefer said there was absolutely a glut of slaves at Jeddah. He said that he sent a man ashore accompanied by an Egyptian officer in uniform, so that there could be no mistaking the party for Natives. They asked a boatman whom they casually met whether they could buy a slave, and this man directed them to 18 houses, in all of which they found an excellent choice of slaves. This was what was going on at Jeddah, and it proved that we had not in any way succeeded in closing the slave market. As Colonel Schaefer, with great common sense, pointed out, there were only two ways of dealing with the Slave Trade. One was to go to the source, and the other was to close the market. To go to the source was impossible, but to close the market, if that was to be done at all, must be done by influencing the Turkish Government. It had been said that some efforts had been made in that direction. Certainly this was a peculiarly favourable time for some strong and united effort in that direction. Public opinion, not only in this country, but in Europe generally, had been much aroused on the subject of the African Slave Trade by Cardinal Lavigerie and other men, who had in the most public-spirited and philanthropic manner directed attention to it. He ventured to say that by efforts in that direction far more would be done towards remedying the lamentable state of things in Southern Soudan than by any military occupation of Suakin, either by ourselves or by any Egyptian force. His hon. Friend the Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) made a statement from which he could not help expressing his dissent. The hon. Gentleman said that of late years we had been failing in whatever we undertook. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) did not see any failure in any undertaking of this country on which the country had thoroughly made up its mind. Where we had failed was where we had gone blundering on, dealing only with the necessities of the hour, without any definite or fixed policy, and it was because of the danger of that occurring in this instance that he and his hon. Friends ventured to appeal to Her Majesty's Government. We had been in Suakin —or the Egyptian Government, which came to very much the same thing—for several years. Now there arose an emergency; something had to be done. Let this necessity be the occasion of the country making up its mind upon this subject.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) said, he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the

Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) that nothing could be more fatal than to go blundering on; that nothing could be more fatal than to adopt a policy suited merely to the needs of the passing hour, without the smallest consideration as to what might be the result of that policy in the immediate future. He could well understand that the right hon. Gentleman gave utterance to such a remark. That remark must be based on the right hon. Gentleman's most terrible, the most bitter, the most mortifying experience as a Minister; and, that being so, it was a remark the Committee would do well to take to heart. Not only was it a remark which came well from the right hon. Gentleman, but it was a remark which ought to appeal with peculiar force to right hon. Gentlemen who were sitting on the Treasury Bench. In the last Parliament but one he, in his humble capacity, was associated with his right hon. Friends in protesting vigorously, month after month, and sometimes week after week, against the blundering policy which was pursued by the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken was a Member. They held at that time, and they asserted freely, that nothing could be more fatal than to proceed in Egypt without making up their minds as to what should be the definite policy of this country. The whole sum and substance of the accusations brought against the Government, accusations which were largely supported by the House, and largely supported in the country, was that the Government had no policy whatever, that they had not made up their minds what they would do with the Soudan, and that until they did make up their minds on that subject it was improper for the House of Commons to vote Supplies. He had heard several speeches delivered in the House that afternoon, and he had made himself acquainted with the tenour of some of the speeches delivered before he came down to the House. He owned he had great sympathy indeed—whether it was more than hereditary sympathy he could not say—with the Motion made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) as a protest against the sending of British troops to Suakin. His memory was very fresh indeed as to the struggle which the Opposition in the year 1885 made—he thought at an Afternoon Sitting—against the sending of British troops to Suakin by the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Morley) was a Member. The speeches made on that occasion by Sir Stafford Northcote, by the right hon. Gentleman the present President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and others, taking up practically the arguments which had been used more or less on both sides of the House this afternoon, were most instructive. The Motion of refusal to grant Supplies was made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) much on the ground on which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne had made the same Motion that afternoon. The hon. Member for Northampton had the pleasure and the pride of leading into the Lobby the entire Tory Party of that time, and of coming within an ace, or rather within 15 votes, of defeating the Government of the day. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) thought he should be able to show the Committee by one or two extracts, or, at any rate, by one extract, from the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) how very dangerous it was to think that by merely sending an expedition to Suakin, in order to defeat and disperse the rebels, we would secure the permanent safety of that place. But before he turned to that, he desired to allude to a remark which fell from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. J. Maclean). The hon. Gentleman said he understood that the remark of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, to the effect that the British troops were to go to Suakin and then return to Cairo was merely to be taken in a financial sense, and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury seemed to cheer that observation. And then the hon. Member for Oldham went on to say—"And the cost of that expedition will naturally fall upon Egypt." Why? He was at a loss to know. He had never heard anyone argue, or attempt to argue, that Egypt as it existed at present—Egypt proper—had any interest whatever in Suakim. It had none whatever. He did not know whether the Government would

support that assertion. Certainly it was an assertion which, in the bye-gone days to which he had alluded, would have commanded the support of those who now sat upon the Treasury Bench. What interest had the Government of Cairo—what interest had the rulers over what might be called Egypt proper—in the holding of Suakin? He knew of none; absolutely none. The hon. Member for Oldham, having asserted that the cost would naturally fall on Egypt, went on to prove that the United Kingdom of Great Britain had an immense interest in the holding of Suakin. That seemed an intelligible proposition. That proposition had a great deal of argument in its favour, but if Great Britain had a great interest in the holding of Suakin, why should the cost of the operation naturally fall on Egypt? Egyptian finance was embarrassed; it had been extricated from insolvency with great difficulty; and if that was so, and if it could be admitted that Egypt had no direct interest of her own in the holding of Suakin, and if it was asserted that the United Kingdom had a great interest in the holding of that place, how could they argue that the cost of the expedition should naturally fall on Egypt? He protested against such a doctrine. What did it come to? It came to this—that these expeditions were undertaken, and hon. Members, like the hon. Member for Oldham, were of opinion that the cost should naturally fall on Egypt. Egypt, under pressure of our representations, might pay the cost, but sooner or later Egypt would not be able to pay. Then she would come down on the British Exchequer to make up the deficit. The Committee seemed inclined to be forgetful of what had happened. We had had to make good sums of money again and again on account of the shortcomings of the Egyptian Budget. Not long ago we had to make good the sum of £500,000 which Egypt had undertaken to pay. The odds were very considerably in favour of the cost of this expedition ultimately falling on this country. But the cost of the expedition seemed to him to be not the only point which was to be taken into consideration. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) had announced that the Egyptian Army was to be increased, and that that increase was to cost the Revenue of Egypt some £52,000 a-year. £52,000 was not much to this country, accustomed as it was to voting away vast sums of money, but £52,000 to a Budget like that of Egypt, which was balanced within a few shillings, was a very considerable sum, so that not only would Egypt be put to the cost of the transport of these troops to Suakin and back, but also it appeared that on account of this Suakin Expedition, and of the position, generally, of the Soudanese Arabs around Suakin and on the frontier of the Nile, the Egyptian Army was to be largely increased. He thought the policy of increasing the military charges which Egypt proper was to bear was very dangerous. It would bring about a state of things in Egypt which would lead to great difficulty—it would bring about what we had been most anxious to avoid—namely, International interference. International interference in Egypt always took the form of exertions on the part of the Powers to make further exactions from the Egyptian people. He protested against the doctrine, which appeared to be the doctrine of the Government, that the cost of the holding of Suakin was to fall on the Egyptian Revenue. If that proposition was put forward, it must be supported by the convincing argument that Egypt had a direct interest in the holding of Suakin against the Soudanese Arabs, and that unless it was held against the Soudanese Arabs in the interest of Egypt the whole safety of that country would be imperilled. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham said that we ought to hold Suakin, because it was wise for this country, or, at any rate, it was of the utmost importance to this country to prevent other people going there. He believed that the hon. Gentleman alluded to the French and the Italians, and that he also spoke of a possible German or Turkish occupation. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) did not say it was a policy which he should be prepared to support, but he thought strong argument could be adduced for rendering the position of Great Britain on the Red Sea a very strong and formidable position. But he did not think the position was rendered strong by sending a battalion of Scottish Borderers there. If it was intended to go in for a great policy of making our-

selves masters of the ports of the Red Sea not held by other Powers, he could understand the proposition being made for the despatch of large military and naval forces. That he could quite understand. He thought it might be a risky policy for the Government to go in for at the present day, but, at any rate, there was much to be said for it. But what were we doing at the present moment? We were sending a small detachment—a force of some 500 men, without auxiliaries and without Cavalry—a small detachment of Infantry to reinforce Native troops who, he supposed, numbered some 1,500. [Mr. E. STANHOPE: More.] Certainly under 3,000. [Mr. E. STANHOPE: More.] Well, that did not strengthen the ground of the Government. He could understand that 500 British troops might be a valuable reinforcement to 1,000 or 1,500 Natives, but if there was a force of over 3,000, or even 4,000, then it seemed to him that 500 British troops might be as a drop in the ocean, and very inadequate for the purpose of stiffening the fighting qualities of the Native troops. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had said that these troops were to go to Suakin, and, having stiffened the courage of the Native troops, they were to dislodge the besiegers of the town. But to dislodge the besiegers of Suakin was no new matter. It had been found that these besiegers were difficult people to dislodge. They had before been dislodged with the greatest possible effort and at the greatest possible cost, and the moment they had been dislodged, or at the moment we had retired, they had returned. This had happened not once, but no less than three times. The Arabs had been dislodged from their position three times, but three times they had returned just as if they had never been there before. Yet it appeared that we were going to withdraw our troops the moment the besiegers had been dislodged, in spite of the fact that, according to all experience, the besiegers were perfectly certain to return the moment we left. He appealed to the Government, with their previous experience and their previous knowledge on this question, and bearing in mind the line they took when they sat in Opposition against just the same sort of policy which seemed to be adopted at the present moment—he appealed to the Government to give the Committee a pledge as to what was really to be the nature of the operations which the British troops were going to undertake. Were they going to be satisfied with going to Suakin, fighting the Arabs, and slaughtering, no doubt, a good many of them, and then going away? If that was so, would the Government say on what ground they believed that Suakin would be a bit safer or a bit freer from attack after our troops came away than it was at the present moment? Now, he wished to quote to the Committee a passage from a speech of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), made on the 15th of March, 1884. The speech was made in the very debate to which he had already alluded, when they were very nearly successful in putting the Liberal Government in a minority. The noble Marquess seemed to have taken up exactly the same position which the Government took up now—namely, that the mere sending of troops for the dislodgment of the besiegers would be all that was necessary, and that then Suakin would be perfectly safe. The noble Lord said—and he asked the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to the words, for they were very interesting—

> "We are asked what is the object of the Force which is still in the neighbourhood of Suakin. I maintain that that Force has already probably—for we have no certain information—accomplished one of the main objects of its mission, and the safety of the port of Suakin and the coast of the Red Sea in that neighbourhood is now probably entirely secured; and I maintain that it could not have been so secured while the large armed force assembled under Osman Digna was still in the immediate vicinity of Suakin, not only threatening it by their presence, but openly and distinctly avowing their intention to attack it."—(3 *Hansard*, [285] 1723.)

That precisely described the situation at the present moment. The noble Lord had a right to be confident, because he had not got the experience we had. The noble Lord might then have thought a military demonstration in that part of the world would have contributed to the permanent security of Suakin. What was the state of the case? Nearly all the features of the attack upon Suakin which the noble Lord had to deal with were reproduced at the present moment. He did not know whether the forces of

the Arabs were so strong now as then. That was a point upon which we had no certain information ; but, apart from that question, the danger of Suakin was very much the same as it was at the time when the noble Lord was responsible for sending a military expedition, when he cleared the neighbourhood of the attacking forces, and told the House of Commons that the safety of the port of Suakin and the coast of the Red Sea in that neighbourhood was entirely secured. The noble Lord said—

"That great object has probably been accomplished, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) wants to know whether the English Force is going to be immediately re-embarked. But, Sir, before a decision is come to upon that point, we think it would be desirable that the Government should have some more certain information as to the state of the country, and as to whether there is still any hostile gathering of the tribes threatening the security of Suakin."—(*Ibid.*)

The noble Lord was more cautious than the present Government were disposed to be, because he would not pledge himself to re-embark the British Forces the moment the besiegers had been dislodged. But that was a pledge he understood the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had given. The troops were to go to Suakin; they were to clear the place of the attacking force, and then they were to return, totally irrespective of the state of the country. That was indeed a most important question, and he should not have thought it necessary to have troubled the Committee that afternoon if he had not so clearly before his mind the whole of the incidents of the former expedition. They were so fresh that he wondered that the Government had not them clearly before their minds. The determination to send a British force to Suakin—a small British force—seemed to him to be the beginning of the letting out of the waters. In this matter a very good principle for the Government to adopt was *principiis obsta*. We had been, as far as we could, pursuing, and hoping that we might pursue, the policy of gradually withdrawing our troops from Egypt. He did not know whether the gradual withdrawal was a policy which commended itself to everybody on his side of the House; with that he had nothing to do. That policy was the announced policy, and immense success had attended that policy. If hon. Members compared the garrison of British troops in Egypt in 1885 with what it was now they would find that an immense success had attended that policy. Certainly it was a policy to which he, for one, was strongly attached. He would fifty times sooner send troops to Cairo than to Suakin. At any rate, they knew the duties the troops would have to perform at Cairo; they knew there was more or less probability that we might get them away from there in a certain time; but when once we began these operations in the Soudan there was no limit we could possibly foresee as to our responsibilities. We must recollect that a victory over the besiegers was not certain. When British troops were fighting with Native soldiers the Native soldiers before now had been seized with panic, and had fled, and in their flight had carried away British soldiers with them. Suppose this slender force of British troops was to be unsuccessful in dislodging the enemy. We were bound to take that into consideration. It was not quite certain that 500 British troops with some 3,000 or 4,000 Native allies would be successful against the followers of Osman Digna. What would be the result of such an event as that? The hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham was very brave and courageous in the views he advocated that day. The hon. Gentleman said—"Why be afraid of an enterprize which was necessary, and might develop into an enterprize for the total conquest of the Soudan." He (Lord Randolph Churchill) confessed that he was afraid of that, and he did not know how those sitting at present on the Ministerial side of the House would explain to their constituents why they supported the repetition of a policy which he thought did great harm to the Party opposite. He was not ashamed to confess his cowardice. He was very much afraid of any repetition whatever—he was very much afraid of any commencement of a repetition of the operations of British troops in the Soudan. He could quite understand what he might call the slovenly policy of preventing, with our naval forces, Arabs taking the town of Suakin. He admitted it was a policy to be criticized; but he looked upon it as a thousand times better than the policy of beginning to send British troops to that part

of the world. We were accustomed to say in our homely language that a burnt child dreaded the fire. But Her Majesty's Government was not the burnt child. There [pointing to the Front Opposition Bench] was the burnt child, and he was certain that no power on earth, not even the possibility or the probability of repealing the Union, would induce right hon. Gentlemen opposite to make another expedition to the Soudan. There was the burnt child; and he appealed to the present Government, before it was too late, to reconsider most carefully its determination to hold Suakin by British troops. He could not see what real success was to attend our efforts. He was certain that the cost would ultimately fall on the British Treasury, and he could not see what material gain we were going to make as compared with the situation as it existed at the present moment. He thought the House of Commons, even if they were not successful in persuading the Government to reconsider their decision, were right in discussing this grave question, because, undoubtedly, with the knowledge hon. Members possessed of the intentions of the Government, if they had not discussed these proceedings, the responsibility of the proceedings would have rested on the House of Commons, and not on the Government alone. Quite apart from any Party considerations—he did not think these Egyptian matters ought to be Party matters—quite apart from any Party feeling whatever, with the information at his disposal, he was glad that a protest had been raised on this occasion, and he strongly joined in the protest against the despatch of another expedition of this character after the bitter and mortifying experience we had of previous enterprizes of the same kind.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Sir, I have listened with great interest to this debate, which has now lasted four and a-half hours, on a question, I admit, of very great importance. The noble Lord who has just sat down (Lord Randolph Churchill) has asked us whether this is the beginning of other operations in the Soudan, and has protested against the course which Her Majesty's Government propose to take, on the ground that it is the beginning of operations in the Soudan. Now, I think nothing could have been more clear than the statement made by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) that the sole object of the transfer or removal of some British troops from Cairo to Suakin is to insure the relief of Suakin from an attack which is now being made on it, and which threatens the security of that town and its population. The alternative which is suggested to us by those opposed to that policy is, that we should withdraw altogether from Suakin. What would be the result of that withdrawal?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not suggest that.

MR. W. H. SMITH: That is the course suggested by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] I venture to assert that unless we withdraw from Suakin at the present moment in the presence of the enemy which has already interfered with the supply of water to the town, some steps must be taken by which the enemy itself should be compelled to withdraw. Therefore, those who object to the course the Government have thought it necessary to take must be prepared for the other alternative, which means that we should withdraw in the presence of the enemy. Now, we have been challenged as to our policy. The policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt has been set out clearly in the Convention we endeavoured to arrive at with the Porte, and which means that so soon as adequate security for peace in Egypt has been provided, Her Majesty's Government desire to withdraw altogether from that country. That policy is clearly defined in the Convention which Sir Henry Drummond Wolff endeavoured to draw up, and there has been no variation of or departure from that policy. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) has referred to events which occurred in 1884 when a large expedition was sent out from this country in order to deal with the Soudanese insurrection. There is all the difference in the world between the proposal which is now about to take effect and that which the noble Lord the Member for Rosendale (the Marquess of Hartington) advocated from this Bench. In this case we are assured by those on whom we can place absolute reliance that the measures that are about to be taken will be successful for the purpose

they have in view, that there will be no necessity whatever for the continuance of the British Force in Suakin, and that the result will be to give security to the town of Suakin, just as the result of repelling attacks has been to give security to the place during the last two or three years. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) has referred to the increase contemplated in the Army of Egypt. That is an increase which is about to be made at the instance of the Egyptian authorities themselves; but I may remind the noble Lord of what has been accomplished since we have been responsible for the policy, if I may so call it, of the Government of Egypt. The cost of the Army of Egypt in 1886 was £503,000; in 1888 it was £309,000; and the reduction which has been effected in the two years that Her Majesty's present Government have been in Office, so far as the English Army of Occupation is concerned, has been one-half of the strength of the Force, while the charge to the Exchequer of Egypt has been reduced from £200,000 to £110,000. We have been asked why there is any necessity to hold Suakin. Our reply is that, in the opinion of the Egyptian Government, Suakin is necessary for the security and safety of Egypt, and those who are acquainted with Egypt, and are capable of giving an opinion which is worth having upon a question of this kind—Gentlemen like the noble and gallant Lord the Member for East Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford)—will bear out that view. But whether that be a correct view or not, that is the present view and deliberate opinion of the Egyptian Government itself, and one for which they are responsible. Now, we have been asked whether this expedition will result in the permanent security of Suakin. That is the view of the military authorities on the spot. They are deliberately of that opinion, and I confess I regard their judgment as of greater value than that of ordinary laymen. They are of opinion that the course they propose to take now will result in a permanent security of Suakin, and in the permanent relief of Suakin from the attacks of those Arabs who are now threatening the place. We have no intention whatever of blundering on as the noble Lord said.

Mr. W. H. Smith

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say that.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The distinct policy of the Government is indicated in the Convention to which I have referred. We should not be justified in the position we occupy in Egypt in allowing Egypt to be overcome by any temporary misfortune, any temporary difficulty in which she might be involved on her frontier. But we believe in the strengthening of the Egyptian Administration; we believe in the strengthening, so far as its capacity for warlike purposes is concerned, of the Egyptian Army, and we believe we shall succeed in building up there a self-governing Empire which shall be capable of resisting attacks from the tribes on its borders; resisting those attacks to which the noble Lord at the head of the Government referred to the other day. It is against these attacks which the Egyptian Government has to contend against, which any Government in Egypt will have to continue to contend against, and so long as we are there we shall be bound to give such assistance as is necessary to enable the Government to do their duty and their work, and I trust and feel it will be accomplished without material sacrifices on the part of England at any time.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) said, that the concluding remark of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury was most extraordinary. He thought that this Government was in power to prevent the self-government of a neighbouring nation, yet that day the right hon. Gentleman had said that the great object of the Government was to build up a self-governing Empire. That was a most extraordinary statement for this Government to make, and he certainly was not aware that that was its policy. Now, in his opinion, this debate had been about the most useful one they had had during the whole of this Session. What grand statements they had had that day from all sorts of grand men—[*Laughter.*]—he meant from men who really understood the subject. How satisfactory it was to hear the hon. and gallant Member for North Hackney (Sir Lewis Pelly) explain that all these operations to put down the Slave Trade were all nonsense; that they did no good

at all, but really did more harm than good. That was all new to the people of this country, who had hitherto been bamboozled into voting money for the suppression of the Slave Trade. And then another hon. Gentleman, the Member for Mid Leicestershire (Mr. De Lisle), explained that the whole policy in Egypt was the policy of getting money for the bondholders. And then, again, it was very satisfactory to him (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) at any rate, to hear his right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) explain that the policy which we had been carrying on in Egypt in the last few years had been a series of mistakes. He told the right hon. Gentleman that long ago. And then they had the Government policy stated very ably by the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson). The Government policy in this matter was, that we should send a lot of troops to defend a town whose capture was impossible. This was the old story about military operations—not war, but military operations. The most startling part of the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) was that in which he explained that we were going on in exactly the same old way—talking the same nonsense, doing the old wickednesses, with exactly the same result. He thought the noble Lord was more correct than the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman had put the matter forward on another ground. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there was no danger at all; the troops were to go to Suakin, and then were to go back, a policy of marching and counter-marching in which the Government was so well versed. This, as he had said, had been an instructive debate. Let them look for a moment at what it all came from. All this trouble, all this talk about Egypt, and all this difficulty, arose from the old, bad policy that we could govern a Nation by force, and not by the will of the people themselves. It was on the day when we crushed out the Egyptian Home Rule movement by fire and sword at Tel el Kebir that we prepared for a series of events which had been a blot on the history of this country. What he rose for, however, was to ask the Government if the time had not come for them to be a little original, for them to take a little line of their own, to follow the advice the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) had given them so kindly. If they would follow the advice of the noble Lord a little more than they did, how much better it would be! In spite of all assertions to the contrary, it was quite clear there were only two policies with regard to the Suakin business; one was to do the thing thoroughly—take the town and keep it against all comers, and say, "It belongs to the English Nation, and we will keep it." That was a logical policy, and he saw that a logical Friend of his over the way approved of it. He had respect for such a policy; but it was not his policy, and he was not afraid to say so. He maintained that the rational, the right, and the proper thing to do was to withdraw altogether from the place and leave it to the people themselves. He was for letting people, in all parts of the world, govern themselves. He remembered reading in a Cambridge newspaper a passage in reference to the fall of Khartoum—a passage which showed that in Cambridge, at all events, there was a little common-sense. It was—

> "Khartoum has fallen. We are delighted to hear it. It belongs to the people of Africa, and they ought to get it for themselves."

With that he quite sympathized. We could not get better going on in this way; we must get worse. That was well put by the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) when he said there was no limited liability when we went to war. Of course there was not. When we went to war, we were led on and on. Do not let it be said he was wise after the event. He predicted all these troubles long ago. He remembered that at the beginning of the Egyptian trouble he said if the Government went on as they started, they would have a turn at the Mahdi before long. Every one laughed, and thought the statement ridiculous; but everyone knew now that it was not long afterwards that we did go out to fight the Mahdi and Osman Digna. What was the use of fighting Osman Digna? We had killed him 15 times already, and the Mahdi people as long as we would fight with them would always come up

smiling. He could not improve upon what the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington had said. The noble Lord put it very clearly. We were just going on in the old way, and we would have the old horrors over again. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was not alone in that. Last Sunday, taking up *The Observer*—the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury did not read it—he noticed one article upon this Soudan business. In the article it was said the probability was that we were in for another march up the Nile Valley, and probably another attack on Khartoum. He did not think that was a pleasant prospect for anyone, but it was certainly on the cards. It was more than probable that we should learn very shortly of a horrible battle, such as we used to read of two or three years ago, slaughtering Natives who were only trying to defend their own country. What he wanted to impress upon the Committee was that all these horrors went on a few years ago, and the people of the country—he did not say applauded, but submitted to them. Why? Because, he was sorry to say, they were initiated and carried on by a Liberal Government. But do not let the present Government lay the flattering unction to their Tory souls that the people of this country would ever allow a Tory Government to do it. He was not saying that by way of reproach. He was sorry the English people had allowed any Government to do it. He was only saying that as a matter of fact they allowed a Liberal Government, but they would not allow a Tory Government to do these frightful things in the Soudan. He appealed to the Government to be wise in time. Why not learn the lesson of experience? Why not take the advice of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington? Why not strike out a line of their own and withdraw from this place in time, so as to avoid another hideous blunder and unpardonable crime?

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) said, he desired to offer a few remarks from a practical point of view, and he was emboldened to do so with the indulgence of the House, because during his Eastern Service he had had some indirect experience of the operations of the Slave Trade. He had governed the British Stations at the mouth of the Red Sea—and the present question related to the Red Sea; and he had organized the Consulate at the very Jeddah that had been referred to in this debate. He submitted that the question was whether we were to hold Suakin or to retire from it. He understood the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington to say there was no alternative to be suggested, but he submitted, with deference to the noble Lord——

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he had said he could understand what he admitted to be the slovenly policy of holding Suakin by a naval force, but he was opposed to the policy of sending British troops there.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE submitted that that alternative was not sufficient. He now understood that the alternative of the noble Lord was to hold Suakin by naval means. But surely Suakin must be held properly by a force on land as well as on sea. The question arose, how we came to be there? We were there on account of the action of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he did not hesitate to say he heartily concurred in that action. They had good reason to place us there; we were there, and we must acquit ourselves like men in that situation. We could not honourably abandon the Egyptian garrison which had been placed there under our auspices. It had been asked what interest had Egypt in Suakin? Why, she had the interest of a conqueror. Suakin was hers by conquest since the beginning of this century, and, as far as he knew, Egyptian statesmen were very unwilling to give up possession of the place. But if they could not hold it without our assistance, he submitted that we were bound to hold it ourselves—he was not afraid to say so—in justice to British interests, in discharge of British obligations, and in the cause of humanity. [*Laughter.*] He did not hesitate to say, in the presence of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that the cause of humanity was much interested in this matter. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) stated triumphantly that the Slave Trade had nothing to do with this matter. But, on the contrary, this had always everything to do with the Slave Trade, and hardly with anything else. Pray, who were now menacing Suakin? The Arabs of the Soudan. These Arabs came from

the interior; and was it supposed they had no reason? In what way did the possession of Suakin by an Egyptian garrison affect them? Suakin was essentially a coast position. It was an island joined by a causeway only to the main land. It in no way caused them trouble; it was not a thorn in their side; it was surrounded by harmless and friendly tribes who were peaceful towards us, and not harmful towards them. What, then, was the reason for the attacks upon the place? Did the Committee suppose that the action of the Arabs was without reason? Of course they had a reason, and it was connected with the Slave Trade. The Arabs were fighting for the Slave Trade, and nothing else. They were not, indeed, fighting for the right of hunting slaves, because it was well known they could not be prevented from slave hunting, for in that, in the very heart of Africa, they were too unhappily secure. But it was for the right of exporting slaves from this African coast of the Red Sea that they were contending. For that exportation Suakin was the seat, and therefore it was that they were threatening the place. They were desirous to keep open the road across the Red Sea to Arabia, and hence it was that they were so anxious about the possession of Suakin. He would not now stop to explain how the slaves were captured in their native villages down South, dragged across the desert, and packed on the Nile boats down to Khartoum. It was from Khartoum thrt the horrid traffic bifurcated. Part went on to Egypt, thence to Syria and Turkey, and that was being checked by British inrerposition. Part went to the coast near Suakin, and thence across the Red Sea to Arabia. Hence truly the value of Suakin, either to the Arabs for conducting the trade, or to us for suppressing it. It was true, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had pointed out, our success in suppressing the Red Sea Slave Trade as yet had been small; nevertheless the position of Suakin was of the greatest importance to the Slave Trade, and the possession of the town by a slave trading Power would greatly facilitate all the operations which went on on the neighbouring coast. No doubt our success in suppression had been small, but was that any reason why we were not to persevere in trying to do our duty? The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) quoted some evidence which showed that the Slave Trade was still going on at Jeddah. That was nothing new. He (Sir Richard Temple) had known for many years past that Jeddah was the great slave market, and his answer to the evidence the right hon. Gentleman had cited was, that in former times the Slave Trade was greater than it was now. Much had been said about the danger that we ran in occupying Suakin for fear of complications in the Soudan. He admitted as much as anyone opposite that, however possible our occupation of the Soudan might have been a few years ago, that occasion of striking a blow against the Slave Trade in the interior of Upper Africa had passed away. If such an enterprise was ever possible it was no longer possible. But that was no reason why we should not stick to Suakin. The position of Suakin did not necessarily involve us in any operations in the interior of Africa. It was a highly defensible and tenable position, and we could defend it by naval means, and we could, if necessary, occupy one or two positions on the coast to protect our water supply. Like all the stations on the coast, the place was comparatively healthy, though the climate might be hot, and it was surrounded by friendly tribes with whom we need not interfere, so that there was absolutely no temptation whatever for us to migrate into the interior, or to extend our arms or policy there. All we had to do was to prevent the attacks of the Arabs from time to time. He admitted that as soon as the Arabs were dislodged they came back again. [*Laughter.*] But what was the inference? He supposed that that laughter meant that the inference was that we ought to scuttle out of the place. His inference was very different. Why, that was the very reason why we should never withdraw British troops. Suakin was regarded as an integral part of Egypt, however much that might be disputed by some. But be that as it might, the Egyptians were there by right, and we could not interfere with that right against their will. But if they were neither willing nor able to hold the place, then we were justified in doing so—first, in discharge of our duty towards Egypt; secondly, for doing our

utmost in the cause of suffering humanity; thirdly, for the protection of British interests in the upper waters of the Red Sea.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 101; Noes 136: Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 324.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. TAPLING (Leicestershire, Harborough) said, he proposed to call the attention of the Committee to a subject of considerable public importance, and he did so in order to give the right hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) an opportunity of saying what had been done in the matter. He referred to the very unsatisfactory position at present occupied by English medical men practising in Switzerland. Hon. Members were aware that during recent years a large part of the popularity Switzerland had acquired had been due to the writings of English medical men practising there, and to the advice given by doctors over here to their patients to go to Switzerland. Hitherto, English medical men had practised in Switzerland without any molestation whatever, but this year a law, long in abeyance, had been enforced, and English doctors had either been fined or threatened with expulsion. The law had been put into execution in only two cantons, and it had affected particularly three medical gentlemen—namely, Dr. Wise, Dr. White, and Dr. Holland. He was given to understand that the action of the Swiss Government was due to steps taken by a number of Swiss doctors, who, of course, had some interest in preventing English medical men practising in the country. He understood that the ground for the action of the Swiss Government was that British medical men had not taken out a Federal diploma. Dr. White, for instance, sent his diplomas to the authorities at Geneva, and they were marked "insufficient." All the three gentlemen had degrees which would qualify them to practise in Great Britain and Ireland, and Dr. White was an Irish doctor, and the other two were Englishmen. The Swiss Government had taken a very arbitrary course in subjecting these gentlemen to fines, and, of course, he need hardly point out that if English or British doctors were to be prevented from practising in Switzerland, a great deal of hardship would be inflicted, not only on the numerous British visitors to the country, but also to the rather large English Colony established there at the present moment. The English Colony in Switzerland would, no doubt, be in a position to ascertain for themselves what native doctors possessed sufficient claims to command their confidence, but that would not be the case with the ordinary tourist or visitor to the country. It was obvious that many tourists and visitors were not able to explain their ailments in either French or German sufficiently well, and, therefore, if they were debarred from the services of a medical man of their own nationality great hardship and inconvenience would be inflicted upon them. He had particulars of several cases of what he might call tyrannical interference on the part of the Swiss authorities. Let him take the most recent case. A short time ago a letter appeared in *The Times* giving an account of the treatment to which a lady had been subjected. A lady travelling with the writer sustained some slight injury to her eye. The writer sent for Dr. White, who was a personal friend of his. First of all he asked the hotel-keeper to fetch Dr. White, but the man refused to go because Dr. White had no Federal diploma. That seemed very extraordinary to the writer, but he then sent his own servant. Dr. White came and attended the lady; he explained, however, that he was not able to take a fee, in fact, he doubted whether the preliminary attention had not involved him in serious penalties. He (Mr. Tapling) understood that the Swiss doctors objected to the want of reciprocity between their country and this. Of course, he had already pointed out it was not a question of medical degrees. There would be nothing to prevent Dr. White going back to Ireland. It seemed absurd that any one of these doctors could attend a patient in this country, but that when the patient found himself on the shores of the Lake of Geneva he could not be attended by the same doctor. The hon. Gentleman the Member for West Aberdeen (Dr. Farquharson) would correct him if he was wrong, but he understood that there was nothing to prevent a Swiss doctor practising in this country. The

only disabilities under which they laboured were, that they could not hold a Government appointment, or recover fees in a Court of Law, unless they obtained an English degree. He thought he might say, on the part of English doctors, that they would be quite willing to be put on the same footing in Switzerland; they would be quite willing even to confine their practise to patients of their own nationality. These were very shortly the circumstances of the case. It was not until this year that any difficulty had arisen. He knew his right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had been in communication with the Swiss Government on the subject for some time past, but he thought he ought to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Committee to the subject, which was really of considerable importance to British travellers abroad, and of enabling the right hon. Baronet to give them, he hoped, the satisfactory assurance that not merely a *modus vivendi* had been arrived at, but that in the future the position, so to speak, of English medical men settling in Switzerland would be to some extent secure.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said, he could quite bear out what his hon. Friend had said. In this country we had free trade in doctors. Any foreign doctors could come here and practise and the public might make their choice. It was very hard, indeed, that an old and effete law should be dug out in Switzerland without any notice, and that English doctors should be subjected to fine and imprisonment if they did not comply with it. It was very hard to English residents if they were not able to obtain medical advice from their own countrymen. Personally, he would always prefer to be treated by one of his own countrymen. There were one or two cases of great hardship in Switzerland. He knew of a case of illness in which a medical gentleman staying in the locality at the time was consulted. The chemist refused to make up the medicine prescribed until the prescription was countersigned by a legally qualified practitioner on the spot. He (Dr. Farquharson) hoped that, by the exercise of diplomacy, some justice migh be done the English practitioners and the English residents in the foreign health resorts.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, that the subject to which his hon. Friend the Member for the Harborough Division of Leicestershire (Mr. Tapling) had called attention, undoubtedly involved a substantial hardship to many of our countrymen, both professional men and private persons. English people residing in Switzerland for their health were anxious to be attended by their own countrymen, but of late English medical men had been debarred from practising in some of the Swiss Cantons. Her Majesty's Government had for some time endeavoured to remove the prohibition by friendly reciprocal doctrines, and in 1886 power was given to make regulations granting the right to medical men holding foreign diplomas to practice in the United Kingdom, provided that reciprocal advantages were given to our practitioners abroad. The Swiss Government had not been very willing to enter into the arrangement, and he did not think that was surprising. The unwillingness arose from no unfriendliness to the Government of this country, but from the apprehension that if the doors were opened their country would be so invaded by medical men from Germany and France, that their own professional men would be seriously injured. The various objections made had been combated by the Foreign Office, and he believed we were now much nearer an arrangement than we had been for some time. He was glad to say that during the last summer, by special arrangement made in some of the Cantons, medical men whose services were desired were permitted to practise. The Swiss desired that they should have reciprocal advantages in this country. By the Medical Act of 1886 power could be given to foreign doctors to practise in this country, and we had been able to show that the Swiss Government were under a misapprehension in supposing that they had no reciprocal advantages. But they were not satisfied yet that we were able to give them full reciprocal advantages. For instance, there were fewer Swiss patients in the United Kingdom than their were English paitents in Switzerland. Again, they thought that while they might receive the right to practise in the United Kingdom, the right might be refused in the Colonies. Her Majesty's Government had asked the Colonies whether they were willing

to admit Swiss practitioners as a reciprocal favour, but they had not yet received an answer. He did not think there was anything else between the two Countries, but at present a reply was awaited from the Swiss Government to the last inquiries. He hoped the means which had been adopted would be effectual in removing the hardship which he had admitted. At any rate, every endeavour was being made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to remove the hardship.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, that this was not at all a questian of reciprocity. The point was whether English, Scotch, or Irish practitioners who might be resident for a time in one of the Swiss Cantons might not be permitted to treat purely British cases. It was not intended that English practitioners should be permitted to set up in Switzerland against the Swiss practitioners. Instead of treating this matter on the reciprocity principle, to do which would be nonsense, the Government ought to see that if British subjects in Switzerland desired the services of British medical men they should be able to secure them.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he thought that an improved state of things might be brought about if the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Fergusson) brought some pressure upon the General Medical Council, so that the powers under the Medical Act of 1886, which were permissive, would be put in force, and foreign medical practitioners registered. There ought to be real reciprocity. If foreign medical practitioners could apply to the Home Secretary and be placed in the same position as medical men were in in France, he thought the views of the Swiss would be met.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: That was offered, but not accepted.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he hoped they would now be permitted to turn to the financial aspect of the Vote. He had an Amendment on the Paper with regard to the Ambassador in Austria.

It being half after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Committee report progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

PRIVILEGE.

—o—

SERVICE OF A SUMMONS IN THE OUTER LOBBY ON MR. SHEEHY, M.P.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he must ask the indulgence of the House to call attention to a matter of Privilege. On Monday last, it would be remembered, the House was pleased to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the attempted service of a summons by an Irish constable upon his hon. Friend the Member for South Galway (Mr. Sheehy) in the Outer Lobby of the House. His hon. Friend had just received from Ireland, by post, in a registered envelope, two notices referring to the pending prosecutions, in one of which he was informed that when the cases came on for hearing on Monday next, at 11 o'clock, an application would be made to the Presiding Magistrates, on the part of the Prosecution, for an adjournment to such time as might be necessary to enable Mr. John Finucane, M.P., and Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., to attend in the House of Commons during the debate on the Irish Estimates, provided that an undertaking would be given by those two Gentlemen to attend the Court upon the day finally fixed for the hearing of the case. This letter was sent by the Sessional Crown Solicitor, a Mr. Maurice Leahy, of Newcastle-West, County Limerick. It would be apparent to the House that this Mr. Leahy—whoever he might be—had, with the most extraordinary and incredible insolence, ignored the course of action taken on the initiative of the Leader of the House, and ratified by the House itself, since he had treated the attempted service of the summons in the Outer Lobby as if it were an actual and legal service, effectual and valid to all intents and purposes. That gentleman presumed to determine the charactor of the transaction, which could not be determined except by the Committee appointed by the House for the purpose. As the notices prejudiced the liberty of his hon. Friend, and as his hon. Friend was not in a position to deal with them while the question of Privilege was being entertained, he begged to move that the notices be re-

ferred to the Select Committee appointed to deal with the matter.

Letters handed in—

The QUEEN, at the prosecution of District Inspector LOWNDES, R.I.C.,
Complainant.

JOHN FINUCANE, M.P.,
DAVID SHEEHY, M.P.,
JAMES HISHON MORAN,
THOMAS STUART, and
WILLIAM LOUDON,
Defendants.

Gentlemen,

I beg to inform you that when this case comes on for hearing at Ballyneety Petty Sessions, on Thursday, the 6th December prox., an application will be made to the presiding Magistrates, on the part of the Prosecution, for an adjournment to such time as may be necessary to enable Messrs. John Finucane, M.P., and David Sheehy, M.P., two of the above-named Defendants, to attend the House of Commons until the Irish Estimates are disposed of, provided that an undertaking be given by those two Defendants to attend on the day finally fixed for the hearing of said Case.

It is to be particularly observed that this undertaking of Messrs. Finucane, M.P., and Sheehy, M.P., referred to, will be required, and should be forwarded, so as to reach my office here, previous to Monday 3rd December prox.

Dated this 28th day of November, 1888.

MAURICE P. LEAHY,
Sessional Crown Solicitor,
Newcastle West, Co. Limerick.

To

John Finucane, Esq., M.P., Caherelly, Co. Limerick.

David Sheehy, Esq., M.P., 126, Holly Bank, Drumcondra.

James Hishon Moran, Esq., Solicitor, Limerick.

Thomas Stuart, Limerick.

William Loudon, Kilteely, Co. Limerick.

The QUEEN, at the prosecution of District Inspector JENNINGS, R.I.C.,
Complainant.

JOHN FINUCANE, M.P.,
DAVID SHEEHY, M.P., and
JOHN MACINERNEY, P.L.G.,
Defendants.

Gentlemen,

I beg to inform you that when this case comes on for hearning at Castleconnell Petty Sessions, on Monday the 3rd December prox., an application will be made to the presiding Magistrates, on the part of the Prosecution for an adjournment to such time as may be necessary to enable Messrs. John Finucane, M.P., and David Sheehy, M.P., two of the above-named Defendants, to attend the House of Commons until the Irish Estimates are disposed of, provided that an undertaking be given by those two Defendants to attend on the day finally fixed for the hearing of said Case.

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Newcastle West, Co. Limerick.

To

John Finucane, Esq., M.P., Caherelly, Co. Limerick.

David Sheehy, Esq., M.P., 126, Holly Bank, Drumcondra.

John MacInerney, Esq., P.L.G., Meelick, Co. Clare.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I think the right hon. Gentleman meant to refer the notices to the Committee which is now sitting.

MR. SEXTON: Yes.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Then, Sir, there is no objection whatever on the part of the Government to their being so referred.

Ordered, That the said Letters be referred to the Select Committee on Privilege (Service of a Summons in the Outer Lobby on Mr. Sheehy, M.P.).

ORDERS OF THE DAY

—o—

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [30th November] *reported.*

(1.) "That a sum, not exceeding £139,510, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."

Resolution read a second time.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, that a difficulty had arisen in respect of pensions for public officials in Ireland.

The House was aware than an agreement was arrived at that no Votes on Expenditure in Ireland should be taken until next week. When last night it was discovered that the Vote for Civil Service Pensions included a sum of £69,000 for pensions to magistrates and prison officials in Ireland, several Members remained in order to engage in the discussion; but they were debarred from doing so by the application of the Closure, on the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House. Ordinary opportunity being thus denied them, the Irish Members had to take advantage of the Report of Supply to make themselves heard. The first item to which he had to call attention was that the charge for prisons in Ireland had been increased by a sum of £500 for Superannuation Allowances. He wished to know why it was that at a time when ordinary crime had diminished, and when even agrarian crime had become so reduced that hon. Gentlemen opposite made a boast of it, the charges for prisons should be increased? He observed that four Resident Magistrates had been retired during the year on account of age. The system of retirement seemed to him very peculiar; and it was suspicious that those four gentlemen were men against whom the people or their Representatives had no grievance. In Ireland there were 174 Resident Magistrates; and he wanted to know how it was that those gentlemen should have been selected for the purpose of being weeded out of the Service? The reason, it was presumed, was that the Castle authorities could replace them with men who would baton the people and pass judgments in accordance with the views of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Those gentlemen were Mr. Barry, Colonel Wyse, Mr. Starkie, and Mr. Mullin. There were one or two other points to which he would venture to call attention. There was the case of Mr. J. H. M'Farlane, whose pension had been revived. He had not heard of that custom before; but he supposed the pension was revived because he had distinguished himself by evicting his tenants in Donegal.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he desired to add a few words to what had just been put forward by his right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin. It was a remarkable thing that while the Government pretended that Ireland was in a very disturbed state, they were shutting up prisons and pensioning Resident Magistrates and prison officials. In Nenagh there was a vast prison, which had been shut up, and the building handed over to the nuns, and in one or two other instances the same thing occurred. He thought it was one of the most creditable things that the Government had done; and he commended it to the attention of the hon. Member for South Belfast.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): The nuns are always in prison.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked how, while they were closing the prisons and pensioning off the prison staffs, they could stand by their policy of repression? They had closed Richmond Prison, every stone of which was built by the Corporation of Dublin out of the money of the citizens. It cost them not less than £50,000, and they had to pay half the pensions of the prison staff—the men whom the Government had disemployed. The Government had closed this prison, and turned it into a military barracks, and, at the same time, had built a new wing to Mountjoy Prison at an enormous cost. He had reason to believe that some of the Resident Magistrates who had been pensioned off objected to it, and he (Mr. T. M. Healy) had on several occasions in the House raised questions in reference to that very point on behalf of those gentleman who had written to him. The fact was that when the Government got a decent magistrate he was compelled to retire in favour of some gentleman who failed in his examination as an ensign at Sandhurst, and had been drummed out of the Cape Mounted Cavalry for peculation or embezzlement, who was a person positively unfitted for any position, and who was not fit to drive an outside car. Those were the men who would carry out the orders of the Government, and who were ready to baton the people. The Caddels, Seagraves, and the Cecil Roches were the men that were appointed in their places. He hoped the House would look into the matter. He did not object to either warders or Resident Magistrates getting pensions when they were no longer employed; but he objected to the system under which men

who were able and willing to continue in the Service were turned off with pensions. He did not desire to detain the Speaker and the officers of the House upon a Saturday evening, and he would, therefore, reserve any further observations for another Vote.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, he wished for some explanation with regard to the pension of Mr. J. H. Macfarlane. If he remembered rightly that was the gentleman who was formerly Chairman of the North Dublin Union, and who resigned in order to accept the position from which he had now retired, and for which he was receiving a pension.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) was understood to ask for some information as to the case of Mr. Starkie, who had also been retired? Was that gentleman drawing a salary or receiving a pension?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he considered that the discussion which had taken place justified his protest against the manner in which the subject was closured last night.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, he took full responsibility for taking the Vote yesterday. He considered it did not come within the Scotch or Irish Votes, which were kept quite distinct. Although there might be some charges in respect of Irish officers, the Vote could not be considered an Irish Vote strictly and solely; and, therefore, they were justified in taking the Vote the previous day. The principal cause of the increase in the Pension List was owing to the fact that the Government had found it possible to close some of the prisons in Ireland. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: Hear, hear!] He entirely re-echoed the cheers of the hon. and learned Member. They regarded it as a most gratifying circumstance to be able to close these prisons.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the hon. Gentleman make that statement before the Special Commission now sitting at the Royal Courts of Justice?

MR. JACKSON said, he adhered to his opinion. It was a gratifying circumstance to be able to announce that some of these prisons had been closed. They had before them the recommendations of the Prisons Commission, and the experience of the results of closing certain prisons in England. In reference to Richmond Prison, he regarded the arrangement by which that prison had been converted into a barracks as an extremely economical one. He was in Dublin last year, and went through all the circumstances connected with the scheme, and he was satisfied that by this step they would effect a saving of £3,000 a-year. He could assure the House that, so far from being an increase in the annual charges, there had been a course adopted which would result in a large saving. With reference to the revival of Mr. Macfarlane's pension, the explanation was very simple. If a gentleman who was in receipt of a pension took employment for which he received a salary his pension dropped; but if he ceased to receive that salary, then that pension revived, and that was the explanation of it. With regard to the various questions raised in the other cases, the system on which the pensions were based was 1-60th for each year. Where there was a previous qualification 10 years was added to the service to begin with. He had no information with regard to the case of Mr. Starkie.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he did not consider the answer just given was a very satisfactory one, and he rose for the purpose of moving the reduction of the Vote by £1,200. He was utterly opposed to the principle of granting pensions to Resident Magistrates in Ireland. He thought there existed no greater scandal in the whole of the Estimates than that of granting pensions to these particular officials, who were generally men who had failed in other walks in life, and were then appointed to those positions. They were the most overpaid officials in the entire Service of Her Majesty, and they were put on the same scale regarding pensions as men who had entered the Service of the Crown in their youth, and who had had to pass a very severe test before their appointment. Imagine a system which granted a pension to a man like Captain Seagrave, who had tried in this country and South Africa to make a living, and, having utterly failed, came home, and without any sort of test, without any knowledge of law or experience in business, was appointed a Resident Magistrate at £400 or £500 a-year, and who, after he had served some years, would probably be retired on a pension of

£400 or £500. Those men were frequently appointed at the age of 40 years or over, and that after a few years they should be able to retire on those large pensions as having served the public was a scandal and robbery of the Public Exchequer. He should like some explanation of the case of men of 56 years of age and so on who had been retired—got rid of—by the Government in order to make room for the Cecil Roches and Seagraves. It was monstrous that men who had only reached such an age should be retired from one of the easiest and most healthy occupations in the entire Service of the Crown. He saw that Colonel Wyse had retired on a pension of £229 3*s.* 4*d.* and Cecil Roche put in his place, whilst there was no ostensible cause for the increase in the Pension List of that amount. They were entitled to know whether those Resident Magistrates had been asked to retire or not; and, if not, on what grounds they had retired.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£139,510," in order to insert "£138,310."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That '£139,510' stand part of the Resolution."

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he wished to point out that the Statute provided that the Government were bound to lay before Parliament the Minute to the Treasury granting the allowances to Civil servants, and setting forth the amount and the cause of the allowance. The Government should comply with these provisions. With regard to Richmond Prison, the Secretary to the Treasury had not met his point as to why it was abolished when the citizens of Dublin had to pay half the pensions? Were they going to make up that amount to the people? Richmond was built and paid for by the citizens of Dublin, and now the Government had closed it up because the people had control over it, and so as to enable them to send their prisoners to Mountjoy. The least the Government might have done, when they had done with the prison, would have been to have handed it over to those who owned it.

MR. JACKSON said, that with regard to pensions which would have to be borne by the locality, he took it that it would be so borne in consequence of a certain liability of the Local Authorities before the taking over of the prisons. That was the first time that he had received any intimation of the Government having closed this prison because it was not in the position of other prisons; and he could assure the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) that he might relieve his mind that the Government had closed the prison for any such reasons as he suggested. He had nothing to do with the retirement of the Resident Magistrates, but only with the amount of their pensions. He would put it to the House whether it would be proper to Civil servants if the Government repudiated the bargain into which they had entered with these men. He did not doubt but that the Minute was laid before Parliament as to the whole of these cases, although he could not at present point to any particular case.

An hon. MEMBER said, he thought that in the case of Captain Wyse there had been a great abuse. The Statute had been nominally complied with, but had been practically evaded.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he thought it was unfortunate that the Secretary to the Treasury could not give an explanation of the particular cases which were brought forward.

MR. SEXTON said, he would recommend his hon. Friend (Mr. Dillon) not to go to a Division on the Amendment, as they would have an early opportunity of raising the whole question of prison administration. He wished to bear out the statement of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) with regard to Richmond Prison. The citizens of Dublin built it, and the Government had appropriated it without giving one penny compensation for it; but he would tell them that they would press for compensation until they got it. They never heard a word of its being closed until his predecessor in the office of Lord Mayor (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) was imprisoned there as a first-class misdemeanant. The Corporation had a right to appoint Visiting Justices, and those Visiting Justices endeavoured to secure his treatment as a first-class misdemeanant; but the moment they made that effort the Lord Mayor was removed to Tullamore, where the Visiting Justices had no control, and the impression of the

citizens was that the prison was closed because of the power which the Visiting Justices had for looking after the treatment of the prisoners there.

MR. DILLON said, that in deference to the suggestions of his right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

First Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

House adjourned at half after Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 3rd December, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 3rd December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Gainsford Bruce, esquire, *for* Finsbury (Holborn Division).

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 35 and 36.

QUESTIONS.

IRISH LAND COURT—JUDICIAL RENTS—APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, How many cases of applications for judicial rents were undisposed of by the Land Courts in Ireland on November 30, 1887, and November 30, 1888, respectively?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The Land Commissioners report that the number of applications to fix judicial rents undisposed of on November 30, 1887, were (*a*) in the Court of the Land Commission, 60,951 cases; (*b*) in the Civil Bill Courts, 3,119 cases—total, 64,070; and the number of similar applications on November 30, 1888, were (*a*) in the Court of the Land Commission, 56,906 cases; (*b*) in the Civil Bill Courts, 3,402 cases—total, 60,308.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—RIVER BANN TRUSTEES.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention was directed to a meeting of the Bann Drainage Trustees, held on Friday, November 9, in the Imperial Hotel, Belfast, where, after the routine business was disposed of, the engineer submitted his Report and Estimate for maintenance of works in 1889, and the Board directed an assessment for a rate of £1,000; is he aware how many of the above Board are agents and do not pay any of this assessment; how much of this assessment will be expended to pay officials, and how much for the maintenance of the works; and, what amount has been assessed for the last five years on the owners and occupiers of lands from the weir at Movanagher to the Cutts at Coleraine?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Secretary to the Lough Neagh Drainage District informs me that seven of the Trustees of the district are agents. They represent proprietors who contribute £395 out of every £1,000 raised for maintenance purposes. Of the sum of £1,000 ordered to be assessed for 1889, £275 will be paid for salaries, and the balance, with the exception of a small sum necessary for incidental expenses, will be expended on the maintenance of the works. The total amount assessed on the owners of lands between Movanagher and the Cutts at Coleraine for the last five years is £278 16*s.* 1*d.*, being an average sum of £55 15*s.* 2*d.* per annum. He adds that the Lower Bann River, between the two points mentioned, is entirely in the charge of the Lower Bann Navigation Trustees, both for drainage and navigation purposes.

METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE—COMPENSATIONS AND PENSIONS.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire, Whether he will state the old scale of compensation for the widows of those men of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade who are killed in the execution of their duty, and, also, the new scale of pensions in similar cases; and, whether, considering the extremely arduous and gallant duties of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, the Board of Works will take into consideration the question of increasing the pensions in these cases?

MR. TATTON EGERTON (Cheshire, Knutsford), in reply, said, that until recently there was no scale of pensions for widows of firemen killed while in the execution of their duty. It had always been the practice of the Metropolitan Board of Works to give annuities to such widows; but there had been no fixed scale. The Board had, on several occasions, voted annuities of large amounts far beyond anything of the kind given in any other Department of the Public Service. Last year the Board came to the conclusion that there ought to be a regular fixed scale. Having ascertained from the Lords of the Admiralty and other Public Authorities the scale of annuities for widows which prevailed in their Departments, the Board determined to adopt for the Fire Brigade the most liberal of those scales—namely, that of the Metropolitan Police. The pensions of the men were already in accordance with the police scale; and it was thought desirable to follow the same principle with regard to the widows and children.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF—REDUNDANT CLERKS.

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, On what date four of the "redundant" clerks in the Central Office of the Supreme Court resigned; what was the amount of their salaries; and what is the amount of the pension, bonus, or compensation allowance awarded to them; and, whether the 16 Masters of the Supreme Court, entered in the Estimates for £24,000, or £1,500 a-year each, have been in regular attendance throughout the past 12 months during the usual office hours?

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked, whether it was a fact that these four redundant clerks, who had never been near the offices for seven years, had continued to receive during that time their annual, or triennial increase of salary, just as if they had been occupied?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I cannot answer the Question, as I do not know the position of the clerks. I will, however, obtain the information. With regard to the first Question, I am informed that of the redundant clerks mentioned, one retired on the 4th and the other three on the 23rd of October. Their pensions will be calculated as soon as they have furnished the requisite particulars of age, service, &c. As regards the regular attendance of the Masters—the number being 15, not 16, as stated—I am informed that the system recommended in the Report of the Committee of 1887—namely, a Committee of Control within the office, to be selected by the Lord Chief Justice—has been in operation since the beginning of the year; that a detailed Report on the working of the system will be made by the Committee to the Lord Chancellor at the end of the year; and that such Report will receive his Lordship's most careful consideration.

PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENTS OF THIS HOUSE.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the First Commissioner of Works, If, for the convenience of strangers, and the compression of room in the Members' Gallery, arrangements could be made similar to those in the French Chamber for visitors so disposed to deposit, for a small regulated charge, their hats, great coats, umbrellas, and sticks; and, in such case, if the wide corridor leading to the gallery, and the services of a deserving member of the Police Pensioners' Employment Association, could be utilised for the purpose without expense to the general public?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I am anxious, as far as possible, to provide for the convenience of strangers visiting the House of Commons; and I hope that next Session we may be able to do something further in that direction.

I shall then consult with the Serjeant-at-Arms how far the suggestion of my hon. Friend can be carried out.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ARTILLERY VOLUNTEER CORPS.

MR. COGHILL (Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether by the recent conversion of several Artillery Volunteer Corps into Brigades of "Position Artillery," a great deal of expense, beyond the Government grant, has been thrown on the officers in purchasing saddlery, hiring horses, &c.; and, whether, in consequence of this additional outlay, any officers have intimated their intention of resigning their commissions?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The terms on which the issue of guns of position to Volunteer batteries was made were fully communicated to the corps concerned; and it is to be presumed that before accepting the arrangement, whereby several Artillery Volunteer Corps were converted into Brigades of "Position Artillery," the Commanding Officers consulted the officers serving under them. It is not known in the War Office that any officers have intimated their intention of resigning as a result of the extra expense thus thrown upon them. I may add that a money grant is given in aid of horse hire and the provision of harness.

INDIA—LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF NUTHOO WILSON.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Nuthoo Wilson, son of a British European subject, resident in Tehri, has been tried and convicted of three murders and of feloniously wounding five persons with intent to kill; whether Nuthoo Wilson has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment and £1,400 fine; whether this sentence on Nuthoo Wilson was submitted for confirmation to, and approved and confirmed by, the British Commissioner at Kumaon; whether Nuthoo Wilson is confined in Bareilly Gaol in a separate apartment, and is allowed to receive visitors, and to have special food, drink, and drugs; whether the Indian Penal Code applies to British European subjects in Tehri; whether, prior to the commission of the above-mentioned murders and wounding, several outrages by Nuthoo Wilson had, so far back as 1883-4, been reported in writing to Sir Henry Ramsay and to Sir Alfred Lyall; whether Nuthoo Wilson is very rich; and, whether the Government will lay upon the Table of the House the Papers relating to the gross miscarriage of justice in this case?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The only Question I can answer with certainty is that the Indian Penal Code does apply to British European subjects in Native States. With regard to the other Questions, the Secretary of State is aware that complaints have been made against Nuthoo Wilson, who is, however, as the Secretary of State is informed, not a British European subject. The Secretary of State has no official information on the matter referred to in the Questions which has occurred in an independent Native State; but, if the hon Member has any evidence that a miscarriage of justice has taken place, and will lay the same before the Secretary of State, it will receive his careful attention.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—DONALD MACLEOD.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) (for Dr. R. MACDONALD) (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to the case of Donald Macleod, a pauper and an imbecile of Balallan, in the Island of Lewis, who was found by his neighbours in bed in a pool of water six inches deep, partially paralyzed, was carried from his hovel to an empty school-house near, but died from the exposure next day; whether he is aware that this man's hovel was photographed and published in the newspapers last Christmas as a specimen of one of the worst huts in Lewis; whether he has yet received the Procurator Fiscal's Report on the case; and, if he has, what was the nature and conclusion of that Report; and, if the facts be as alleged, what steps he proposes to take to prevent the recurrence of such cases as the above?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I presume the hon. Member refers to the case of

Donald Macdonald, and not Macleod, as stated in the Question. Macdonald was 64 years of age, and was in receipt of parochial relief, and though peculiar in his habits he was not imbecile. He was seen going about a few days before his death. He was found on October 30 in his dwelling, lying in a few inches of water underneath his bed, which was raised from the ground. He was at once removed to the village schoolhouse, where a fire was lighted, warm clothing was supplied by the neighbours, and medical assistance was obtained. The doctor found him suffering from cerebral hemorrhage; and this, and not the exposure, was the cause of his death, which took place next day. I am not aware if his dwelling was photographed; but a rude representation of it appeared in *The Glasgow Weekly Mail*. The Parochial Board, and also the relatives of the deceased, frequently offered to provide him with a better dwelling; but he flatly declined to move from the one in which he was found. The Procurator Fiscal reported the case to the Crown authorities, who directed that there should be no proceedings. I have read the Report, and concur in the decision of Crown Counsel. The death was from natural causes, and there seems no blame attachable to anyone.

SCOTLAND—ROAD TRUSTEES OF WESTERN ARDNAMURCHAN.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) (for Dr. R. MACDONALD) (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, If he will be kind enough to make inquiries as to the alleged refusal of the Road Trustees of Western Ardnamurchan to in any way publish a statement of their accounts; whether the said Trustees pay over to the proprietor a certain sum of money annually to be expended on the roads; whether the said proprietor refuses to give a statement as to how this sum of money is spent; and, whether complaints have reached him that the ratepayers are, in consequence of this state of matters, and the bad and dangerous condition of the roads, largely refusing to pay rates; and, if the facts be as suggested, what steps can he, or will he, take to have these alleged grievances remedied?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I am informed that the Ardnamurchan Road Trustees publish their accounts annually; but that this year, owing to an unavoidable adjournment of the general meeting, it was not possible te send them for publication so soon as usual. Proprietors receive an annual allocation for the maintenance of roads on their estates, and each proprietor has to satisfy the Trustees as to the expenditure of this sum. The only ratepayers in the Ardnamurchan district who have refused payment of rates are the tenants on the Ardnamurchan estate. I am informed that the proprietor of this estate has never refused to give the District Trustees detailed accounts of his expenditure; and that the estates accounts show that for 10 years up to Whitsunday, 1887, he has spent £170 more than the allocation. The Argyleshire roads are regulated under a private Act; and by section 35 of that Act any person who feels aggrieved by any proceeding of the District Trustees may appeal to the Trustees for the county. This is the only course I can suggest if any grievance exists. I have no authority to interfere.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—FISHERY PIER AT SCHULL, CO. CORK.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) (for Mr. GILHOOLY) (Cork, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether a Memorial has been forwarded to him from the inhabitants of Schull, County Cork, setting forth the necessity of extending and improving the fishery pier in that town; whether public meetings for the same object have been held; whether he is aware that about 1,000,000 of mackerel have been landed at Schull during the seven months ending October 30; whether steamboats carrying cargoes of fish from Schull to America have been delayed for hours owing to the want of suitable pier accommodation; and, whether, considering the importance of Schull as a fishing station, he will take steps to give effect to the Memorial referred to?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The Memorial referred to in the Question was received by the Board of Works on the 26th ultimo, praying for the execution of works to extend and improve the pier at Schull, County Cork, and also copies of Resolutions passed at a meeting held on

September 20 last on the necessity for extending the pier and removing rocks in its vicinity. I have, however, no information as to the alleged large capture of mackerel, or the delay to ships in conveying it away owing to the want of quay accommodation. This pier was transferred to the Grand Jury, County Cork, on June 29, 1854, for future maintenance; and the Board have no fund at their disposal at present for such works, nor has the improvement of Schull Pier been recommended by the Royal Commission on Public Works.

CRIMINAL LAW — THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—THE CONVICTS BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY.

MR. MILVAIN (Durham) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Her Majesty's pardon has been extended to the men Brannaghan and Murphy, now released on licence, who were in 1879 convicted and sentenced in respect of the burglary at Edlingham Vicarage, in the County of Northumberland, to the commission of which offence two other men have recently confessed, and have been convicted and sentenced; and, whether any, and if any what, sum of money has been offered to Brannaghan and Murphy by the State as some reparation for nearly 10 years of penal servitude for an offence of which they were innocent?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir. A free pardon has been granted to these men. I have obtained the sanction of the Treasury, under the exceptional circumstances of this case, to offer to each of these men a pecuniary compensation amounting to £800. I shall be glad to consult with my hon. and learned Friend as to the best mode of investing and applying this sum for their benefit.

MR. MILVAIN: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the first part of my question as to a free pardon.

MR. MATTHEWS: I began by saying a free pardon has been granted to the men.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden): Are we to understand that the men have been granted £800 each?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, Sir; I have already said so.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the case of Michael Brannaghan and Peter Murphy, who have just received a free pardon, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the magisterial inquiries which preceded the committal of the prisoners for trial were conducted with closed doors, and that it is believed in the locality that this circumstance contributed to the miscarriage of justice; and, whether the inquiries which have recently been made by the Government into the case have disclosed the reasons which led the magistrates to exclude the public?

MR. MATTHEWS: I understand that the Justices, in the exercise of the discretion vested in them by law (11 & 12 *Vict.* c. 42, s. 19), conducted this inquiry with closed doors; but I am not aware of any grounds for believing that this circumstance contributed to the miscarriage of justice. The prisoners were defended by a solicitor, who cross-examined on their behalf. My answer to the second paragraph is in the negative.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—JUDICIAL RENTS—PRICES OF PRODUCE, &c.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state the reason for reducing the amount of payment made this year to the scrutineers appointed to report as to prices of produce, &c., for the temporary adjustment of judicial rents; and, whether he will mention why some of the articles, the prices of which regulated the amount of reduction in the rents of last year, were omitted from this year's list?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners inform me that the reduction in the rate of the remuneration of the scrutineers is due to a reduction in the amount of work to be performed by those gentleman. Last year they were obliged to ascertain the average prices affecting agriculture for each of the years from 1881 to 1885, inclusive, as well as for the current year; also to furnish Returns of every article mentioned in the Schedule; while now they have only to ascertain the average

prices affecting agriculture for the current year, and the labour of ascertaining the prices of the scheduled articles is now divided between them and the Inland Revenue officers. The Commissioners state that there is no important deviation between the articles mentioned in this and last year's lists. They believe that, for all practical purposes, the lists are substantially the same.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, that the reply, no doubt, explained the diminution in the number of days during which the scrutineers were employed; but he had not yet answered why it was that the scrutineers were paid three guineas per day last year, and only two guineas a day this year.

MR. MADDEN presumed that the amount of remuneration was calculated with regard to the amount of work done.

MR. M'CARTAN inquired why it was that the price of straw last year, being high, was included in the list of articles to which regard was had in the fixing of rents, while this year, when it was low, it was omitted?

MR. MADDEN said, he was unable to answer as to any particular article without Notice.

METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether all moneys receivable for police purposes in the Metropolis are paid to, and placed in the custody of, the Police Receiver; whether the same official is solely responsible for all expenditure connected with the Metropolitan Police Force, or whether the Commissioner of Police has any control over such expenditure; whether any authoritative representations have been made during the last two years, pointing out possible economies and retrenchments in police expenditure; and, if so, by whom were these representations made; and, can he lay upon the Table of the House copies of such correspondence?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): All moneys received for police purposes are, in accordance with 10 *Geo. IV.* c. 44, s. 10, placed to the credit of the account of the Receiver at the Bank of England. It is difficult to state briefly the effect of the entire organization; but, generally, it may be said that, except as to repairs to stations, all proposals involving expenditure are initiated by the Commissioner, and have to be approved by the Secretary of State, and that the contracts and other financial arrangements to carry out these proposals are made by the Receiver subject to the instructions of the Secretary of State. Representations pointing out possible economies and retrenchments have, from time to time, been made to the Secretary of State during the past two years both by the the Commissioner and by the Receiver; and representations have also been made by the Commissioner as to the amendment of the whole financial system of the Metropolitan Police, which is now undergoing careful revision. No good purpose would be served by laying on the Table of the House copies of the correspondence on the subject.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ACT, SECTION 23.

MR. W. SIDEBOTTOM (Derbyshire, High Peak) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he will define what items are included in sub-sections i. and iv. in section 23 of the Local Government Act, as great uncertainty exists on the question?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): No question with regard to these items can practically arise until the County Councils are constituted, and they must depend on the actual circumstances in connection with each particular county. I may observe, however, that the terms of sub-section i. are general, with the view of covering any expenditure which may be incidental to the keeping of an Exchequer Contribution Account; and that sub-section iv. refers to the costs for all purposes for which the County Council may assess the whole of their administrative county. These purposes, which include the maintenance of main roads, are, under section 68 (2) of the Act, general county purposes; and all expenditure for such purposes is to be charged to the General County Account.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—UNLOADING PETROLEUM OIL AT LIVERPOOL.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that for some time past tank steamers have been unloading at the Herculaneum Dock, Liverpool (as in the case of the tank vessel *Marquis Scicluna*), and that, there being no tanks in which the oil could be pumped direct from the vessel, the petroleum is pumped into barrels on the quay by ordinary dock labour; whether his attention has been called to the risk which is incurred of even more serious explosions than those which lately took place at Bristol and Calais, owing to the fact that a quantity of oil is spilt during this operation, and that at the time this oil is swimming on the quay the tank steamer is moored in the dock quite close to where the barrelling operations are going on, surrounded by very large quantities of full and empty barrels, and that numbers of the largest steamers are entering and leaving the dock; and, whether, having regard to the danger thus caused to Liverpool, he will consider the advisability of limiting the unloading of petroleum to places where (as is the case at Birkenhead) tank vessels can be discharged by pumping direct through underground pipes into tanks at some distance from the dock?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): On this subject I have communicated with the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, who have sent me the following statement:—

"It is quite true that tank steamers have discharged petroleum at the Herculaneum Dock. The petroleum is not, as is represented, pumped by labourers direct from the ship into barrels; but is pumped by machinery into three portable tanks which are placed on the quay of the said dock. Each of these tanks is provided with 10 taps on each side, by which the oil is drawn off into casks which are placed under each tap. The operation is carefully watched, and there are men in attendance to superintend the filling of the tanks, and others are appointed to turn off the taps when the barrels are filled. Under each row of barrels a draining pan is placed for the purpose of collecting any small occasional overflow that may take place, and the pans are emptied as often as may be required. The barrels filled with oil which cannot be removed from the quay at once, either by carts or by ship, are placed in the Board's casemates, which have been excavated in the sandstone rock, and especially constructed for the storage of petroleum. Experience shows that the leakage on to the quay is inconsiderable, and not more than from barrels when the petroleum is imported in that form. The berth in which the tank steamers discharge is a considerable distance from the nearest dock entrance, and is situated in a portion of the dock which is set apart for the petroleum trade. I may add that, as regards the explosion at Bristol to which reference is made in the Question, the article in that case consisted of naphtha, which is highly inflammable; and in the case at Calais, which is also referred to, the cargo consisted of crude petroleum, which is also a highly inflammable article, containing, as it does, a large quantity of naphtha; whereas in the case of the *Marquis Scicluna*, which discharged in the Herculaneum Dock, the oil was Russian petroleum, which is considerably over the Government flashing test, and is, therefore, much less dangerous than the articles above-mentioned, and is not petroleum within the meaning of the Act of Parliament."

In answer to a further Question by Lord HENRY BRUCE,

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said: The powers vested in the Government under the Explosives Acts are vested in the Home Secretary; but, as far as the Harbour Authorities are concerned, the Board of Trade is responsible.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

MR. AIRD (Paddington, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, having regard to the importance of the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill passing during the present Session, and the benefits that would thereby accrue to the working classes, Whether arrangements could be made to save the time of the House by re-committing the Bill to the Standing Committee on Law, with the view of reconciling, if possible, some of the differences, and lessening the number of Amendments which have been put forward since the Bill was reported?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Standing Committee on Law gave so much time and labour to the consideration of the Bill that I think it would not be reasonable to re-commit it. I trust that the House generally will be willing to accept the result of the labours of the Committee; and that Amendments which raise questions fully discussed by the Committee will not be pressed.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked, when the Bill would be taken?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have stated repeatedly that it will be taken on Friday.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman say it will be taken on Friday?

MR. W. H. SMITH (London): I am under the impression I have said so repeatedly; and I adhere to that statement.

ARMY (INDIA)—INDIAN CADETS—THE REGULATIONS.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether an officer appointed an Indian cadet under the old Regulations, and before it was decided that appointments should be subjected to any alterations deemed necessary by the Secretary of State for India, and who, in consequence, has not been called upon to consent to such alterations, has, notwithstanding frequent appeals, been compelled to serve in accordance with such alterations; and, if so, will compensation be granted to such officer for the heavy pecuniary loss he has sustained?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): There is no officer now in the service of the Government of India whose condition answers the description in the Question. On the assumption by the Crown of the direct government of India, it was decided in December, 1858, that all future appointments should be subject to any alterations which might be made by the Secretary of State. There is no officer now on the general list whose commission is dated earlier than February, 1859.

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACT, 1888—THE JUDGES.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can now give the House the names of the Judges appointed under "The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888?"

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W): The names of the Judges who have been appointed are—for England, Mr. Justice Wills; for Scotland, Lord Trayner; and for Ireland, Mr. Justice Murphy.

SEA FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—TRAWLING.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Fishery Board for Scotland propose to make any new by-laws in respect of trawling; and if it has been sanctioned by the Secretary for Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Fishery Board propose to issue a by-law affecting a portion of the East Coast of Scotland, and the geographical extent, as well as the terms, of the by-law are under consideration.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked whether a recommendation in favour of such by-law was forwarded by the Fishery Board to the Secretary for Scotland on the 26th of September last; and, if so, what was the reason of the exceptional delay?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I cannot say as to the exact date on which the communication was made to Dover House; but I may say that negotiations have taken place arising out of the difficulty of adapting the geographical limits to the prescribed conditions of the Act of 1885. It is to the difficulty of settling that point that the delay is due.

MR. J. SINCLAIR (Ayr Burghs) asked if there was any prospect of a by-law with reference to trawling on the Clyde and the West of Scotland?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will give Notice of that Question, which relates to a matter separate from that raised by the Question of the hon. Member for Forfarshire.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROCLAMATION OF A MEETING AT WATERFORD.

MR. R. POWER (Waterford) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has received a copy of the Resolution passed unanimously by the Waterford Magistrates, complaining that the late Proclamation was issued without reasonable cause and on insufficient knowledge of the state of the city; and, whether, in future, before issuing such Proclamations, he will

ascertain and take into consideration the opinions held by the local magistrates?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I have received a copy of a Resolution passed at a meeting of certain of the Waterford Magistrates relative to the Proclamation referred to in the Question. The meeting was prohibited because, as stated in the Proclamation, its object was seditious and illegal, and it would, therefore, have been an unlawful assembly. It would be impossible to give any undertaking of the nature suggested in the concluding portion of the Question. But I may say that the Executive is always anxious to consider the opinions of local magistrates with respect to any matter affecting the peace of the locality.

MR. R. POWER: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman know that on this occasion the local magistrates were not consulted at all?

MR. MADDEN said, he believed that was so.

SCOTCH SALMON FISHING BILL—DEPUTATION.

MR. THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Scotch Salmon Fishing Bill is now completed; and, if so, when it will be introduced?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Bill referred to will be presented to Parliament before the close of the present Session.

SOUTH AFRICA (NATAL)—SENTENCE ON FIVE NATIVES.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the case, as stated in *The Natal Witness* of October 20, that five Zulus have been sentenced to be hanged by the Court sitting at Ekowe; and, whether these men were defended by counsel?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): There is no foundation whatever for the statement in the hon. Member's Question that five Zulus have been sentenced to be hanged by the Court at Ekowe. On receipt of the hon. Gentleman's Question the Secretary of State communicated with the Governor of Natal, and the following reply has been received:—

"No truth in report mentioned in your Lordship's telegram. Not even aware Osborn has as yet taken legal proceedings against persons accused."

I may again repeat what I have said in the House in answer to a former Question, that no sentences will be carried out until Her Majesty's Government have had an opportunity of considering the evidence.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOLS — THE HEAD MASTERS.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) (for Mr. JOHNSTON) (Belfast, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, out of the 34 head masters of model schools in Ireland, only four are members of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland, while the number of young persons belonging to that Church in Ireland attending such schools exceeds by 578 the number of Roman Catholics, and by 770 the number of Presbyterians; and, if he can state the numbers, respectively, of the Protestant Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic Professors and teachers in the schools, Marlborough Street, Dublin, and the average amount paid out of the public money to the teachers of each denomination? In putting the Question the hon. and gallant Gentleman said: I wish, at the same time, to call attention to an error that has crept into the third line, inasmuch as the words, "Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland," should be, according to the provisions of the Act of Disestablishment, "Church of Ireland."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, he had communicated with the Commissioners of National Education; but had not yet received a reply from them on this subject.

COLONEL WARING gave Notice to ask the First Lord of the Treasury why the title of the Church of Ireland had been altered by the Clerks at the Table?

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can now say whether any despatch or communication of any kind

has been received by the Government from the Governor of Lagos containing any complaint concerning the conduct of the *employés* of the Royal Niger Company toward the Natives; and, whether it can be laid upon the Table of the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) said: The Governor of Lagos does not report to the Foreign Office. He has no personal knowledge of the relations between the natives of the Niger territories and the *employés* of the Company, and has made no Report on the subject to the Colonial Office. It may be added that no complaints on the part of the natives have lately reached us from any quarter.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ARRESTS IN CO. KERRY WITHOUT WARRANT.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state what was the charge preferred against the four men, named John and Daniel Scannell, John Cahill, and Humphrey Moyniham, who were arrested on November 21, and taken before Mr. M'Dermott, R.M., at Rathmore, County Kerry; why was bail refused in these cases; and, if he will inquire into the practice that has recently been adopted, as is alleged, in this part of Kerry by the Constabulary of making arrests without warrant or other legal authority?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The men referred to were arrested under a sworn information made by one John Cronin, charging them with serious intimidation and assault. The object was apparently to compel him to join the Plan of Campaign, which had been recently started in the district. The District Inspector of Police, having regard to the serious nature of the charge and to the circumstances of the case, opposed bail in the exercise of his discretion. The District Inspector at the second remand consented to the prisoners' release on substantial securities to appear at Rathmore Petty Sessions on the 13th of December.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Was there a warrant issued on the sworn information, and on what ground did District Inspector Creagh refuse to admit these men to bail?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware of the grounds upon which District Inspector Creagh refused bail. As to whether proceedings were taken by summons or by warrant he had no information.

MR. SEXTON asked if the police arrested persons merely upon sworn information without a summons or a warrant?

MR. MADDEN: I have no reason to assume that no warrant or summons was issued in this case.

MR. FLYNN asked if it was a fact that there had been a dozen arrests recently in the South of Ireland without the authority of either warrant or summons?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware that such was the case.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CHANGE OF VENUE.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, What authority is competent to direct the removal of the trial of a criminal indictment which, in the ordinary course, would be held at the Winter Assize of any particular Province to the Winter Assize of another Province, without any order by a Court granting a change of venue?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): There is no power to take the course referred to in the Question, nor has any such course been taken. When there has been a change of venue from one county to another, and the trial is held at the Winter Assizes, it will take place at the Winter Assizes for the union of counties which includes the county to which the venue has been so changed. These unions of counties do not in all cases correspond with the Provinces of Ireland.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Was it by the hon. and learned Gentleman's direction, or the direction of the Attorney General, that the trial of a gamekeeper to the Marquess of Headfort, for firing at and wounding a person at Kells, was removed to Belfast Assizes?

MR. MADDEN: There is no power to do so unless a change of venue were

granted. The hon. Member must be misinformed.

MR. TUITE: Is the hon. and learned Gentleman aware that this gamekeeper is an Orangeman, and that this employer, the Marquess of Headfort, is one of the Presidents of the Primrose League?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE RIFLE VOLUNTEERS.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether anything can be done to place the Rifle Volunteer Corps of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge upon a more satisfactory footing and to attract more members of the Universities to join; and, whether, with that object, he will cause an inquiry to be made into the general condition of those corps during the last 10 years?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Great efforts have been made to induce the Undergraduates to join these corps; but each has for some time been below the minimum number which would justify its continuance. I suppose that other athletic pursuits have greater attractions for them. Six months will be given to these two corps to raise their effective strength to the minimum number; and if by that time this has not been done, I shall have to consider the necessity of withdrawing the Adjutant and Staff.

LOCAL TAXATION — COLLECTION OF LOCAL RATES.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that in Westminster and other places local rates for the whole year ending March are collected in advance in May and June, and that the money so collected is retained at the bankers for many months; that to enforce this payment in advance summonses are issued for these rates by the hundred; that this inflicts much hardship on small ratepayers; and, whether he can take steps, by legislation or otherwise, to require that such rates shall be collected quarterly, as is done in some districts?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I believe that it is the case that in Westminster and a few other parishes in the Metropolis the local rates are made for a whole year; but I am informed that at Westminster the rates, although made for the year, are payable in eight instalments. Under these circumstances, I do not think any hardship is inflicted on the ratepayers.

MR. BARTLEY asked whether it was not the fact that summonses were issued to poor people in great numbers for their rates for a year and a-half; and whether a magistrate had refused to sign them?

MR. RITCHIE said, he was informed that it was not the case that summonses were issued for a year and a-half's rates in advance. Summonses were only taken out in cases where the instalments were long overdue.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1886—SUPERVISION OF DAIRIES AND COWSHEDS.

MR. COCHRANE-BAILLIE (St. Pancras, N.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the Government will act on the views strongly expressed by Professor Brown in his Report just published, and give instructions to the Sanitary Authorities to be more stringent in their supervision of dairies?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Sanitary Authorities in England and Wales were constituted the Local Authorities for the purpose of the supervision of dairies and cowsheds by the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1886; and shortly after the passing of the Act the Local Government Board brought specially under the attention of the several Sanitary Authorities the new powers and duties which devolved upon them. The Regulations for the enforcement of the ventilation, drainage, water supply, and cleanliness of dairies and cowsheds, which had previously been made by the County Justices, are by the Act continued in force pending the making of new Regulations by the Sanitary Authorities. Since the date of the Act new Regulations have been made by nearly 450 authorities. In many of these cases the necessity for the action of the Sanitary Authorities arose from the fact that no Regulations on the subject had previously been made by the

Justices. I propose to communicate with the Sanitary Authorities in any districts in which there are now no Regulations in force as to dairies and cowsheds, with a view to the adoption of Regulations; and whenever it may appear, from the Reports of the Medical Officers of Health or otherwise, that due supervision of the dairies and cowsheds is not exercised in any particular district, I shall not fail to impress upon the Sanitary Authority how essential it is that this duty should be fully and carefully discharged.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POST OFFICE AT GLENANIFF, NORTH LEITRIM.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether a Petition, signed by the priests, the Local Justices of the Peace, and the people generally of Glenaniff, North Leitrim, praying for the establishment of a post office in the Glenaniff District, has been received by him; and, whether the Government can see its way to assent to the prayer of the Petitioners; and, if not, can he state on what ground?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I have received a Memorial from the inhabitants of Glenaniff asking for the establishment of a post-office in that district; but as the cost would be more than eight-fold the available revenue, I am not prepared to comply with the application.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE—NAIL-MAKERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS OF CRADLEY HEATH.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the condition of destitution in which the chain and nail-makers of Cradley Heath are, as represented by the Report of Mr. Burnett, any arrangement can be made by which their case may be examined into by the Lords' Committee on the Sweating System before their Lordships adjourn for the Christmas holidays?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have been in communication with the Lords' Committee, and am informed by them that it is certainly their intention to inquire into this matter; but there is no chance of their being able to do so before Christmas.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will propose a Supplementary Estimate before the close of the present Session to assist by loan, or otherwise relieve, the immediate necessities of the Cradley Heath workers?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is obviously impossible for the Government to proceed by the method indicated by the hon. Member for the relief of persons for whom great sympathy must be felt, but who are suffering from their adherence to a system which is perishing in the face of economic changes in the industry of nail and chain making. The Government, as my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade has stated, are giving their serious consideration to Mr. Burnett's Report, which does not contain any suggestion of the kind indicated.

MR. BROOKE ROBINSON (Dudley) asked to be permitted to refer to the unpleasant incident which occurred on Saturday on the subject of the Cradley Heath chain makers. The whole of the chain makers, and a very considerable portion of the nailers, were among those whom he represented, and it was entirely at his instigation and request that a Report on their condition was made by Mr. Burnett, the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade. Unfortunately he was not in his place when the hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) on Thursday referred to the subject; and as no communication was made to him on the subject, he was ignorant as to what had taken place until he saw it reported in the papers, although he casually heard on Thursday that the hon. Member had put a Notice on the Paper. He ventured to think that the matter would have been better in his care than in that of the hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire. ["Oh, oh!"] He wished to speak with all courtesy of the hon. Member. He had not the slightest doubt that he was animated by the best intentions; but he honestly and sincerely believed that the hon. Member had no practical knowledge of the subject, and that his interference was more likely to tend to the

detriment of the men than otherwise. That was his reason for putting the Notice on the Paper.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPTAIN PLUNKETT, R.M.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How long has Captain Plunkett, R.M., been absent from his duty in Ireland; does his pay continue during his absence; whether Captain Plunkett has made arrangements (similar to those made by other persons subpœnaed by *The Times* for ascertaining the day upon which he is likely to be examined; and, will he also be instructed to make endeavours, as other witnesses have done, to hasten his examination, with a view to quitting London?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: With the exception of a short interval, when Captain Plunkett was back at his station in Ireland, Captain Plunkett has been in London on subpœna from *The Times* since about October 22 last. His pay continues during his absence. As to the remainder of the Question, it is unnecessary to give Captain Plunkett any instructions, as he is most anxious to be able to leave London and return to his duty, and remains only in obedience to his subpœna, as he is bound to do. The time for his examination is a matter over which he has no control.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, whether the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman had been called to the statement made by the Inspector General of Constabulary that Captain Plunkett's absence from his duties was the cause of great embarrassment?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware of the fact; but this embarrassment, if it existed, was caused by Captain Plunkett's obedience to the subpœna, which the hon. and learned Gentleman knew could not be disregarded.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, whether, having regard to the statement of the Inspector General, the hon. and learned Gentleman would not consult with the Attorney General for England with a view to arrangements being made, as in the case of other witnesses, for an early examination of this gentleman?

MR. MADDEN: I consider it would be no part of my duty to do that.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then I will put the Question myself to the Attorney General.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked, who was performing Captain Plunkett's duties in his absence—was it Captain Caddell?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware.

ARMY — COMPULSORY RETIREMEMT OF GENERAL OFFICERS — ROYAL WARRANT, 1887.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, by the Regulations in force before October, 1887, every officer in the higher ranks of the Army (whether general, colonel, or lieutenant colonel) was compulsorily retired after non-employment for five years; whether, in October, 1887, a Royal Warrant was issued specially empowering him to exempt any general (but not a colonel or lieutenant colonel) from this compulsorily retirement, in case he considered the Public Service would benefit by the retention of such general on the Active List; whether he has availed himself of this power; and, if so, in how many cases; what are the names of the exempted generals; and, what duties in the Public Service have been assigned to them?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Retirement is compulsory after five years non-employment in the higher ranks, except in the case of a colonel promoted to be a General Officer while unemployed, who may complete seven years of non-employment. A General Officer may be exempted from this if his retention is considered to be of material benefit to the Public Service. The only officer who has been so exempted during the past year is my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Birkenhead (Sir Edward Hamley), and I regard it as a great advantage to the Public Service, in the event of emergency, that we still retain his services in the Army.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked how long the arrangement was to continue?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, the exemption from retirement was for a fixed period of two years.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked if he was receiving full or half pay?

MR. E. STANHOPE: In the meantime my hon. and gallant Friend receives half pay.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AT MEELIN, CO. CORK—WIDOW DEMPSEY'S FARM AT LOUGHREA.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he can state in detail the amount spent in connection with attempts to suppress the proclaimed branch of the National League at Meelin, in the County of Cork, including costs of various trials, drafting in of extra police, removal of prisoners to gaol, &c.? The hon. Gentleman also asked, Whether the hon. and learned Gentleman can state the costs incurred by the Crown in respect of various prosecutions, &c., connected with the Widow Dempsey's farm, situated near Loughrea, in County Galway?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University), in reply, said, he was making inquiries on the subject. The hon. Member must see that it would take some time to separate these expenses from the general expenses.

MR. DILLON said, it would be desirable to have this information in time for the discussion of the Estimates. Would the hon. Gentleman give the amount of expenditure down to the present day?

MR. MADDEN said, he could not promise to supply the details of expenditure down to the present, as it took some time to collect the information.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—RICHMOND DISTRICT ASYLUM.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the circumstances under which the annual contribution of the City of Dublin to the maintenance of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum was not levied during the present year, and falls upon the rate of next year, the Irish Executive will agree to follow a precedent established in a similar case, by assenting to the addition of one-fourth of the contribution leviable, in the ordinary course, in the rate for 1889, to the annual levy for each of the next four years; and, whether particulars will be given by the Inspectors of Asylums to the Corporation of Dublin of cases becoming chargeable to the city from time to time?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, this important matter was engaging the attention of the Government; but he was not yet prepared to give an answer.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS ON THE SHIRLEY ESTATES, CARRICKMACROSS.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that notices have been served on the officers of the Carrickmacross Union, to make provision for the reception of 45 families, numbering 250 persons, who are to be evicted on one of the Shirley estates in that Union; that the reductions given in the Land Court in November last on Horatio Shirley's estate averaged 43 per cent, and on the estate of S. E. Shirley in January last 35 per cent; and that 28 of these threatened evictions are on the estate of Horatio Shirley, and with a few exceptions all the evictions are for the non-payment of the arrears of the old rack-rents; whether he is also aware that the tenants have endeavoured to effect a settlement, but the landlords in both cases have refused to make any abatement; and, whether, under the circumstances, the Government will give the forces of the Crown to carry out these evictions for the non-payment of rent declared by the Court unjust?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that it is the case that notices of evictions in respect of 45 families have been served on the Shirley estates, and that the percentages of reductions given in the Land Court are substantially as stated. The number of proposed evictions in respect of the old rent appears to be seven. The tenants, with a few exceptions, have not endeavoured to effect a settlement. They got stays of execution from the County Court Judge, but failed to pay the instalments. No

application has been made to the Executive for police protection in regard to the proposed evictions.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Is it not on account of the old and unreduced rents that the tenants are to be evicted; and will not the Government follow the example set by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and make representation to the landlords on the matter?

MR. MADDEN asked for Notice of the Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CORONER'S INQUEST ON PATRICK AHERN, AT MIDLETON—GOVERNMENT REPORTERS.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that two Government reporters attended the Midleton inquest; by whose orders did they attend; and, whether he will lay a transcript of the Government reporters' notes upon the Table of the House before taking the Irish Police Vote, in order that the House may judge of the accuracy of the statements made on the subject by the Cork newspaper?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The reply to the inquiry in the first paragraph is in the affirmative. They attended by direction of the Attorney General. I am unable to adopt the course suggested in the last paragraph, as in the present stage of the case it would not be proper to discuss it in this House.

Subsequently,

MR. LANE said: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary the following Question, of which I gave him private Notice through the post on Saturday:—Whether he is aware that Constable Swindell, who was arrested for the murder of Patrick Ahern, at Midleton, has been released from prison; and, if so, under what circumstances?

MR. MADDEN (who replied) said, that he was informed that Constable Swindell had, in accordance with an order of the Court of Queen's Bench, been admitted to bail in his own recognizances.

MR. LANE also asked the following Question, of which he had given similar Notice, Whether the Chief Secretary is aware that District Inspector Creagh, of Midleton, was severely censured by the Coroner's Jury held in the case of Patrick Ahern, for ordering an unjustifiable attack on the people assembled at Midleton on the 1st of November last; and, also, whether it was a fact that District Inspector Creagh appeared to prosecute a number of persons at Midleton under the Coercion Act last Friday who were witnesses of the assault committed by the police on the 1st of November, when Patrick Ahern was killed, and that all these persons were sent to prison by two Resident Magistrates?

MR. MADDEN (who replied) said: It is a fact that District Inspector Creagh did appear at Midleton on Friday last to prosecute a number of persons under the Crimes Act, and that all of them were sent to prison. It is not known whether they were witnesses or not.

MR. LANE: Is it not a fact that seven or eight persons who were witnesses at the inquest have been sent to gaol with hard labour?

MR. MADDEN: I have no information on that point.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Was not District Inspector Creagh perfectly well aware that these people were witnesses?

MR. MADDEN said, he was unable to answer.

GRANTS OF RIGHTS OVER CROWN LANDS—THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the case that Her Majesty's Government contemplate, or have any intention of, selling or letting to any person or persons, Company, or Association of persons, any portion of the Crown Lands in the neighbourhood of Aldershot?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Lands which are technically called Crown Lands are not under my control; but if the hon. Baronet refers to land belonging to the War Department near Aldershot, I can say that there is no proposal to sell or let, but only to grant the user of certain land for certain limited and defined purposes.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE asked, whether it was the intention of the Government to let or sell, or grant a user of, any land near Aldershot to the National Rifle Association without giving an opportunity to the House of expressing an opinion whether such a proceeding would be right and proper?

MR. E. STANHOPE: If a Vote is required the House will, of course, be afforded an opportunity of discussing the question before it is finally settled; but if no Vote is wanted there will be no necessity for the opinion of the House being taken.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE asked, whether, in the opinion of the Government, property let at a nominal rent did not amount to the same thing as a grant of money?

MR. E. STANHOPE: The hon. Member assumes the fact that there is to be land let at a nominal rent. I have already told him that there is no proposal to let the land.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that he distinctly said, in answer to a Question of mine the other day, that Parliament should be consulted, not only before any grant of money, but before any grant of land was made?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Certainly; but I never said anything about a grant or user of land.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE inquired, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that a site at Cannock Chase had been offered to the National Rifle Association free of all charge?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I am perfectly well aware of it; but whether or not it is a suitable site is a matter for the Association, not for me.

CUSTOM HOUSE OFFICERS—HOURS OF DUTY.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) (for Mr. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM) (Lanark, N.W.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been directed to the reports in the Press that the hours of duty for Custom House Officers have been recently increased; whether he will do something to put down overtime in this branch of the Public Service; and, if it is true that on some occasions these men work for 24 consecutive hours?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: The average number of hours of duty for Custom House officers has not been recently increased. The outdoor branches of the Custom Service at the busy shipping ports cannot be worked without some overtime; but efforts are constantly being made in the Department to keep it within reasonable limits. It is true that at some of the Customs Waterguard Stations men are kept in attendance for periods of 24 hours for any duty that may be required in connection with the arrival of ships; but these men are not continuously at work, and, as a relief, they usually get the next succeeding period of 24 hours wholly to themselves. Sleeping accommodation is provided at the public expense to men thus kept in attendance for lengthened periods, and cooking utensils and the like are also supplied for their use.

CRIMINAL LAW—LAW OF EVIDENCE—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY.

MR. MOWBRAY (Lancashire, Prestwich) (for Mr. HOWARD VINCENT) (Sheffield, Central) asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been directed to the facts in the Northumberland burglary case, which show that if the English law had admitted of the two innocent men, sentenced in 1879 to penal servitude for life, and only just released, giving evidence on their own behalf, and of their being judicially interrogated as to their proceedings upon the night of the crime, the miscarriage of justice would probably have been averted; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take, promptly, to remove a disability from the law singular to England, Wales, and Ireland, and so disastrous in its consequences?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) (who replied) said: The case to which the hon. Member refers is only one of many instances which are constantly being called to the attention of the Attorney General with regard to the pressing necessity for a change in the law by permitting prisoners to give evidence. The testimony upon this point to which the Attorney General previously called attention, in urging such a measure upon the House, is being constantly corroborated by cases

which occur in the daily practice of the Criminal Law. The hon. Member is aware that the Attorney General made repeated efforts to press forward a Bill to effect this Amendment; and I sincerely hope that the House may be able to deal with the matter early in next Session.

LAW AND JUSTICE—A COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—LEGISLATION.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, having regard to the recent miscarriage of justice in Northumberland, the Government will give facilities for the consideration of the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill next Session?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) (who replied) said, it was impossible for him to answer the Question.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the terrible miscarriage of justice in the case of the men Brannaghan and Murphy, he will undertake to introduce, next Session, a Government measure for the constitution of a Court of Appeal for all criminal cases? The hon. Member further asked, if a sum of money was to be granted to these men, from what source it would be provided; and whether the right hon. Gentleman would lay before the House a Resolution by which it would be able to express its sympathy with the men for the atrocious wrong to which they had been subjected?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, the money would be provided by a Vote of the House; but he could not undertake that a measure constituting a Court of Appeal would be introduced next Session.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked, whether, instead of giving a lump sum to the men Brannaghan and Murphy, it would not be much kinder and better to give an annuity in the way of compensation?

MR. W. H. SMITH replied that the Home Secretary had already stated that he would confer with his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Milvain) as to the best method of securing the money for the benefit of the men.

MR. CONYBEARE gave Notice that when the Vote came before the House he would move, as an Amendment, that an annuity of £50 be given to each of these men, and that also a Vote of sympathy with them be passed by the House.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—REGISTRATION OF VOTERS—REFORMS.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has given attention to the fact that a Committee of the House recommended 20 years ago a series of reforms in the law for the registration of voters; why the recommendations of such Committee have never been carried into effect; if he is aware that several Bills for a reform of the Law of Registration have been introduced by private Members during the present and several preceding Sessions; whether the Government intend, during the next Session, to introduce any Bill upon the subject; and, in the event of their declining to do so, whether they will consent to the appointment of a Committee to consider the whole question of registration and the various Bills upon the subject which have been introduced during the present Parliament?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am sure the hon. Member will see that the Government cannot be held responsible for the political events of the last 20 years, nor can I state why successive Governments have not acted upon the Reports to which he refers. It is impossible for me to say what measures the Government will deal with next Session, beyond the indication I have already given.

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL — ROMAN-DUTCH LAW.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in making future appointments to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Government will consider the propriety of selecting a representative of the Judicial Bench of Her Majesty's Possessions in South Africa, conversant with Roman-Dutch system of law which obtains in those Colonies?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is impossible to place on the Judicial Committee a specialist in every branch of law established in the different parts of the Empire, and no difficulty has been experienced in dealing with cases from South Africa.

MR. CONYBEARE asked, whether there was single Judge upon the Judicial Committee conversant with the Roman-Dutch system?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was not personally conversant with the proceedings of the Judicial Committee; but he was informed, upon authority on which he could rely, that there did not appear to those responsible for the appointment of that Committee any necessity for the change indicated by the hon. Member.

EGYPT—SUAKIN—PAPERS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will lay upon the Table Papers concerning the communications between the British and Egyptian Governments on the subject of Suakin?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It has already been intimated that the communications between the British and Egyptian Governments on the subject of Suakin are very few; but certainly they will be laid on the Table if the right hon. Gentleman wishes it.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): It will be for the convenience of the House if the First Lord of the Treasury can state what course he proposes to take with regard to Public Business?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have endeavoured to ascertain, as far as I can, what the feeling of hon. Members was with regard to the arrangements to be made for Public Business; and I have satisfied myself that, while there is a great desire to forward Business as much as possible, there is not unnaturally a reluctance to make the conditions too onerous and too severe upon hon. Members and upon the officers of the House. The proposal, therefore, which I wish to make is that on Mondays and Thursdays we should suspend the 12 o'clock Rule; and on Tuesdays—at all events at present—relying upon the co-operation of hon. Members in forwarding Business, we should not do so, having regard to the fact that the House will sit at 12 o'clock on Wednesdays, and also at 12 o'clock on Saturdays. I think it may possibly be for the convenience of the House that the half-past 5 o'clock Rule should be suspended on Wednesdays, with a view to conclude any Business which may then be before the Committee by half-past 6 or 7 o'clock if possible; but I make no distinct proposal of that character at the present moment. I only desire to ask the co-operation of the House, as far as it may be possible to obtain it, for the forwarding of Public Business in a manner which will be conducive to the interests of the House. Therefore, I do not propose at the present moment to move the Resolution which I put on the Paper for last week; but to content myself with moving the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule for this night.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) asked, if the right hon. Gentleman could name a definite day—say that day week—for taking the Scottish Estimates?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he should be exceedingly glad to name a day if it was in his power; but the right hon. Gentleman would see the difficulties in which the Government were placed. They must make further progress before he could make a definite statement as to the particular day when the Scottish Votes would be taken.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) asked, how about the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he regarded it as incumbent on the Government to ask the House to make a serious effort to pass the Bill. It would be most inexpedient that there should be any delay beyond next Friday in getting it through the House of Commons, as the Government desired that the measure should be fairly and fully considered in the House of Lords. Under these circumstances, it was necessary to adhere to the arrangement that the Bill should be taken on Friday next.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he intended to move every Monday and Thursday that the House sit after 12 o'clock, on which Motion there could be no debate, or whether a general Motion to that effect would be made; because he could assure the right hon. Gentleman there was not that universal assent to his proposal on the Opposition side of the House which he supposed; and unless an opportunity should be given for some sort of debate on the Motion they would have to take other means of obtaining one.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, I am not desirous of contributing to the delay of Public Business. Unless I am forced to do so, I should not, after the statement I made, think it right to initiate myself a debate on the proposal which I have mentioned to the House. I think the course I have indicated is one which, on the whole, meets with the support and acceptance of the House. ["No!"] It is necessary that the Bill should be carefully considered in "another place," and returned to this House before the end of this Session. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to adhere to the arrangement that the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill should be taken on Friday next.

MR. A. E. PEASE (York) asked if the right hon. Gentleman would name a day when Class V. of the Civil Service Estimates would be taken.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it was impossible to do so. If the hon. Member could indicate any method by which he could do so, he should be exceedingly obliged.

ATTACHMENT OF A MEMBER (MR. GENT-DAVIS).

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): With reference to the Notice which I gave for to-morrow concerning the hon. Member for Kennington (Mr. Gent-Davis), as I find that it requires to be preceded by a Notice for the expulsion from this House of the hon. Member, I think it only right, as the hon. Member is not present, and as I understand that a Motion is likely to be made affecting his discharge at some time during the present month, I postpone any action on the subject until there is some prospect of the hon. Gentleman being able to be in his place in this House.

MOTION.

—o—

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the Proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted, under the Standing Order Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 179; Noes 97: Majority 82.—(Div. List, No. 325.)

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) rose to explain.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member rise to a point of Order?

MR. CONYBEARE said, that he did. He wished to explain why he had not obeyed the order to act as Teller. He had no intention of showing disrespect to the Chair; but the fact was he had no idea he would have been called upon. He naturally supposed that the Front Opposition Bench would appoint a Teller as usual.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £2,478 to complete the sum for the Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said that on this Vote he should like to call attention to one or two of the items contained in it, and especially to the expenses of the Lord Lieutenant. He believed that the theory was that the Lord Lieutenant should act in Ireland as the Representative of the Queen; that he should constantly show himself in Public State, and be altogether independent of both political Parties. That had been the course, at all events, which had been pursued by most of the Lord Lieutenants who had occupied that position in Ireland in very heated times—in times of very great excitement. He could not recall the case of a single nobleman who had filled the Office of Lord Lieutenant who had not taken a partizan view of his public duties. On every occasion when he had been called upon

to take part in affairs of public interest he had expressed the views of the Party which appointed him to the Office. He (Mr. Clancy) held that the Lord Lieutenant ought to be independent of Party altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must be aware that the salary of the Lord Lieutenant is not included in this Vote. It is, in fact, placed upon the Consolidated Fund for the express purpose of taking away from the Committee of Supply the power of reviewing any of his official acts.

MR. CLANCY asked, if it would be competent to discuss the matter on the Vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, seeing that the Chief Secretary performed his functions under the Lord Lieutenant?

THE CHAIRMAN said, that could only be done on the ground that the Chief Secretary had not given the Lord Lieutenant proper advice. In that case it would be competent to examine the conduct of the Chief Secretary for not having given better advice to the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, there was an item in the Vote for Queen's Plates. It would be remembered that some time ago he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary what the position of those Queen's Plates was. His complaint was that the money was not spread evenly over all the counties in Ireland. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) had raised this matter from time to time, and had succeeded, he believed, in getting a small extension of the money for Galway. He (Mr. Edward Harrington) wished to have it extended to the South of Ireland, especially to Kerry, which was a great horse-rearing county, besides being a sporting county. It must not be forgotten that they were constantly hearing pathetic stories about the destruction of sport from hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. Therefore to encourage sport it would be only wise to give one or two of the Queen's Plates to the county of Kerry. He believed that, as a matter of fact, they were all of them at present given within a short radius of Dublin, and that they did not travel outside that county, at any rate only to those race-courses which were convenient for the Lord Lieutenant to attend. He thought that other people in Ireland would like to amuse themselves with horse-racing as well as his Excellency, who seemed to have very little else to do. He had been asked to take this matter up, and he certainly believed that the giving of those Plates to some of the outlying districts would not only encourage the breeding of horses, but agriculture generally, and the rearing of stock. The Irish farmer had long been famed for superiority in the rearing and breeding of horses, and if some of those prizes were awarded in other districts he would receive a great stimulus in that direction. He was anxious to learn from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary what the position of the Government was on the matter, and if they could count on the fulfilment of the promise which was given some time ago that the claims of certain counties would be taken into consideration. Of course, in the remarks he had made he spoke specially of the claim of the county of Kerry.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that his own desire would be to abolish the Queen's Plates altogether; but he did not think there was much to be gained by attempting to carry out that policy, because he feared it would receive considerable opposition. The hon. Member wished to have those Plates distributed more evenly over the whole of Ireland, and was of opinion that some additional prizes should be given. He did not think it was a judicious way of spending money, and although he expressed sympathy with the hon. Member in regard to the claim he had put forward on behalf of his constituents, he was of opinion that if the money was to be spent at all they could not spend it all over Ireland. At present there were two Queen's Plates run for in the county of Cork, and others in the North of Ireland. He also believed there were two plates run for at the Curragh.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): No; only one.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he certainly could not see his way to comply with the request of the hon. Member.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that if it were desired to abolish Queen's Plates the best way would be to concentrate them

in one place, such as the Curragh, or near Dublin. The men who took part in races did not always understand politics, and if the Queen's Plates were concentrated at the Curragh there would be no popular enthusiasm in their favour. Personally, he regarded this expenditure as one of the most useful ways in which they could spend money in Ireland. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] No doubt there were many hon. Members who did not look at the matter in that light, but he certainly regarded it as a very good thing. It amused the people, and it did not cause any considerable amount of expenditure; for his own part, he thought that a few hundred pounds spent in amusing the people was money well spent. The question, however, had a far more important aspect. If they took away from Ireland those Queen's Plates they would destroy the good breeding of horses in that country for some years. He was afraid there was a tendency in that direction, because there had already been a portion of the sum that used to be granted for Queen's Plates taken away from Ireland. The condition of things in Ireland was not what it was in England, where the money awards as Queen's Plates was largely diminished. Queen's Plates had been in existence in England for more than 200 years, and the result was that it had given an impetus to horse breeding, which had led to the breeding of the best horses in the whole world. Exactly the same condition of things applied to Ireland, and it must be remembered that in addition to the small sums awarded in the shape of Queen's Plates there was a very large amount of added money. In England, he believed, the added money was a good deal over £500,000, amounting to as much as £600,000, so that the actual money given for Queen's Plates was a mere fleabite. The added money in England was so great that the stewards of races did not care whether the Plates were interfered with or not. That was not, however, the case in Ireland. The history of this country was associated with horse-racing, but it was not so in Ireland. In Ireland the soil and climate of the country were favourable, but there was very little money in the country, and the tendency of the people was to run over to England for their amusements. He thought that a certain amount of racing ought to be kept up in Ireland, if only to attract and amuse the people. In addition to that, the breeding of horses depended materially upon having a good strain of blood, which good strain invariably came from the racecourse. By taking away this money they might easily destroy all racing in Ireland. It was a very small sum, only £1,690 altogether, but if it were taken away he had very little doubt that racing, as an institution in the country, would lapse. The result would be that horses would be imported from England, the sires would be of a very small class, and progeny would be of the same description. It was very well known that that consequence had happened in regard to Irish cattle, which, within the last 10 years, had, from a similar cause, been very much deteriorated. If the Queen's Plates were withdrawn, racing in Ireland would be injured, and there would be a considerable deterioration in the quality of the Irish horses. He would ask if it was worth while that, for the sake of £1,600, this result should be brought about? He could understand the Government and the Chief Secretary objecting to those grants, but he could not at all understand why the Vote should be opposed by Irish Members. He could quite understand that his hon. Friend the Member for West Kerry (Mr. Edward Harrington) should desire to have a portion of the money spent in the county he represented. Personally, he hoped that the money would be better distributed over Ireland, and that it would be allotted to races over a greater distance than a few furlongs; if they wanted horses for military and other purposes they should be horses that were capable of running long distances, with plenty of breeding and stamina. It had been said that Queen's Plates ought to be given for steeplechase horses, but steeplechase horses were generally bred upon flat-race-courses, and if they destroyed the flat-race horses they would destroy the steeplechase horses with them. He trusted that the money would be a little better distributed in future than it had been hitherto. There was only one place in which the Queen's Plate was given in the Province of Connaught, and only one in the Province of Ulster. He thought the Lord Lieutenant would be very badly advised if he were to interfere with the Plates now run for.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, the objection he had to this Vote was a great deal wider and deeper than that for the item relating to the giving of Queen's Plates. He thought they ought to have full information as to the services rendered by certain persons whose offices were the relics of a past age. He had in vain endeavoured to find out what was the work done by the great majority of the persons mentioned in the Vote for the salaries they received. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary told them he did not know, but he said, with all good humour and respect to the right hon. Gentleman, that he ought to know. What was the meaning of those apparently meaningless sums that were given in the Vote one after another? What did the State Steward do? What on earth was the use of a Controller? What object was answered by a Gentleman Usher; who did he usher, and when did he perform the work of ushering? He was told that it had something to do with a gaol, but that he did not believe. Then there was a Chamberlain, a Gentleman in Waiting, a State Porter, a Sergeant of the Riding House, an Organist, the Ulster King-at-Arms, and clerks. He wanted to know whether any Member of the Government could really justify any of these payments, or could state any real good that was done by any one of these persons, which, if paid at all, ought to be paid out of the salary of the Lord Lieutenant? They had been told that they could not discuss the duties or emoluments of the Lord Lieutenant; but he apprehended he was strictly in order in taking it for granted that as the salary of the Lord Lieutenant was £20,000 a-year he ought to pay somebody out of it. If those people were of the slightest use to His Excellency—for certainly they were of no use to anybody else—the Committee ought to be put on a track on which some information was to be got. He had no wish to be unreasonable, and he should be perfectly satisfied with an undertaking on the part of the Government to inquire into the matter, so that better information might be in the hands of the Committee when they came to discuss the Estimates next year. In one of the pages of this Vote he found there was a sum charged for a Chaplain to the Castle at Dublin. He could not understand why the people living in Dublin Castle should want a special Chaplain, unless they committed more sins than other people. Then, again, there were a Riding Master, a Reading Clerk, and an Organist. He could not understand what necessity there was for a special staff of this kind, or why the public should be called upon to pay for such services. The charges had now been continued from year to year. He had been trying to find out what benefit resulted to society from the services of the Ulster King-at-Arms, and whether they obtained any advantage from the Athlone Pursuivant-at-Arms and the clerk. No doubt, there were people who, in the course of the year, tried to find out what their coats of arms were; but he thought they might be satisfied with less than three men to assist them in their investigations. The entire work might be adequately done by one man. The next item on the Vote was an allowance for clothing given to one kettle-drummer. He might be told that those items had appeared on these Estimates for years; but he wanted to know what good object was answered by any one of those payments, and he thought it was imperative on the part of the Government to give a reason. He asked for this information in perfect good faith, and in perfect sincerity. He had no wish to divide the Committee, but he thought they ought to have some information as to what object was served by those payments.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he was not surprised that the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Waddy) should desire to have information in reference to these items of expenditure. The answer, however, was obvious, and personally he found it so. What was the use of clothing a kettle-drummer or paying persons to hunt up heraldic bearings and coats of arms? His object, however, in rising was to draw attention to another matter—namely, to ask who was the owner of all the cattle and sheep who caused such a great and abominable nuisance to the thousands in Dublin in the Phœnix Park? In London cows and sheep were not allowed in the public parks. If they were the property of the Lord Lieutenant, as he gathered they were, he would recommend His Excellency to get rid of them. He was not certain that they belonged to the Lord Lieu-

tenant, they might belong to the Chief Secretary, because he saw that the right hon. Gentleman was entitled to the skins of the cattle in the park. Was it desirable, for the sake of saving a few pounds per annum, that they should have this abominable nuisance going on from year to year. The deer of the park were an ornament and nobody objected to them; but as far as the cows and sheep were concerned they ought to be removed; and if it was considered desirable to put them in Regent's Park and associate them with the enjoyments of the people of London he should have no objection, although he had very little doubt as to what the people of London would say. He did not suppose that £100 a-year was made out of them, and certainly they were a very great nuisance. The introduction of sheep was, he thought, quite a recent innovation. He did not know why anybody should have a right to put deer in a public park, although they were undoubtedly an ornament, but why they should put in cows and sheep to destroy the enjoyment of the public he could not understand.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought that this matter would come more appropriately under the Board of Works Vote. He might say, however, that the cattle were allowed to be in Phœnix Park under contract. Both sheep and cattle were extremely beneficial, from an agricultural point of view, to the Park, and he believed that he was right in saying that it would be quite impossible to keep down the grass if deer only were allowed there.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that some 20 years ago an attempt was made to introduce cattle into the Metropolitan parks, but the people of the Metropolis would not assent and the attempt failed.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he entertained a strong objection to the sum set down for the Lord Lieutenant's household being paid out of the public funds, for various reasons. His first and great reason, however, was that the Lord Lieutenant received from the Consolidated Fund a salary of £20,000 a-year for the performance of certain functions which, in a social sense, were extremely light, and which the people of Ireland conceived to be of no public use. Surely, when they gave the Lord Lieutenant £20,000 a-year, he ought to pay the expenses of his household out of it. There were a great many persons in this country who were much more useful than the Lord Lieutenant, and who received a much less salary, but they had to pay for their households out of their own pockets. He thought the same system should be applied to the household of the Lord Lieutenant. In social matters the Lord Lieutenant had no relations with the general communities in Ireland. His only social relations were with a small class of persons who were mostly obnoxious to the general public in Ireland, persons with whose amusements the public had no sympathy. As one of the Representatives of the people of Dublin, he objected to pay out of the public purse one penny for the amusement of one section only of the public in Ireland. It must not be forgotten that the general public provided the taxes out of which this money was paid. That was his second reason for objecting to this Vote. A third reason was that the Lord Lieutenant showed his contempt for Ireland by staying out of it as much as he could. Indeed, he was almost as much out of the country as the Chief Secretary. However much those two high officials had otherwise distinguished themselves, they had certainly distinguished themselves by remaining out of Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant was seldom seen in Ireland except at a race-course, and he failed to see why an official who spent as many months in England as he did days in Ireland should keep up a large amount of State and require so much money to be spent upon it. No one would object to these charges if the Lord Lieutenant did his duty and remained in Ireland from the beginning of the year to the end of it. He further objected to the maintenance of the office of the Ulster King-at-Arms. It was kept up for the gratification of individual vanity to constitute a kind of social luxury, and he thought that the people who availed themselves of the functions of the Ulster King-at-Arms ought to pay for them. The salary of the Ulster King-at-Arms was £920 a-year, and there were other expenses attached to that office, while the fees last year only amounted to £800. He thought Parliament ought to refuse to retain the Office unless the fees were

sufficient to pay the annual cost of keeping it up. He had no desire to express any strong objection to the clothing of that ancient relic the Kettle-drummer. He found that he was described, in a foot-note to the Vote, as the only remnant of the State Band that formerly existed. Of course it was too much to suppose that this last survivor performed by himself. Then, again, there was an item in connection with the Order of St. Patrick which he regarded as a kind of public nuisance. He had no power to interfere with the conferring of the name of a Saint upon this Order, but he objected to the creation of Knights of St. Patrick on the ground that the institution was obnoxious to the public opinion of the country. He did not see, therefore, why the Irish people should consent to a charge of £40 a-year for providing insignia as the investiture of a new Knight.

An hon. MEMBER: Who are the new Knights?

MR. SEXTON said, he should certainly like to know from the Government who the last gentleman was who had made himself disagreeable to the public opinion in Ireland. He might possibly get no answer to that question. The cost of providing the insignia was £40, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to inform them when this new Knight of the Order of St. Patrick was to be invested, whether he had been invested, and who he was? He would also ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would not accept the principle that every new Knight ought to pay for his investiture.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that with regard to the last part of the right hon. Gentleman's observations, he believed it was right to say that the average receipts of the Ulster King-at-Arms exceeded the expenditure by about £9. The fees paid in to the Exchequer in connection with the Order of St. Patrick amounted to about £300 a-year. He apprehended that the Government took over those fees. The hon. Gentleman had attacked the Ulster King-at-Arms.

MR. SEXTON: No.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, if the right hon. Gentleman had not attacked the individual, he had attacked the Office.

MR. SEXTON: I said it ought to pay for itself.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the average receipts for 10 years paid into the Treasury was £929, and the cost each year had been under £921, so that there was a small balance. The right hon. Gentleman had made a general attack upon the Office of Lord Lieutenant. Perhaps a more proper course would be to discuss the question as to the propriety of having a Lord Lieutenant at all. The whole question of the Office of Lord Lieutenant, if it was to be discussed at all, ought to be discussed under that head. It was useless, and worse than useless, to endeavour to destroy the Office of Lord Lieutenant piecemeal, by voting against this or that particular expenditure, in the endeavour to rob it of all the state and dignity which had been associated with it from time immemorial. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the Office of Lord Lieutenant was one which conferred no benefit upon the people of Ireland. He would not discuss that large question now, but he would say that there was one part of Ireland which received great advantage from the Office, and that was the City of Dublin, of which the right hon. Gentleman opposite was at this moment the highest Municipal representative. There could be no doubt that the Office of Lord Lieutenant brought into Dublin some £200,000 or £300,000 a-year, a great deal of which would be spent in England if the Vice-regal Court were abolished. An hon. Member who spoke earlier said that the people of Ireland were in the habit of spending money in England for their amusements instead of in Ireland. He was sure that if there was any tendency of that kind it would receive an enormous stimulus by the abolition of the Office of Lord Lieutenant. The hon. Member said that as they gave £20,000 a-year to the Lord Lieutenant his Excellency ought to pay his household. Now they could not expect any official to spend more than a certain excess over his salary in connection with any Office he held. There had never been yet in the history of Ireland a Lord Lieutenant who had got through his term of Office for the salary paid to him during his year of Office. In many cases he had heard of Lord Lieutenants

spending as much as £20,000 a-year in excess of their salaries. He knew that in many cases such an excess of expenditure had been incurred by a Lord Lieutenant for the first four or five years of his Office, and, taking an average, he should say that Lord Lieutenants spent at least £10,000 a-year in excess of their salaries. Under these circumstances he thought it would be better if those who wished to see the Office of Lord Lieutenant abolished would make that proposal in a direct and straightforward manner, instead of attacking the adjuncts of the system and seeking to cut down its estate.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman was labouring under a misapprehension, for, although he had spoken at considerable length, he had not directed himself to the observations he had made. He had never attacked the Office of Lord Lieutenant at all. What he did attack was the manner in which the holder of the present Office discharged its duties. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the fact that he held a high Municipal office in Dublin. He would inform the right hon. Gentleman that, although the duties the Lord Mayor of Dublin had to discharge were 10 times as onerous as those of the Lord Lieutenant, yet the salary of the Lord Mayor was about one-seventh of that of the Lord Lieutenant, and he discharged every penny of expenditure of his household. It was upon that ground that he had been induced principally to object to the sum which was to be voted in reference to the Lord Lieutenant. He thought the most straightforward manner in dealing with the matter would be to allow a salary sufficient for the discharge of the expenses, and not adopt this beggarly and humiliating method of paying the servants of the Lord Lieutenant, from the Private Secretary down to the State Porter, out of an annual Vote. He maintained that such a mode of providing for the expenditure was humiliating to the Office. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that the holding of the Court in Dublin was the means of spending money in Ireland. He admitted that it was, and he believed that it might be of eminent service to Dublin and the country at large if it were made the centre of social movement, and if the confidence of the people were centred in the Office and in the system it represented; but under present circumstances what kind of social State did the Lord Lieutenant represent? He gave a few shadowy levees and dances in the course of the year to a small knot of persons, but the social expenditure attached to the Office had been brought to the lowest possible limit in Dublin in consequence of the detestable system which the right hon. Gentleman now administered in Ireland. Obnoxious proclamations were being issued in the names of a German soldier and an Irish lawyer——

THE CHAIRMAN: The right hon. Gentleman must confine himself to the Vote. This is not a legitimate occasion upon which to enter upon that line of remark.

MR. SEXTON said, his argument was that the Lord Lieutenant was not entitled to a suite so large as that with which he was supplied. His Excellency remained for nine months out of Ireland, and his household ought not to be maintained in the meantime at the public expense.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that was an argument which he had already intimated to be an illegitimate one.

MR. SEXTON asked, if he was to understand that the absence of the Lord Lieutenant from the country had no bearing upon the cost of his household?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he thought that, inasmuch as the observations of the right hon. Gentleman affected the conduct and character of the Lord Lieutenant, he was pursuing a line of argument which was irregular, seeing that the conduct and character of the Lord Lieutenant was removed from the province of Committee of Supply. The discussion of the Lord Lieutenant's Household must be conducted quite apart from the acts of the Lord Lieutenant himself.

MR. SEXTON said, that under those circumstances he would say no more upon the subject.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said that he, like his right hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), had no desire to attack the Lord Lieutenant or the Office of Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. He was quite sure that there was no desire on the part of any Member on that side of the House to abolish the office, but they did entertain a hope

that the time might not be long distant when the position of Lord Lieutenant would be filled by a man who would be in sympathy with the Irish people in all their desires. He entertained a hope that before long those who occupied the position would be animated by better feelings and would adopt a better policy than that which was at present carried out in Ireland. He had not had the privilege of hearing what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had to say on most of the matters which had been touched upon; but he was quite willing to allow the fees to stand which were given to the Ulster King-at-Arms, the Kettle-drummer, and others. It was only a very small amount, and as the Irish people were somewhat partial to State and legal forms they did not object to the Ulster King-at-Arms and the Kettle-drummer and the whole lot of those persons. There was, however, a matter of more serious importance included in the Vote—namely, the money that was set apart for Queen's Plates in Ireland. He regretted to find that a sum had been again set down in the Estimates under that head this year, and he trusted that in the future Estimates that would be laid before the Committee the item would disappear altogether, because he thought that the money could be applied to a better purpose. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was of the same opinion, and there had already been a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question of the breeding of horses. What applied to England should apply to Ireland also; and he maintained that the voting of money to this purpose entirely frustrated the object and intention of those who advised Her Majesty to grant this Bounty. The Royal Commission had reported that there could be little doubt that for a considerable period the Royal Bounty had failed to fulfil the original purpose for which it was intended. The purpose for which it was originally intended was to improve the breeding of horses in the country, and the Royal Commission, who consisted of men who had devoted attention to the matter both in the racing field and in other departments, having inquired into it, came to the conclusion that the object was not served by the manner in which the Bounty of Her Majesty had been dispensed.

COLONEL NOLAN: In England.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR said, his hon. and gallant Friend said in England, but the same thing applied to Ireland. If it did answer its purpose, how was it that the Royal Dublin Society last year granted 16 awards of £200 each in connection with the breeding of horses and stock for other purposes than those of Queen's Plates. There were horses of a different character from race-horses which might be more useful to the community at large. If the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway would read the evidence before the Royal Commission he would find that the system at present adopted was strongly condemned, and that the Commissioners arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the bounty of Her Majesty must be voted in another manner if they wished to produce the result which they all wished to bring about. What was the use of getting a Royal Commission to hold an inquiry and make a Report if their recommendations were not carried out? The right hon. gentleman the Chief Secretary had expressed an opinion altogether contrary to that which had been expressed by the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway, and in that case he would ask why the right hon. Gentleman did not propose some plan by which this sum of £1,600 would be voted for the purpose suggested by the Royal Commission. He had himself attended many race meetings in Ireland at which Queens Plates were run for, and he knew from experience, and from conversation with others, that those Queen's Plates were absolutely worthless for the purpose intended. For that reason he hoped that when next year the Estimates were brought up for the sanction of the Committee of Supply they would find that the sum now run for in the shape of Queen's Plates would have been got rid of, and that it would be applied in future under proper management for the encouragement of a breed of horses that would be useful, not for purposes of racing alone, but for the agricultural and commercial purposes the country was engaged in. He would only point out the fact that instead of the application of the money having been beneficial in improving the breed of horses, the Governments of other countries had entered into competition with this country in this respect,

and were far outdoing the breeders of English horses. He sincerely hoped that this item would not find a place in the Estimates this year.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, he wished to repeat, that if the object for which Queen's Plates were provided was the encouragement of a breed of horses, it ought to be spread more evenly over the whole of Ireland. If it were desirable to abolish the grant altogther, let it be done, but he claimed that the money, so long as it was granted, should not be given to races within a short distance of Dublin Castle. If granted at all it should go to the whole country.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, he did not think that the encouragement of racing in Ireland would naturally tend to encourage the breeding of horses. He would, therefore, ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to consider the desirability of abolishing the Queen's Plates, with a view of giving the money to the Royal Dublin Society.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that all of them desired to encourage the breeding of horses in Ireland, and he thought that this was effected by the giving of Queen's Plates, seeing that the money was given for smartness combined with speed. The result had been to produce a very big breed of horses, but he was afraid that it could not be continued without the assistance of the Government. He had been told by people interested in racing that there was a unanimous feeling that if those Queen's Plates were withdrawn, Irish racing would be killed. In that event they would destroy the best breed of cavalry horses, most of which came from Ireland.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster) said, he did not agree with the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway who had just spoken, that racing was in danger of being abolished in Ireland if this money were taken away from the Queen's Plates. He thought that racing would always produce horses characterized by speed, but it would not be the means of raising good stock in the country. Horses characterized by speed were unfortunately not always characterized by those attributes which rendered them useful for the improvement of country stock. The premiums given by the Royal Dublin Society were directed to the encouragement of good and useful agricultural horses. The Reports of the Royal Dublin Society showed that the premiums awarded by the Society had been eminently successful in Ireland in the production of useful and strong stock, and in that way that they had done a great deal of good. He would, therefore, support in future any change in the direction of giving the money in aid of the system to improve the general stock of horses in the country.

MR. WADDY said, it was an entire mistake to imagine that hon. Members on that side of the House sought to destroy the Office of the Lord Lieutenant by cutting off its adjuncts simply because they were paid for by the State. The objection was that they were altogether unnecessary adjuncts. Certainly, if they were called upon to devote money year after year for those purposes in Committee of Supply they ought to be told what those persons were doing, or be set upon some track where they could find it out for themselves. At present no indication had been given as to the nature of the offices or the work done by the people included in the Vote.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £12,707, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) said, he rose for the purpose of moving the reduction of this Vote by £425. The first ground upon which he ventured to ask the Committee to agree to that Motion was the extraordinary cost the House was asked to provide for the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. This had been a constantly increasing sum, whereas the population of the country where the holder of the Office exercised the functions of Government had been constantly decreasing. In 1871 there were 5,386,708 persons in Ireland, and the Vote asked for from the House of Commons only amounted to the sum of £16,505. At the present moment there were 4,790,614 persons in

Ireland, and the sum they were asked to Vote had increased from £16,500 to no less than £20,692. It was as well to admit that he had put the sum to which he asked the Committee to reduce the Vote to a figure of £425 for a special reason. He found that up to the year 1886 the sum they were now asked to vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary was divided in this way. The salary was placed at £4,000 per annum, and there was an allowance for fuel of £425. In that year the £425 was added to the £4,000, with an explanation in a foot note; but this year, for the first time, even the foot note had vanished altogether. The Committee would see that the effect of that operation was that on page 192 of the Estimates the sum of £4,425 appeared opposite the words "Salary of the Chief Secretary," whereas the £425 had come down from times gone by as an allowance for fuel. Now, no Chief Secretary of recent times had used his official residence in Ireland less. Although in the last Vote the presence or absence of the Lord Lieutenant had been ruled irrelevant, certainly the presence or the absence of the Chief Secretary from Ireland was perfectly germane to this Vote. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would allow that no right hon. Gentleman who had occupied that position in recent times had had less occasion for fuel during his residence in Dublin than he had. In asking the Committee to strike off the cost of fuel, he did not base the Motion upon such a mere narrow issue as that, but upon a far broader ground. The Vote raised the whole policy of the way in which the Office was administered by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He proposed to compress his remarks into the briefest possible space, having regard to the number of Members who would naturally desire to take part in the important discussion that was likely to follow. The results of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman were comprised in a single sentence. Some 1,400 or 1,500 persons had been placed in prison under the operation of the Coercion Act which received the Royal Assent in the month of July last year, so that in little more than 15 months there had been about 100 persons per month placed in prison under the provisions of that Act. He said that they had been placed in prison for offences which the people of this country at large did not regard as crimes at all. As he had said last week, in referring to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Ireland, he had no wish to make a personal attack upon the right hon. Gentleman, who was merely the mouthpiece of the policy of the Government, for which policy Her Majesty's Government and some hon. Gentlemen who sat on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and who, in his opinion, ought to cross the House, were responsible. The right hon. Gentleman once let fall a very significant phrase—he said that the Irish tenant was the spoilt child of the English Legislature. That was diametrically opposed to the opinion he entertained. He believed that the Legislature had recognized the property created by the toil of the Irish tenant; but he considered that the Government were doing their best by their policy to reverse the policy of the Land Act of 1881. He charged upon the right hon. Gentleman that he had, so far as possible, concealed the manner in which the government of Ireland had been carried out from the people of this country, that he had adopted in the House of Commons a policy of concealment, of evasion, and of inaccuracy. They had been recently discussing measures brought forward by the Government in respect of Ireland with the most total and unheard of want of information. They had been compelled to enter into the considerarion of the Coercion Act last year, and the Land Purchase Act this year, in the absence of the Papers that were necessary to enable them to form a proper judgment. It was true that Papers had been furnished to some extent; but they had come too late, and had been given in such conditions as almost to render them worthless. At Belfast lately the Lord Lieutenant quoted some figures with respect to Boycotting; but never to this day had the House been furnished with the figures in such a way as to make them of the slightest use for the purpose of controversy. They had a greater reason than this to be suspicious in regard to Returns dealing with affairs in Ireland, because it had recently been admitted in open Court by a sergeant of the Royal Irish Constabu-

lary, that in reference to the outrage Returns there was no place in the form for any accident that might have occurred. The accidental burning of a barn actually had been entered as an outrage. Again, a most significant change was made in the Eviction Returns in March last. The noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), when he quoted the figures in reference to evictions, did not mention the change which had taken place. The right hon. Gentleman, by the change, had endeavoured to conceal from the House and the country the effect of the operation of the 7th clause of the Act of last year. As had been pointed out by the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) the operation of that clause had been precisely the same, so far as the tenants were concerned, as if evictions had been actually carried out personally. From the Returns it appeared that although only 263 tenants had been actually evicted up to the 30th September, no less than 3,694 tenancies had been determined at the suit of the landlord—or, in other words, that their property had been confiscated by the operation of eviction notices. Therefore, the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale, if he wished to quote accurately the number of evictions, should not have put the figure at 263, but at 3,957. The Return of sentences increased presented at the instance of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Cockermouth Division of Cumberland (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), which was quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary on the 16th of May, at Battersea, with great triumph, showed that the number was 13 altogether. But as appeared when "further particulars" were supplied at the end of June, not one of the increased sentences arose under the Coercion Act of 1882. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman said "Hear, hear," but he did not make that statement to his audience at Battersea. On the 21st of February the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), soon after the meeting of the House, moved for a Return with respect to the operation of the Crimes Act of last year, but the request of the hon. Gentleman was absolutely refused, and it was not until the right hon. Member for Newcastle-upon Tyne asked before Whitsuntide that the House might have some facts and figures on the matter, that any information was given by Her Majesty's Government, and even then it was given most reluctantly. Having been applied for before Whitsuntide, it was asked for again in June, and when the debate on coercion took place on the 25th of June there were only 24 copies of unrevised proofs, which were scattered about among the Front Benches. A question had been asked that night as to the number of persons sent to prison under the Coercion Act since the date of that Return, and the reply of the Government was that if the Return were moved for the information should be given. Of course such a Return could not be given for a few weeks, and would therefore be quite useless for the discussion on the Estimates. The question had been down on the Paper for days, and surely it would have been easy to have obtained from the officials in Dublin the figures giving the number of persons who had been sentenced under the Act. He could, however, well understand the inconveniences of the question. It was remarkable that so much of the information that had been asked, especially that which was asked for by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) should have been refused, especially in face of the fact that the Estimates were going to be discussed in the present week. On the 4th of May an order was made by the House for Returns in reference to land purchase, but as far as he was aware no information was laid before the House until the 16th of July. With regard to the Killeagh Case, they were still waiting for the judgment in the case. Again, with respect to Mitchelstown the copy of the depositions had never been laid on the table, although the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary stated on the 8th of June that it was under consideration whether the information could be given. It was true that there had been something in the shape of a Report, but it was not worth the paper on which it was printed. The instances he had cited were only a small fraction of those which had occurred, but they were all with which he would venture to detain the Committee, and which he would be

able, if it were necessary, to give from his place that night. They were simply a sample. He would turn now from the instances of concealment which had been uniformly practised to the evasions of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. On the 7th of June the right hon. Gentleman told the House as an excuse for not laying information upon the Table, that he had only made it the basis of his speech, and that he had not quoted from it. He contended that that was a course of proceeding which it was unworthy of a Minister to follow.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What Return does the hon. Member allude to?

MR. J. E. ELLIS said, he was afraid that he could not answer that question, but if the right hon. Gentleman would refer to *Hansard* he would find that on the 7th of June he used these words: "I made it the basis but I did not quote from it." The right hon. Gentleman stated in the House on the 18th of June, referring to his speech at Battersea, that no lad or poor man had been put in prison for selling newspapers in the street, of the contents of which he was ignorant. By skilfully putting three things together, "streets," "ignorance of the contents," and "lad or poor man," the right hon. Gentleman managed to evade the charge made against him of having in the City of Cork interfered with the sale of newspapers. He (Mr. J. E. Ellis) maintained that this sort of thing was unworthy quibbling, and not the straightforward kind of reply the House had a right to expect from any man sitting on the Treasury Bench. And now he would turn to a more serious matter—the inaccuracies of which the right hon. Gentleman had been guilty in his replies to the House. The first instance related to the celebrated case of the affair at Mitchelstown. The right hon. Gentleman stated on the 16th of May at Battersea that—

"One of them at least, unquestionably, was killed by a ricochet shot. I believe that was true of other unfortunate victims in this calamitous struggle."

But the right hon. Gentleman omitted to inform his audience that it was sworn in Court by one of the witnesses that he fired with definite aim, and with intent to kill. As to the ricochet shot, he (Mr. J. E. Ellis) would leave that matter to others to deal with who had been there. On the 7th of June, the right hon. Gentleman admitted the truth of two out of three points with respect to the interference of the police at Newtownards, which he had absolutely denied on the 31st of May. On the 22nd of June the right hon. Gentleman committed a further inaccuracy in regard to Messrs. Redmond and Gardner, who, he said, were certified under the Crimes Act, whereas it was under the Act of 1882, under which they had no such jurisdiction as that given by the Act of 1887. On the 3rd of August the right hon. Gentleman made a serious statement, that outrages had steadily diminished. He (Mr. J. E. Ellis) interjected the remark, "not excluding threatening letters," threatening letters having always been excluded at the time Mr. Forster was Chief Secretary. During the three months ending 30th September, outrages, excluding threatening letters, stood at 108, whereas they stood at 94 at the time the right hon. Gentleman came down to the House with the Coercion Act. He would not go into the cases of Patrick Barrett, or the celebrated Galway midwife, but in both of those cases the right hon. Gentleman had made statements which were subsequently admitted to be inaccuracies. On the 19th of June the right hon. Gentleman said the reports of evictions were invariably inaccurate. A few days afterwards he was obliged to admit that the reports were perfectly accurate, and the right hon. Gentleman would remember that he was absolutely contradicted in another matter at Ennis by Colonel Turner and Sergeant Cronin. On the 24th of March, at Staleybridge, the right hon. Gentleman said—

"No man has been attacked in Ireland, through my administration, for the expression of any opinion whatever in any newspaper whatever, from one end of Ireland to the other."

He was curious to know how the right hon. Gentleman reconciled that statement with his admission the other day in reference to the imprisonment of the Mayor of Sligo. The right hon. Gentleman on that occasion denied that he had ever made such an assertion, and interpolated the words "legitimate opinion." It would be

found, if hon. Members would turn to the Staleybridge speech, that the word "legitimate" was not in it at all. He would not pursue these matters further, and he had only given a number of illustrations in support of the charge he had made against the right hon. Gentleman. He was within the mark in saying that if any hon. Member would take the trouble to wade through the volumes of *Hansard*, since the right hon. Gentleman had been Chief Secretary, he would find at least 200 cases of the grossest inaccuracy in the replies which had been given by him to questions addressed to him in the House. He thought there must be a reason for this, and the reason he assigned was, that the right hon. Gentleman, on the part of the Government, was afraid of the English people knowing the truth. But it also sprang from a want of knowledge, which was not creditable to a right hon. Gentleman who filled the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland. In his judgment, and he had watched him carefully, the right hon. Gentleman took no pains to arrive at the truth with respect to the answers he gave in the House. He did not see the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) in his place, but he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he still adhered to the opinion expressed by him before his return to Office, when he said to his Constituents—

"Those Irish matters which it is necessary to retain under the control of the Central Government ought, in my mind, to be administered by political officials directly and personally responsible to Parliament, instead of permanent officials only nominally controlled by a single Minister who cannot possibly find time for all the details of the administration of the country."

How often had the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden), who sometimes answered questions for the right hon. Gentleman, to say, "I am not aware of the particulars." At times one might fancy that Ireland was at the other side of the globe. There were hon. Members seated on those Benches below the Gangway by the score who possessed the fullest information of what occurred in Ireland, and who could obtain by telegraph ample information of every circumstance, while hon. Members had to wait by the day, and sometimes by the week or month, for information that was grudgingly doled out to them by the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman was an absentee Chief Secretary, and that fact lay at the root of the ignorance he displayed. No Gentleman occupying that position ought to be absent so frequently and continuously from Ireland. It had not been the practice of previous Chief Secretaries to be away from Ireland to the same extent as the right hon. Gentleman. He need only refer to the case of Mr. Forster during the terrible and trying occurrences of the year 1882. Even in that year Mr. Forster was there by the week and the month at the time, but the right hon. Gentleman was seldom or never in the Chief Secretary's Lodge. He would not dwell on the darker features of the mode of government for which Ministers were responsible. He had only ventured to submit some illustrations of what the settled policy of the Government was—namely, an attempt to conceal from the country and the Representatives of the people the truth of what was occurring in Ireland. But, in spite of this attempt, the truth was dawning upon the people of the country; the national conscience was being shocked at the "petty malignity and calculated brutality" with which the administration of Ireland reeks. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £425, part of the salary of the Chief Secretary.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item A, Salaries, Household, part of the Salary of the Chief Secretary, be reduced by the sum of £425."—(*Mr. John Ellis.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman has informed the Committee in the course of his speech that he has had his eye upon me, and that for months. Indeed, ever since I took on myself the heavy responsibility of the Office I now hold, the hon. Member has been carefully watching my proceedings, and has come to some very dark conclusions as to my moral condition. The hon. Gentleman has accused me of concealment, of evasion, and of inaccuracy, and also with "petty malignity and calculated brutality."

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member had used those expressions with

respect to the right hon. Gentleman I should have called him to order. The hon. Member was referring to the administration of Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member spoke principally of the things I had done, and he characterized them as "petty malignity and calculated brutality."

MR. J. E. ELLIS: The right hon. Gentleman must not misrepresent me. What I said was that the administration of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman was characterized by "petty malignity and calculated brutality."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I thought that I had most accurately described what the hon. Member said. I have now heard his explanation, and I am unable to see any distinction whatever between the statement I gave to the House of what the hon. Member said and the statement he has now made himself. I do not pretend to be able to deal with the various points raised by the hon. Member, even if I had been able to take notes of them. They evidence great industry on his part, and a more careful study of the pages of *Hansard* than I should like to impose upon my worst enemy. But he gave them in such brief language that I cannot deal with the passages referred to by the hon. Member without their contexts; but I shall be able to give information with regard to the more important points. The hon. Member began by violently attacking the Government for the paucity and imperfection of the information which they have furnished to the House in the shape of Returns. As regards the imperfection of the Returns, that is frequently due to the carelessness of the Member himself who moves for the Return. There was one special Return—of the dealings under the Purchase Act—the delay in the production of which was entirely due to the fact that the hon. Member had not taken the trouble to put it in tabular form. My hon. and learned Friend near me (Mr. Madden), who is more familiar with the subject than I am, informs me that the delay arose entirely from the Return not having been put in a proper form.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: The right hon. Gentleman is entirely mistaken. On the 14th of May an Order of the House was made for a certain Return. I asked the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Madden), on the 16th of July, whether the Return was ready. The hon. and learned Gentleman then said that the Government would grant the Return in another form, though the Order of the House had been made for it in a particular form.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Return could not be given in the original form.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: That was not explained until after a Question had been asked on the 16th of July as to why the Return was not ready.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a Question which I must leave my hon. and learned Friend to answer. The delay appears to have arisen from two causes—one that the Return was impossible, and the other that the hon. Member did not put it in a form in which it could be given. Then there was another Return moved for, I believe by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), connected with the increase of sentences on appeal.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: No; the right hon. Gentleman does not understand the matter. It was the Return of the hon. Baronet the Member for Cockermouth.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then it was a Return moved for by an hon. Member below the Gangway; and because the Return moved for by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cockermouth (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) did not happen to suit the argument of the hon. Member, therefore the Government are to be accused of inaccuracy and laxity in the preparation of Returns and in the amount of information they give to the House. If hon. Members opposite do not understand their own arguments, I cannot be expected to understand them. If they are incapable of putting into a tabular form the information they desire to have given to them, it is rather hard to blame the Government if the result is not altogether in accord with their own expectations. Then the hon. Member took the official statistics of crime, and quoted—a not very decorous proceeding, or, rather, I believe he misquoted—certain evidence recently given before the Royal Commission now sitting, by a policeman.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: Not at all. The case occurred early in the spring, and the facts I referred to were admitted by the right hon. gentleman in reply to a question from me. They had nothing whatever to do with the Commission.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member said he referred to evidence given on oath.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: Yes; in a Court in Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That being so, I know nothing about the evidence. Even the most industrious Chief Secretary, who spent all this £425 a-year for coals, can hardly be expected to bear every detail in his mind, and to remember all the evidence given by every policeman in Ireland. But although I do not recollect the particular evidence of this policeman, I can remove a misapprehension from the hon. Member's mind. The hon. Member appears to think that accidents are returned with outrages.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: It was so in that case.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Accidents are never returned as outrages. If an accident turns out afterwards to be an outrage, the Return is corrected. Every pains are taken to produce correct Returns. There are no Returns about which more care is taken. Difficulties often arise as to whether an outrage is agrarian or not; but the greatest pains are taken to distinguish them. But even an Irish policeman may make a mistake. [An hon. MEMBER: Oh, no!] While, however, I make that admission, I do not think that Returns were ever made by any Department whatever with greater care than those which relate to agrarian crimes. The hon. Member referred to the statistics of evictions, and to some observations made by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) on this subject. It is quite true that the form of the Returns has been changed; but this was absolutely necessary, owing to the fact that the law on the subject of eviction has itself been changed by the 7th section of the Act of last Session. I have never concealed my opinion that, even though the law had not been altered, a change in the form of the Returns was most desirable. The old form had long been a perfect scandal. I do not blame the Department in Dublin. Ever since 1848 certain Returns of a very rough character have been given. If anyone was to blame, it was the late Mr. Forster, who, under Parliamentary pressure, assented to the publication of the form which hitherto had been used. I have more than once, both in this House and out of it, explained the extraordinary mistakes which the Returns contained. The form would lead the most careful examiner of statistics to wholly erroneous views; and this, possibly, is the explanation of the absurdly exaggerated figures as to evictions that were given on a recent occasion by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, who rashly put his faith in them. These exaggerated statements have been made over and over again on half the Radical and Gladstonian platforms throughout the country, and they have, to a certain extent, been repeated by the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division (Mr. J. E. Ellis) to-night. This was the sort of rhetoric indulged in—"Here you have 3,000, or whatever the number may be, families under eviction, and you are turning them on the roadside to starve or to find their way into the workhouse. As each of these 3,000 families probably consists of five persons, you are consequently turning out on the roadside or into the workhouse no less than 15,000 innocent persons, because the landlords choose to be brutal and harsh." This high-flown rhetoric about people being turned out on the roadside can no longer be excused. I observe how the hon. Member has shifted his ground. Formerly it was said that these people were turned out on the roadside. It is now said that they are deprived of their property. That is an important fact, and should be known when the hon. Member and his Friends again pour forth their rhetoric from every platform in England in order to arouse the sympathy of the people of England for the hard lot of the Irish tenants. Every man who henceforth makes statements of this kind will be deliberately sinning against light and against truth. But even the modified statement with which the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division now contents himself is not accurate. Does he really mean to say that the serving of an eviction notice upon a tenant de-

prives that tenant of his property in the holding?

MR. J. E. ELLIS: It determines his tenancy.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Did the hon. Gentleman say, or did he not say, that the notice deprives him of his property?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Yes, it does.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not ask the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, but the hon. Member who spoke last.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: Then I say yes; for it puts an end to his title.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not the point. The old allegation used to be that the eviction notice was equivalent to turning the tenant out on the roadside. I have said, and I say again, that any person who repeats that statement will be deliberately sinning against light and truth. Now that it is modified, it is said that the notice determines the tenancy, and is equivalent to depriving the tenant of his property.

MR. T. M. HEALY: So it is.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I absolutely deny this, though it is ratified by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford. In the first place, the tenant has six months for redemption, and it constantly happens that in the interval the tenant comes to some arrangement with his landlord. Even if the tenant does not arrange with his landlord, he still has it in his power to get the value of his property in his holding, for under the Act of 1881, and even under the Act of 1870, the Irish tenant had the right of free sale.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What does he sell?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: He can sell the value of his interest in his holding and of the improvements he has made, and can obtain the full market value of the property he has in it. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] If it is not so, what is the use of free sale of which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) boasts, and rightly boasts, that the Act of 1881 gave to the Irish tenant? If I am correct in my statement, what becomes of the statement that the tenant is turned out on the roadside to starve, and the modified statement of the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division that the tenant loses all his property? Neither statement is true. The hon. Member appears to think that to destroy this iniquitous Government it is only necessary that the truth should be known, and this is the hon. Member's own humble contribution to the truth. The hon. Gentleman also denounced the concealment he says I practised in the statement I made at Battersea, or some other place, with regard to the increase of sentences on appeal by County Court Judges last summer. The hon. Gentleman complains that I did not mention that the previous instances in which sentences were increased on appeal were cases under the ordinary law, and not under the Crimes Act. It is true that I did not state it. But does not the hon. Member see that my omission to do so told against myself? I never stated the opposite; but because I did not make that statement I am accused of concealment. But this fact tells immensely in favour of the argument of Her Majesty's Government and of the Judges. My point was that the Crimes Act created no new offence, and that appeals in cases under the Crimes Act were in all respects similar to appeals under the Act of 1882, and under the ordinary appeals from Petty Sessions to Quarter Sessions. In certain cases under the Crimes Act the sentences were increased, and for this the Government and the Judges are held up as objects for the reprobation of the country. But it was shown that in previous cases sentences have been increased on appeal. The hon. Member complained that the fact was not stated that these previous cases were under the ordinary law. That is a species of concealment that I certainly will not be guilty of again if I can help it, for the statement of this fact would have immensely strengthened my argument. Having dealt with the case of concealment, I now come to the charge of evasion. The hon. Gentleman charges me with evasion in denying that I had sent little boys and poor men to prison for selling newspapers in Cork. That is a definite and specific charge. It is true or it is not. Well, it is not true. No little boy was put in prison.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): He went anyhow.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My time is sufficiently occupied with denying definite charges without replying to other charges which ingenious opponents may

have in their minds when they make their accusations. With regard to the ricochet shot at Mitchelstown, I have stated more than once that, after examining such evidence as was before me, I believe that one of the men shot at Mitchelstown was killed by a ricochet shot. The hon. Member thinks he has rebutting evidence on that point. What is it? It amounts to this — that a policeman stated in evidence that he had not fired at random, but had fired with intent to kill. I do not know whether the policeman used those words; but, at all events, he would not have been guilty of a grave dereliction of duty if he had fired to hit. It is contrary to every received regulation that an armed force dealing with a crowd should fire deliberately over their heads. It is perfectly well known to everyone conversant with the subject that a more cruel kindness could not be committed; and I am glad to think it was not committed by the Irish police on this occasion. If the police were justified in firing at all—which is not the question I am now discussing, but one which I have discussed before, and which, weary as we all may be of it, I am ready to discuss again—it was their duty to fire at the crowd. There is no doubt about that. What I assert is that almost certainly one person was killed by a ricochet shot and probably another. It is a matter which cannot now be conclusively proved, and it is of very little importance one way or the other. If the police were not justified in firing at all, then the whole business was unjustifiable. If the police fired, it was their business to fire at the crowd, and whether they took good aim or not is a matter of subsidiary importance. Then the hon. Gentleman went on to raise the case of the Galway midwife and Patrick Barrett, and he declared that I retracted what I had said in *The Times* the next morning, and also withdrew, by implication, what I had said of the Galway midwife. It is perfectly true that I did make an error of statement about Patrick Barrett; but I corrected it the very night it was made, a practice not always followed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is also true that the mistake was of the most trifling and immaterial character. I believe that I stated that Patrick Barrett had been properly convicted, when I should have said that Patrick Barrett ought to have been convicted but he got off—which is strictly the fact—on a small technical point. It will be observed that, though all inaccuracy is to be deprecated, it cannot be said that Barrett suffered much by the substitution of the incorrect for the correct version. As for the midwife, the statement I made originally was perfectly correct, and nothing has since transpired which has cast the least shadow of doubt upon the authenticity of my statement. Then the hon. Gentleman states that in my speech at Staleybridge I declared that no newspapers were prosecuted in Ireland. I have not got that speech by me, and I cannot say how far any qualifying phrases I may have introduced would have modified the impression which the hon. Gentleman has received from the particular passage quoted. But I can state with the most absolute confidence that I have always in the House of Commons, and out of it, affirmed my conviction that the proper policy to be pursued in Ireland was to attack whomsoever it might be — newspaper, Member of Parliament, or member of the Land League—who was guilty of serious intimidation. This was the greatest curse of the many under which Ireland was suffering. It is the curse which I believe the Government have done much to migitate, and it is on the mitigation of that curse that I would principally base any claim I may have to the gratitude of Irishmen. I have at the same time always stated that it would only be justifiable in the rarest cases to attack any newspaper for that which is either legitimate expression of opinion, or even illegitimate expression of opinion, or simply mere hostility to the Government or advocacy of any policy with regard to Ireland. I do not absolutely assert that circumstances may not arise in which such a prosecution might not only be justifiable, but absolutely the duty of the Government to undertake. But I say that such prosecutions should be undertaken with the greatest reluctance, and I have never yet undertaken one. It is in that meaning of the expression, and that only, that I have ever attempted to lead my countrymen to believe that I have not interfered with the liberty of the Press. [*Laughter.*] Never. I have interfered, and I shall

continue to interfere, to the best of my ability, with that abuse of the Press which does not consist in ventilating opinions or in advocating a policy, but in that meanest of all political weapons, personal intimidation. The hon. Gentleman concluded his speech by desiring that the English people should know the truth. The more the English people know the truth the better I shall be pleased. The more they understand the criminal methods by which political ideas are advocated in Ireland, the more they understand the character of the alliance which binds the opposite Party together, the more certain I am that their verdict will not be for the hon. Gentleman or the class he represents, but for the cause which the Government have endeavoured, amid all calumnies and misrepresentations, to press forward to the best of their power.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Sir, I can quite understand the virtuous indignation of the right hon. Gentleman at what he calls the alliance subsisting on this side of the House between the English Liberal Party and the Nationalist Members from Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman is entitled to speak upon that subject because he had experience of it. He entered, and very closely, with all those who sit around him, into that alliance. But they entered into it at a very peculiar period—namely, the period when a General Election was imminent. And having drawn from it all the utility that it was capable of yielding, and the Election having been concluded, that alliance vanished into thin air, and the right hon. Gentleman became free to express his displeasure in a case where we have no General Election impending, where we have no Party advantage to expect, but where, happening to concur in all the great lines and features of the policy to be pursued towards Ireland, we, on that account, vote together. That is especially the kind of charge which the right hon. Gentleman, hard driven as he is, is obliged to bring against us. I intend to deal in this debate with a department which is, in some degree, my own. The Committee will feel that it is not, and cannot be, satisfactory that persons who either are responsible for the Government of the country, or who have at other times been so responsible, should come into conflict at public meetings of their respective partizans, and that the assertions there made and there controverted should never be brought to an issue on the Floor of this House. I want to do something towards bringing to an issue some of the assertions of the right hon. Gentleman. But I am bound to say that I witness with great satisfaction the arrival within the last few minutes of three Cabinet Ministers. For a long time—during the whole of the able speech of my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. J. E. Ellis), and during a part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland—it would have appeared to anyone entering the House and not aware of the whole of the facts of the case, that we were dealing with some purely Departmental question. What I wish to have clearly understood is this—that although it is the salary of the Chief Secretary for Ireland which constitutes the Parliamentary justification of this debate, and although it must turn largely upon his own personal acts and words, yet, as far as I am concerned, I deal with him simply as the organ and the Represencative of the Government, and hold every man who sits upon that Bench, and who is, with him, a Member of the Cabinet, to be just as responsible as he is. If I am obliged to refer to him in a degree that is to me far from agreeable, as being the organ of the Government, it is as the person who does the acts and speaks the words of the Government. I can draw no distinction in responsibility—now that he has held Office for a period of nearly two years—between him and them. The responsibility passes onwards in a widening circle from him to his Colleagues, from his Colleagues to the Tory Party that sits behind them and from the Tory Party in a still higher degree to those so-called Liberals sitting on this side of the House, who are unquestionably the most determined and the most effective among the supporters of the Government. From them it will go finally to the majority of the electors of the country, and they have not yet had an opportunity of meeting it. The right hon. Gentleman has been pleased, in various orations, to make me the subject of his discussions and expositions before audiences in the country. He has done that in a style of language and invective which I be-

lieve to be entirely without parallel. I do not personally resent that invective; I consider that he has a far deeper interest in the matter than I have, and I can assure him that in what I shall say I shall endeavour to keep myself at the remotest point possible from any competition with his language or any competition with his invective. I will confine myself at this moment to expressing my anxiety that his Colleagues will feel that this is their question as well as his, and that they should have witnessed the picture we have seen to-night, when the right hon. Gentleman has taken on himself the concentrative responsibility of this department. The points I intend to mention to the House are every one of them connected with the method of the Government of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman perhaps imagines that he has made an answer to the careful statements of my hon. Friend behind me, with respect to which reply I believe he will find, as the debate goes forward, that he is reckoning without his host. My own specific duty I think to be to bring to issue, on the Floor of this House, the matters with regard to which the right hon. Gentleman has thought it his duty to enter into personal conflict with me and to make me the subject of his unmeasured invective. The first which I shall name is that which is connected with the treatment of what we have called political prisoners, and particularly the treatment of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington), who was put in prison under the Lord Lieutenancy of Lord Spencer. The right hon. Gentleman not very long ago, by way of answer to charges we made, rose to the very highest point of argument and eloquence when he reached his favourite expedient of the *tu quoque*. He said,

"In vain you make these charges about the treatment of Members of Parliament; you did the same yourselves."

[Mr. A. J. BALFOUR "Hear, hear!"] He cheers, I hope the issue will not be evaded. That is my whole point.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) made a remark which did not reach the Gallery.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the hon. Member for North-East Cork not interrupt in the way he does.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): I am the Member for North-East Cork, and I have said nothing.

MR W. E. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman enumerated the plank-bed, the society of convicts, and the prison dress, and he stated, without the slightest qualification, that this punishment was inflicted by Lord Spencer upon the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin during his period of imprisonment. What are the facts? When the hon. and learned Member was in prison he had, I am sorry to say, to undergo those sufferings and those indignities; but the moment they came to the knowledge of Lord Spencer he at once put a stop to them, and removed the hon. and learned Member to another prison where the mode of treatment was totally different, and none of those indignities were inflicted. It is marvellous to conceive the state of mind of a man who, having made that charge against Lord Spencer, should not feel satisfaction and joy in offering Lord Spencer the largest apology. I have grave doubts whether that apology will be forthcoming, and I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to give it. The right hon. Gentleman has offered Lord Spencer no apology whatever; but, flying from the point, he produced new charges of illegality and ignorance to cover his own defeat in the untrue imputation which he had made. As to those charges of illegality and ignorance, Lord Spencer is able to deal with them and has dealt with them—they are not material to the present point. But what I wish to show is how this warfare is conducted by the Representative of the Government, who, having been discovered in an error of fact, most grave in its character, as destroying the entire substance of the charge made against his opponent, rides off on a different issue and evades the apology due. Again, I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to give that apology. The right hon. Gentleman does not deny that he made the statement; he cannot deny that it is injurious, and I wait to see what reparation he has to offer to the excellent and able nobleman upon whom he inflicted that injury. And now, Sir, I come to the case—a very sad case it is—upon which I was made the subject of the right hon. Gentleman's censure—I mean

the case of Kinsella. I hold in my hand a tract entitled, "The Murder of John Kinsella." It is published by a gentleman of position and responsibility, the Rev. Dr. Dillon, a priest or curate of a parish in Ireland. Of course I could not make myself responsible on the instant for the accuracy of all his statements, but they are based upon citations carefully made from authentic documents; and, having read that pamphlet carefully, and no answer having been made to it, I went so far as to say that, in my opinion, that pamphlet could not be perused, unanswered as it is, by any man of humanity or candour without having the impression painfully forced upon him that in the eyes of many who administer the law in Ireland the life of a Nationalist is not of equal value with the life of a Loyalist, and does not require and is not entitled to be surrounded with the same guarantees. That statement was a grave one; but, in my opinion, it is within the necessity of the case. The right hon. Gentleman had his opportunity of confuting the statements of this pamphlet. He has not confuted them; he has not attempted to shake them. What did he do? He said there was a trial by jury, and that while I charged him with speaking of a jury with contempt, I had myself spoken of a jury with contempt. The right hon. Gentleman must have been most careless—I will avoid all serious epithets—in the perusal of my speech. But allow me to say, Mr. Courtney, that, while I intend to avoid all serious epithets, it is not upon the ground of your possible intervention. I hope on the Floor of this House the right to speak in broad and strong terms of the conduct of this Government, or any Government, will be preserved as among its most valued Prerogatives. I know no limit except that of personal baseness—which should never be imputed—to the right and title of this House; and if, after a half a century or more, I give advice to the House, I may say, in God's name, be ready at all times to maintain and jealously guard it, for without it you cannot discharge your duty to the people of these Kingdoms. Now, Sir, I censure no one in particular. Not that I had not an opinion—a provisional opinion—as to the verdict of the jury, and especially as to the conduct of the Grand Jury, in the case of Kinsella; but I feel my knowledge of the facts imperfect, and I cannot, even now, venture to give a final judgment. I may also point out that if I had imitated the unfortunate example of the right hon. Gentleman in speaking of the jury, it would not prove his case; it would not have affected him; but there would have been two of us instead of one open to censure. But, as the right hon. Gentleman appears now, by the conduct he pursues and by the speech he made, to have adopted and vindicated the proceedings in the case of Kinsella, I will tell the House that upon this pamphlet as it stands, and upon all the information that has reached me, I am compelled to say that there is not the slightest appearance of *bona fides* in the prosecution against the murderers of Kinsella. Now, I shall be told, perhaps, that I am speaking from unauthorized documents and information. Why have we not got authorized documents? I have in my hand the Report of the inquest in the case of Mr. Mandeville. Why in the world does the right hon. Gentleman gives us that report and refuse to give us all other proceedings? I am very thankful for that single Report; but I hold we ought to have all the proceedings that could be presented to this House. In the case of Mr. Mandeville, in the case of Kinsella, in the case of Mitchelstown, and in the case of Kelly, the whole of the documents ought to have been laid before the House. The right hon. Gentleman says that is unusual. I grant it is; but is the method now pursued by the Government usual when the administration of what you call the Crimes Act is taken out of the hands of Judges and Juries and given into the hands of Resident Magistrates, some of whom you defend and uphold, but who are grossly incompetent for the discharge of their duties? You have deprived the subject of his regular Constitutional bulwark and defence; and, under these circumstances, I say it is just and equitable that this House should step in to be the guardian of persons whose rights have been thus compromised; and, in order that we may be able to judge, it is right and needful that these proceedings should be laid before us. It is not our fault if the evidence on which we proceed is imperfect. What was the case

of Kinsella? In the first place, unless I am altogether misinformed, the whole proceedings against Kinsella's cattle were illegal. The seizure was illegal from beginning to end. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: They have paid damages for trespass since.] And all the persons concerned in that seizure were, when the homicide occurred, liable to the penalties which the law inflicts in case of homicide done in the prosecution of an illegal act. The illegality of the seizure has, I believe, been established by an action, and by the recovery of full damages. Nay, more; there was a surfeit and surplus of illegality, for even if the seizure had been legal, yet the Act of Parliament required that particulars should be furnished to the parties concerned, and those particulars were deliberately withheld. So it is, Sir, in Ireland. The Ministers of law and order trample law and order under foot; and the Government, sitting in this House with their supporters on that side and their supporters on this side, never flinch for a moment from the duty—difficult as it has sometimes appeared—of sustaining and vindicating these proceedings. The man was shot; there is no doubt about that. He was shot in open day, when he had a pitchfork in his hand, and when with his pitchfork he had struck a gate, but when no attempt had been made to strike any of the Emergency gang —I call them a gang—it is the only suitable name for men engaged in such a business and performing it in such a manner. It is not pretended that any act of offence—I mean of violence—had been perpetrated by Kinsella or the people around him. There were crowds of people present; it was in open day the man was shot; and yet no person has brought home the guilt of that act to any human being, and no one has undergone any punishment for it. My statement was within the case. There was no appearance of *bona fides* in the prosecution. A verdict of wilful murder was found against Freeman, with respect to whom five witnesses swore that they saw him fire the shot which killed Kinsella. But this defence was set up on behalf of Freeman —that the bullet which was taken out of Kinsella's body did not fit the revolver which was in the hands of Freeman. It was denied that plenty of time was given to Freeman to change his revolver. But further, and still more suspicious—I beg the Solicitor General for Ireland to take down these facts, because they are too serious to be trifled with—no attempt was made to discover whose revolver the bullet did fit; no attempt was made by the Crown conducting this prosecution, and bound to conduct it in good faith, to discover from whose revolver the bullet had been shot. Well, Sir, that is a sad and shameful thing. The right hon. Gentleman, I do not think, has bestowed, as far as I remember, upon the agents in the case of Kinsella, the eulogies he has lavished upon the agents in the case of Mitchelstown; but he has contented himself with saying that I threw contempt upon a jury, whom I believed I never mentioned, and he has treated as if thoroughly beyond the scope of answer the proceedings connected with the death of this unfortunate man. Upon that subject I think the time has come when we are entitled to know from the Government under whose instructions the prosecution was conducted? In my opinion, it is their duty to furnish specific answers to the grave charges and accusations with which the statement of the Rev. Mr. Dillon is full from one end to the other. With respect to the case of Kinsella, I have not simply adhered to the statement I made at Birmingham, but I have enlarged it, and make a specific charge against the Government, of which charge possibly they may hear more. With respect to the case of Mandeville, the right hon. Gentleman appeared to me entirely to mistake, and consequently to mis-state, the allegations that I have made. My allegations are these, and I will endeavour to state them simply, briefly, and in a manner that it will be very difficult to escape. Here is a man suffering very severely under the complaint of diarrhœa, and by the administration of the prison in which he was confined, while he was so suffering, he was placed and continued upon a diet of bread and water. I say that treatment is shocking and brutal. Of course, I do not hold the right hon. Gentleman responsible for that treatment except in so far as he defends it. But he has not censured it. He censures those who have censured it. He impugns their accuracy, or rather he says they do not know what accuracy

is, and never touch it. Here is the statement, and let him prove it inaccurate if he can. My next statement is that the conduct of Dr. Barr was conduct which has been adopted, supported, and approved by the Government in the person of the right hon. Gentleman; that the conduct of Dr. Barr, who told this unfortunate man Mandeville that he ought to have more punishment and not less—that the brutal conduct of Dr. Barr has been accepted and adopted by the right hon. Gentleman, who pronounces a panegyric upon him, and thanks him, if I remember rightly, for his services. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] I am very glad that we have got that home. And Dr. Barr also thinks fit to charge perjury upon a body of medical men who had given evidence that he disapproved, and several of whom are, undoubtedly, of higher standing and higher practice than himself, and upon the widow of Mandeville. All these he thinks fit to charge with perjury, and in that charge he is sustained by the right hon. Gentleman; and this, forsooth, is the administration of law and order! This is what is to cut the people of Ireland away from their National aspirations, and to make them recognize the claims to Irish gratitude which he is entitled to, as he professes, in more than one respect. He makes them the gift of Dr. Barr, and Dr. Barr ranks high in the list of the right hon. Gentleman's claims to the gratitude of the Irish people. So much for the case of Mr. Mandeville, into which I will not more widely enter, not because I think the right hon. Gentleman has done with it, but because I think it will be more advantageously pursued by those who have studied it carefully as a whole. Now I come to the case of Mitchelstown, with regard to which the right hon. Gentleman always makes an apology when he refers to it. He says—"It is so stale you must be weary of it; you ought to feel a scruple about intruding it." Oh, no; it is not stale, and it will be heard of again and again. I have done my best—and I will continue to do my best—to make it heard of; and there are others—and scores and hundreds of others—who will labour in the same cause until one of two things happens — until either the right hon. Gentleman and the Government come frankly forward in this House to condemn the transactions and the conduct which heretofore they have praised, or, if we cannot hope for that alternative, until the time comes when the proceedings at Mitchelstown shall be solemnly and fully submitted for the adjudication of the constituencies of this country at large. It is for them to consider whether they will make their own these shameful proceedings, or whether they will inflict what we, at least, think to be the just sentence of condemnation upon those who have applauded and sustained them as Ministers of the Crown in every act. What is the case of Mitchelstown? A legal meeting is being held. No doubt about that. No one can impeach the legality of the meeting. If it were impeached, why did the Government not prohibit it? A legal meeting is being held and an illegal assault is made upon the meeting by a body of Constabulary, under the miserable pretext of bringing in a shorthand reporter, whom they could have easily taken up to the platform even if they had been so stupid—I mean their officers—as not to make a previous arrangement. They assault a body of 3,000 or 4,000 men by an endeavour to drive a force of constables through the middle of it, and for that illegal assault every man of this force ought to have been put in prison. There was a Mitchelstown riot; but the riot was the riot of the Constabulary, not of the people. On the contrary, the people acted throughout on the defensive. The effort to drive a shorthand-writer through this dense crowd having entirely failed, then what happened? The assault was repeated by a larger force of constabulary, and this time the shorthand-writer, as we are informed, was altogether forgotten, and again a wilful, wanton assault was committed. Then, no doubt, fighting began. The Constabulary were defeated. I must say, in passing, that I cast no censure at this moment on individual constables; they were under the command of men absolutely and utterly incompetent. It was the Executive Government who allowed such men to go for the purpose of transacting such business who are seriously to blame. The Constabulary, being defeated, ran to their barracks. The right hon. Gentleman had said it was their duty to fire upon the crowd, and upon what I think he called "the mob." That is the phrase that a Minister of the Crown

has for a body of people assembled together in the prosecution of a legal purpose. There was no crowd or mob before them to fire at, but only a sprinkling of men. They fired, and there ensued a wanton slaughter of three perfectly innocent men — a wanton slaughter, never inquired into, never punished, never compensated, never heeded by the Government, of whom I say in this case, as in the case of Kinsella, that goes far to support the doctrine—the dreadful doctrine to believe in, almost as dreadful to act upon—that the life of a Nationalist is a matter of small account, and ought not to be protected, or need not be protected like the life of one who calls himself in Ireland a Loyalist. Three men were slaughtered. The right hon. Gentleman said the Constabulary had done their duty, and no less than their duty, in slaughtering these three men, and we never heard then about ricochet. That took place in September, 1887, and it was not till nine months after the catastrophe that the expedient of ricochet was invented. Is it not extraordinary that with your Resident Magistrate on the spot, and your Inspector of Constabulary on the spot, and all the agents at your command, this doctrine of ricochet was never heard of for nine months? What sort of a doctrine is it? The right hon. Gentleman, I must say, has the courage of his opinions and of his place. [*Cheers.*] I am delighted to find that attention is following me, because attention to these things will be required both to-night and on future occasions within and without these walls. I am endeavouring to examine this interesting question of ricochet. What was the foundation of the doctrine of ricochet. Was it purely gratuitous? If the police fired into a crowd, how can you have ricochet, unless there could be ricochet from the body of one man to another? The doctrine was that it must have been ricochet because from the window of the Constabulary barracks you cannot see the spot where Lonergan fell. I admit that was a presumptive case in favour of ricochet had it happened to be true. But it is not true at all. It is totally untrue. You do see, and see plainly, with a space to spare, from the barrack window the place where Lonergan fell, and from the place where Lonergan fell you see the barrack window. Then another doctrine was set up by gentlemen who said it could be done if they stretched their necks like cranes out of the window, but without those violent measures they never could have observed it. Another equally smashing and destructive answer was provided by photographs produced, taken from the Constabulary window, exhibiting the spot where Lonergan was slaughtered, and from the spot where Lonergan was slaughtered exhibiting clearly the Constabulary window. Were the photographs taken by ricochet? [*Laughter.*] I propose that theory for the favourable consideration of the right hon. Gentleman. It appears to me to be quite as good and tenable as most of those which he has adopted to cover the misdeeds that have been perpetrated upon the people of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman has another force in reserve which he did not bring into action to-night. He says he has got the bullet by which Lonergan was killed, and this bullet bears evidence of ricochet and not of direct shot. This is most extraordinary. It is strange enough that when the right hon. Gentleman had been destitute of argument for nine months the doctrine of ricochet should have been invented. It is stranger still that now, after, not nine, but 15 months, when the whole supposition of ricochet has been blown to atoms, we have got the shape of the bullet to come to the defence of the right hon. Gentleman. Where is this bullet? Where was it found? Why did not you refer to it at the time of the death—when those deaths were treated as if they had been the deaths of dogs? The bullet was flattened. Why did we not hear of the flattening of the bullet? Why did you not send an agent efficient for your purpose to make a report and show us how this bullet was flattened? No; I am getting a little sceptical. At first I thought the ricochet plausible, but after the downfall and destruction of that set of excuses I am disposed to look rather jealously at new inventions 15 months after the event. This was the case of Mitchelstown as it appears to the Irish people. But what was the crowning act? The crowning act was this—that one of the Constabulary engaged, no doubt loyally and honourably, in executing the illegal orders he received, and, therefore, involved in illegal conduct by the mistakes, misapprehensions, and incapacity of his

superiors—this man was grievously injured in his illegal act. He was to be compensated. But who were to compensate him? The people of the district were to compensate him in the sum of £1,000—the man who was doing against the people of the district an act the illegality of which it was impossible to defend. Where was the compensation fo the friends and relatives of the three slaughtered men? It is upon this aggregate of circumstances which I have rapidly passed through that you have to stand in considering the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman which of course is the declaration of the entire Government, that the Constabulary did nothing but their duty, and that if they had done less they would have been to blame. I have avoided, in this case, all minute detail. My business is to repeat in this House every material statement I have made elsewhere, and to challenge contradiction in decent terms, or in indecent terms—I have very little care in challenging contradiction of any one among those statements, as upon the Floor of this House I will defend their truth and accuracy. I come to the case of two Resident Magistrates, whose names now I will not mention. I have never mentioned them, but they are two men who ought not to be upon the Bench. They are totally incompetent for the performance of their duties. I remember a striking passage in the works of Manzoni, where describing the great plague in Milan in the 17th century, when such was the intense excitement of the people, that they were ready to believe the most extraordinary tales and stories, and to perpetrate the most horrible cruelties—he said, "that there arose a race of vile informers," and, speaking of them as a class, he said—"They became infamous, but they remained obscure." The word "infamous" is not one which I apply to these gentlemen on account of their incompetency, but what I desire is that they should remain obscure, consequently I have never named them, and never will name them, but they are two responsible Magistrates, and what is my charge against them? The two gentlemen sentenced to terms of imprisonment five men— [An hon. MEMBER: Four men]—four men, and the sentence was reversed on appeal. The right hon. Gentleman says that it is no grievance to the party affected, if a sentence upon him is reversed on appeal.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Oh, no! I never said that.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly tell us what he did say?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman expects me to remember with accuracy every word of what I did say. I certainly never stated that it was no grievance to a man to be convicted and then have the sentence reversed on appeal.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Oh, no; I said the contrary, and, moreover, I am prepared to express complete concurrence with him, that it does not at all follow that there is a grievance because a man who has been sentenced to punishment in a Court below should have the conviction reversed upon appeal. What I do say is that the right hon. Gentleman ought to have known, and I will say more, I do not know how he contrived not to know that that is not the question at all. The question was, that these two Resident Magistrates convicted the men without any evidence whatever, on the charge for which they convicted them, and that this was reversed on appeal. Is that a case of a common reversal upon appeal? Does the right hon. Gentleman now understand what the charge is? The Magistrates took evidence upon a charge it is quite true; but the charge upon which they took evidence was not before them, and was one which they were totally incompetent to try. They had no jurisdiction. They had no more right than I had to try it. The men were convicted and sentenced upon another charge—a charge which they were competent to try, but a charge to which not one shred, not one line, not one syllable of the evidence referred. Does the right hon. Gentleman understand what it is that we mean when we say that the magistrates convicted the men upon a matter on which they had jurisdiction, but upon which they had not taken a single word of evidence? Is that a state of things which is compatible with duty, dignity, and decency? Is that a state of things in which you can come forward and find fault with the people of Ireland, because they do not recognize in you the ministers of law and order, which I have not a doubt that the

people of Ireland, if only they had fair play, would be the very first to acknowledge? I have endeavoured to state to the House the distinction in the case. I hope this is not a refined distinction which the right hon. Gentleman says I am very fond of drawing, because it was drawn by the Judges in appeal, who, in terms more plain than complimentary, indicated what they thought of the conduct of the Resident Magistrates. I admit they have an apology, and that is the total incompetence of the magistrates to distinguish between one offence and another. It is undoubtedly an apology for this famous couple of Resident Magistrates; but then, unfortunately, the force of this apology is destroyed by the fact that these four persons were defended by a solicitor of considerable ability, and this solicitor pointed out, in terms clear enough for a child in a National school to comprehend, the distinction between the charge on which they had taken evidence, but which they had no power to try, and the charge which they had power to try, but on which they had taken no evidence whatever. What was the answer given by one of these gentlemen, who always comes prominently forward, I presume, on account of his vast superiority to the other? "It is clear to us," he said—

> "That there was a conspiracy, and if there was a conspiracy, then the men must have conspired with one another."

I am unable to accompany this illustrious magistrate through the mental process by which he administers justice to the people of Ireland. A book of great interest has just been published—"*The Correspondence of Mr. O'Connell.*" An anecdote is told of Mr. O'Connell in the course of his legal experience. It was a case which happened at Clonmel, and Mr. O'Connell was concerned in it as counsel. An unfortunate man was charged with the murder of his neighbour. The circumstantial evidence against him appeared to be exceedingly strong, and he was given up for lost. The trial proceeded, and he was called upon to say whether he had anything to allege in his own behalf. The man said he had something to say, and the step he took was to produce a witness in his favour, and the witness that he produced was the murdered man, who gave evidence in his favour. Thereupon, the tables were suddenly and entirely turned. The Judge said to the jury that it would be idle for him to go through the evidence in detail, and that all they had to do was at once to return a verdict of "not guilty." The jury retired, and having remained absent for some time—for two hours—they returned, and the foreman handed in a verdict of "guilty." The Judge was betrayed into an unseemly expression; but still, the fidelity of history requires me to quote it. "Of what is he guilty," said the Judge; "not of murder, surely"? "No, my Lord," said the foreman, "but if he did not murder the man, sure he stole my grey mare." Take out the word "foreman," and insert "two Resident Magistrates," and the story is a precise and accurate rendering, as well as a vivid illustration, of what was done by these two gentlemen in the case before us. How comes it we know all about the case? By the merest chance. Not through the Government—not through its agents or organs. The agents of the Government who, in Ireland, are irreverently called removables, refused to state a case for consideration. The ingenuity and patriotism combined, and the legal knowledge of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), enabled him to take a course something like what Mr. O'Connell had often described as his capacity to do, when he said he would drive a coach and six, or, as he put it at another time, a troop of horse, through an Act of Parliament; that is to say, that he would correct the error of the Legislature by his own ingenuity and skill. The hon. and learned Gentleman saw, in spite of the right hon. Gentleman and the Government, that there were the means of bringing the facts to light. He brought them to light, not with the aid of the Government, but in opposition to their every effort, and but for the hon. and learned Gentleman we should have known nothing of them, and these Resident Magistrates would have remained untouched and unharmed even by criticism, and able to repeat their pranks from day to day and week to week throughout the year, while the will of the present Government continues in force. For, be it remembered, that in discussing this proceeding—this gross defiance and contempt of justice—while we seem to be discussing the acts of two

insignificant persons, holding secondary offices that invest them with power over the liberty of their fellow-citizens—we are really discussing the acts of the Government, for this act of the Resident Magistrates has been adopted on that Bench, vindicated and justified; and when we have humbly asked—are these gentlemen to be permitted to repeat these performances from time to time in the future? the right hon. Gentleman said, "Yes, they are." We, at all events, can bring facts to the knowledge of the Government, and, still more important, we can bring them then to the knowledge of Liberals on this side of the House, who hitherto have been totally impervious and inaccessible to the consideration of anything we can urge, and we can bring them to the knowledge of the people of England, and so from time to time deepen and broaden their impression as to the insidious and tyrannical system under which Ireland groans. I have re-stated many of my assertions made in the country, and extended some of them, but I am willing to be called to account for them, and I will publicly, frankly apologize for them if they are wrong, or I will sustain, as I have sustained to-night, the grave allegations I have made. Now I shall look for the answer of the Government. I do not say it will be the answer of the right hon. Gentleman. It is not fair that too much should be heaped upon him. He is only one of a Body, and every one of that Body should share and share alike the responsibility which attaches to these transactions. But those who have examined the facts of these cases—those who have followed these events, even from the imperfect means allowed to them of investigating what has taken place in Ireland—those at any rate know, as I know, that of all the delusions attempted to be practised in the country, the grossest and the least warrantable is this, that the administration of the law which now prevails in Ireland is an honourable, or a pure, or a just administration, or that the Government who support it and defend it are the champions of law and order.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has expressed his readiness to apologize to the House and to the country for any mis-statements he may have made in the numerous speeches he has delivered on Irish affairs; but he well knows that it is not in my power to call him to account across the Table, as it is in his power to call me to account. [An hon. MEMBER: Why not?] Because he is not a Minister of the Crown. We are not discussing his salary, and the right hon. Gentleman must know that it is absolutely out of my power to go through his speeches as I should like to do; to take them one by one as he has taken mine, and to pin him down, time after time, to say "Aye" or "No" to the various statements in which he has impugned the policy of the Government of Ireland. In his closing words the right hon. Gentleman describes the system of Government which it is my business to administer as insidious and tyrannical; but at the commencement of his speech he deprecated the use of strong language.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I will never deprecate the use of strong language upon facts that justify it. What I deprecated and denounced was personal abuse of a Minister.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is one of those distinctions the right hon. Gentleman is fond of drawing, but in which my slower mind has difficulty in following him. When he describes the system I am administering as insidious and tyrannical, he in effect describes me as an insidious tyrant, and there is no epithet, in order or out of order, that I could regard as being stronger than that. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to suggest that while I was criticizing his utterances in the country I was indulging in strong language which he was too virtuous to repeat. As a matter of fact, whenever I have wanted strong epithets I have invariably looked for them in the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman which I have had to answer. It will be found that the most vigorous adjectives in my speeches have been taken with scrupulous accuracy from the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman. So much for this present matter; but allow me to say that the right hon. Gentleman was ill advised in calling attention to the fact that I was left alone on this Bench. Of course, it was impossible that my Colleagues should assist me in this matter; the weight of the contest must fall upon me, as I am necessarily acquainted with the details better than my Colleagues. But my re-

collection goes back to the time when Mr. Forster was left alone on this Bench to fight hon. Members opposite who were then hostile to him, and the right hon. Gentleman's criticism will fall with more weight on himself and his Colleagues than it does on me and my Colleagues, to whom I am indebted for uniform support in this House and out of this House, and who, in every particular, by counsel and by speech, have loyally and laboriously aided me. I now pass from that point to the charges which the right hon. Gentleman has made this evening, and the first of these charges refers to the case of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington), imprisoned by Lord Spencer for a period under the ordinary prison discipline, and who, when the case had been referred to in this House, had his prison changed and certain privileges accorded to him. When I made the speech at Glasgow I was ignorant of this, and I have apologized to Lord Spencer for that ignorance, explaining, at the same time, that it was absolutely impossible for me to have known what the facts of the case were. There was no guilt in my ignorance; the guilt lay elsewhere, and I may tell the right hon. Gentleman why it was impossible for me to know these facts. The only possible sources of information were official records in Dublin or answers to Questions in this House. There is no official record at Dublin, for this reason—that Lord Spencer acted illegally and irregularly. Instead of going to the Prisons Board, who were responsible, he went behind their backs, and conveyed by some act of which no record exists, orders that the hon. Member should be removed to another prison and that his treatment should be changed. Does the right hon. Gentleman wish me to apologize for a fault of which I am not guilty?

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): The change in my treatment was made by the Vice Chairman of the Prisons Board, who came to me at Lord Spencer's instance.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: But my statement is that the Prisons Board never were consulted on the point; that they never had official cognizance of it; that they would have refused their assent had it been officially asked, and that these terms were conveyed by Lord Spencer not through the proper channel to the Governor of Galway gaol. So much for the source of information from official records. The only other source of information was an answer given in this House by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan), and the answer of the right hon. Gentleman was that the hon. Member "would receive such relaxation in his prison treatment as the law allowed." Would it be possible for any ingenuity to infer that by "such relaxation as the law allowed," Lord Spencer meant such relaxation as the law did not allow? I think not. That being so, I maintain that my ignorance was absolutely innocent, and that being absolutely innocent no apology was needed for it.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Why did you not say you were ignorant?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did say I was ignorant, in my speech at Leeds. It will be recollected that this controversy was provoked originally by my speech at Glasgow, and that I mentioned another case, that of Macnamara, but we have heard nothing from Lord Spencer or the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division about that. [An hon. MEMBER: Who was he?] Macnamara was imprisoned with hard labour and certainly treated like an ordinary criminal for belonging to the National League.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton): I wish to correct a statement of the right hon. Gentleman. In my speech, reported, I believe, in all the newspapers, I put two cases which the right hon. Gentleman has brought forward—namely, that of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin, and that of Macnamara. With regard to Macnamara, the right hon. Gentleman charged me with having put the man in prison, and he made very severe charges against me in consequence. But this man was put in prison three weeks before I became Irish Secretary.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a most effective answer so far as the right hon. Gentleman is concerned, but it is not an effective answer so far as the Government of which he was a Member is concerned.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: The charge was a personal one against me. The right hon. Gentleman stated that I, as Irish Secretary, put Macnamara in prison, and I answer that he was put in prison before I was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Does not the right hon. Gentleman see that my point was the conduct of right hon. Gentlemen opposite when they had charge of Irish affairs with regard to so-called political prisoners? The right hon. Gentleman never thinks of anything but himself. I will apologize fully for anything I may have said which would lead anyone to suppose that he had been mixed up in this transaction; but can he not, for a moment, see that his individuality is the most insignificant part of this subject? It matters not a whit whether he was concerned or whether his Predecessor was concerned in this transaction. The point is that the Government of the Member for Mid Lothian was concerned. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) went on to talk about the case of Kinsella, and said it was monstrous that the Government did not give full information about these trials, considering that Ireland was under exceptional legislation, and that the Government had handed over the liberties of the country to the tender mercies of Resident Magistrates. But the Kinsella trial, as it was called, was not a trial under the Crimes Act before a Resident Magistrate, but under the ordinary law of the land before a Judge and jury. Then the right hon. Gentleman violently attacked the conduct of the Crown in this case, but I have in vain tried to make out precisely what the right hon. Gentleman's charge is. It appears that a man, named Freeman, was supposed at one time to have fired the fatal shot. The Grand Jury ignored the bill, and I gather that the right hon. Gentleman thought that they travelled beyond their duty in doing so. But the evidence which came out at the trial appears clearly to have supported the Grand Jury's action, and the Judge himself, in his charge, said—"It has been generally admitted that the shot which killed Kinsella was not fired by Freeman." This was said by a Judge of the High Court, one of the most able and upright of that able and upright Body of men. Now what is the charge? Here is an ordinary trial, conducted in the ordinary way, before an ordinary tribunal. If there has been an error, the error is indorsed by the Judge himself. I cannot understand what it is the right hon. Gentleman thinks I am to answer for. He seems to think that the case was not properly conducted by the Crown. I can assure him there is no foundation for that charge. The case was conducted by the Crown as every case is, with the single desire to bring out the real facts. I certainly listened with surprise to the attack of the right hon. Gentleman upon this trial, which, in contradistinction to the trials he usually attacks, is really an example of the operation of the ordinary law. The right hon. Gentleman next went into the case of Mr. Mandeville, but with regard to that the things he omitted to talk about were even more remarkable than those on which he spoke; and the one topic upon which he dwelt was the diarrhœa from which he alleged Mandeville suffered. That I venture to say is the most insignificant side issue ever taken by a responsible statesman in making a charge against a Government. The old accusation was that Mr. Mandeville had been tortured to death in prison. [An hon. MEMBER: So he was.] We proved absolutely beyond question that the death of John Mandeville had no more to do with his treatment in prison than it had with any of the infant ailments from which no doubt he at one time suffered. The right hon. Gentleman leaves the great issue entirely on one side, and he discusses the slight attacks of diarrhœa that Mr. Mandeville had in prison, which had no reference to his future health, which did not affect his health in prison or when he came out, and which had absolutely no connection whatever with the disease of which he died. The evidence brought out will I think bear conviction to any impartial mind, that these attacks had nothing to do with the ultimate cause of death. If my recollection serves me right, Mr. Mandeville absolutely refused treatment on one occasion for this ailment; and there can be no doubt, as Dr. Barr says, that to a man of his habit of body such slight attacks were absolutely without serious consequence, even if they were not absolutely beneficial. But what is

perfectly certain is this—that it was entirely in the power of Dr. Ridley to treat Mr. Mandeville, if he complained, for these ailments. Has it been alleged by any single man that Dr. Ridley was other than a humane man? There is evidence to show that if he erred at all it was on the side of laxity, and there is no evidence to show that he erred on the side of severity. Is it credible that Dr. Ridley, if he supposed that Mr. Mandeville was suffering from any malady which he could cure, would not have given him every treatment necessary under the circumstances? The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to attack Dr. Barr. It has been more than once my lot to defend Dr. Barr in this House from this species of attack. The right hon. Gentleman says truly that we adopted, supported, and approved him. I do adopt, support, and approve Dr. Barr. He is a man of distinguished medical reputation. He was, as I have stated before, not selected by me, but by the Prisons Board of England—a Board to whose virtues the right hon. Gentleman himself has borne testimony. They selected him because they believed him to be one of the fittest men to carry out a difficult and delicate task. The accusation against him is that he accused some of his medical *confrères* of having stated at the inquest that which was not the fact. Is there any doubt in the mind of any human being who has read the evidence that one of the doctors who constantly visited the prison sent mendacious reports to the newspapers? Is there any confidence to be placed in that other doctor who wrote his report before he saw his patient and allowed it to appear in *The Freeman's Journal*. Are these the witnesses which the right hon. Gentleman is going to put up against the testimony of Dr. Barr? The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that Dr. Barr attacked Mr. Mandeville's widow. The Committee will understand that is not my business, and it would be utterly repugnant to me to make any charge against Mrs. Mandeville. But I think that everybody who reads the evidence must admit that she spoke under the influence of strong excitement, and that she made statements which perhaps in calmer moments she would not have made. One reason why I make that allegation is this. She certainly appeared to think, at the inquest, that her husband's health had suffered severely during his imprisonment, and yet it is in evidence that never during the whole period which elapsed between Mr. Mandeville's imprisonment and a time nearly approaching his death did she recommend him to seek medical advice. I am sure that the Committee will not misunderstand the motives with which I have mentioned this fact, and that hon. Members will not think that I have attacked a lady for whose trials all have the profoundest sympathy. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to Mitchelstown, and he told us that we should hear of Mitchelstown over and over again for some indefinite period, which he did not himself fix. Well, as I have said, the right hon. Gentleman loves repetition much more than I do; and almost the whole of his speech as to Mitchelstown was a repetition, not of one or two, but of three or four speeches which he has made in the country, and which I have endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to answer from time to time. Therefore, if I am driven to repeat what I have said before, either in or out of this House, I hope it will be felt that I do so, not from any love of my own oratory, but from the absolute necessity imposed upon me of going back to that somewhat ancient history. The right hon. Gentleman says that the meeting at Mitchelstown was legal, and that the action of the police was illegal. I traverse both of these statements. I say that there is the greatest possible doubt whether the meeting was a legal one, and that there is no doubt whatever that the action of the police was perfectly legal. The right hon. Gentleman asked, "If the meeting was illegal, why did you not disperse it?" He must be perfecty aware that there are circumstances in which it is advisable, in the interests of humanity and of the public peace, not to disperse a meeting although it is illegal, but rather to take evidence that would enable the Crown, should it be necessary afterwards, to prosecute the offenders. Of that, no doubt, this meeting at Mitchelstown was a case in point. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to give us his version of the later incidents of that unhappy affair. But I always observe that he makes extraordinary omissions. I wish he would refresh his recollection by reading

the report in *The Freeman's Journal*, which came out the day afterwards. There he would see an account, I will not say of a riot, but of a fight and a battle. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I mentioned it.] Yes, the right hon. Gentleman may have mentioned the fight, but he did not mention the incidents that accompanied it. He did not talk of the rout of the police. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Yes; I said they ran away.] I beg pardon. They were defeated and they ran away, as the right hon. Gentleman very truly said, pursued by a mob who apparently had the intention of slaughtering as many of the police as they could. You have only to read, not the Government report, or the report of "the man Colomb," as the right hon. Gentleman called a distinguished police officer, but *The Freeman's Journal* itself, and you will see that a more disgraceful scene was never enacted, even in Ireland, than the attack made by this mob on the forces of the Crown. Then, the right hon. Gentleman having dealt with what I admit was a large question—namely, the action of the police at Mitchelstown—in, I thought, a very inadequate manner, proceeded to deal with a very trifling subject at much greater length than it deserved. I do not know where he got his extraordinary notion of the importance of the question whether Lonergan was shot by a ricochet bullet or not? I have already explained to the Committee that this is a very irrelevant issue in forming any judgment upon the broad features of the case. As the right hon. Gentleman, in a speech which he made in the summer, appeared to attach importance to that question, I have dealt with it more than once in public, and I have not seen any reason to withdraw the original allegation I made on the strength of the police report, that it was a ricochet shot. But do not let the right hon. Gentleman run away with the idea that this allegation was ever devised, as he seems to think, to excuse the conduct of the police. The conduct of the police, whether it was right or wrong, is not to be judged by the question whether the shot was a ricochet shot or not. If the police were justified in firing, it matters not whether it was a ricochet shot or a direct shot. If they were not justified in firing, it is no justification to say that they fired but the shot glanced. I never started this controversy. [*Cries of* "Yes!"] The controversy was started by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. ["No, no!"] The first mention I made of it was in a speech at Battersea, in which I was replying to the right hon. Gentleman. [Mr. W. O'BRIEN: What was the object in publishing the Report?] I will tell you what was the object if you will kindly listen. The right hon. Gentleman having made an assertion as to a ricochet shot, and I having contradicted him in my speech at Battersea, on the authority of a Report, I asked the right hon. Gentleman, through the late Chief Secretary, whether he would or would not like to see that part of the confidential Report which dealt with that subject. The Commission of Inquiry was never intended to go into the question of the justification of the firing. I never asked for a confidential inquiry into that fact. The subject they had to inquire into was how it came about that the police were so handled by their superior officers that a force so large as that present at Mitchelstown was put to flight by a disorderly mob. I thought that a disgraceful thing, looked at from the point of view of the discipline of the police, and it was from that point of view, and that alone, that I had a Departmental Inquiry made into the affair at Mitchelstown, and in no sense was it made to cook up some justification for actions which, in my opinion, required no justification. Having supplied the right hon. Gentleman with that portion of the Report, the matter was further investigated, and it was proved, I think, conclusively, that in making that particular inquiry, the Commission were in error with regard to one point. It was proved clearly that it was possible to fire a shot to the spot—I don't say where Lonergan fell—but to the place where a stone was placed to the memory of Lonergan, out of the window of the Barracks. I am informed by those who have been there that it would be a most awkward and difficult operation, but that it would be possible. The right hon. Gentleman talked as if the burden of proof rested on me. Nothing of the kind. It rests with him; and although he spoke of the death of Lonergan, and about a ricochet shot, he never brought forward a single tittle

of evidence which would give any *a priori* probability to the assertion that the police directly fired at the spot where Lonergan fell. There being, therefore, no evidence that the police did fire at the spot, the right hon. Gentleman may have it in his pocket, but he did not produce it—there is evidence on the other side of extraordinary weight — namely, that the bullet was in a shape which indicated that it had struck some harder object before it unfortunately struck Lonergan.

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin Harbour): Look at the evidence.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! Hon. Members will have an opportunity of speaking in reply.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Probably what the Hon. Member refers to is to some evidence given at Mitchelstown, to the effect that a policeman said he fired directly at the people.

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON: A man who was there—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order!

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON: He said he saw the man fall. That is his evidence.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is another point in regard to Mitchelstown —and it is the last upon which I shall dwell—it is this. Let the Committee bear in mind, whenever we are discussing the question of the guilt or innocence of those who ordered the firing, that there is no manner of doubt that the first shot saved the life of the unhappy policeman who was nearly killed. And, with regard to the last shot, which was the least defensible shot, if any was indefensible, we have it in evidence that it was ordered by District Inspector Irwin, and District Inspector Irwin was complimented by a learned Gentleman opposite for his evidence, and was acquitted even by the Coroner's jury. I have laid before the Committee the broad incidents of the Mitchelstown affair; and I think they will feel that among the many painful occasions on which life has been put an end to by the police, many of which have occurred under the auspices of the right hon. Gentleman himself, there never was a case in which the police were less to blame than they were at Mitchelstown.

MR. W. E. GLADSONE: Will you give any case which occurred under my auspices?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will, before the end of the debate.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Produce them all, if you please.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman now appears to take a great interest in the *tu quoque* argument which he so denounced a few minutes ago. The last subject he dealt with was the Killeagh case. The facts of that case were these. Four persons were brought up on a charge of conspiracy under the Crimes Act. The conspiracy they were charged with was that of inducing, or compelling, persons not to deal. The offence of which they were actually guilty was conspiracy. ["Oh!] Well, the offence of which I have no doubt they were actually guilty was conspiracy. The right hon. Gentleman gave us a very long and amusing anecdote of a trial in which a juryman appeared to think that there was some connection between murdering a man and stealing a grey mare. The story was amusing, but it was hardly applicable. The two conspiracies to which I have alluded were, from the necessities of the case, closely allied. The Court of Exchequer decided that the men were not guilty of conspiracy under the Crimes Act. They seemed to indicate that there was evidence of conspiracy at Common Law. Supposing those men had been guilty of conspiracy, or had engaged in a conspiracy to compel or induce, there is no doubt that they were also guilty at the same time of the other conspiracy, which, from the character of the offence, must be bound up with a conspiracy to compel or induce. It is impossible to conceive that the two matters could be easily dissociated, and I do not believe that those magistrates were guilty either of grave incompetence or carelessness or stupidity because they did not carry out that process of disentanglement to which I have referred. The right hon. Gentleman speaks as if it were obvious and plain on the face of the facts that there was no conspiracy to compel or induce. The case, which seems so plain to the enlightened intellect of the right hon. Gentleman, was argued for two days before the Court of Exchequer.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Not on that point, only on the point of jurisdiction.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe no one who is cognizant with what took place at that trial will deny that there were circumstances of difficulty in the case; and it is absurd to allege that because the inferior Court may be mistaken it is utterly unworthy of all confidence. These being the circumstances of the case, what is the language in which the right hon. Gentleman alludes to these magistrates? He said that he would not name them, that he would not say they were infamous, but he spoke of their incompetence, their utter inadequacy of legal knowledge. Again, I have to point out that if these men are incompetent, and if they lack legal knowledge, surely the Lord Lieutenant, who is always held up to us as a model of what an Irish administrator should be, must receive the blame, because he is the man who certified to their being competent. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Uunder your Act.] No, under the far worse Act of the right hon. Gentleman. Because these men have been over-ruled in one case, am I to turn them out of office and cast them forth on the world as ruined and stigmatized men? Am I to indorse the verdict given by their bitterest political opponents; am I to use my official position in order to back up attacks which are the offspring of political partizanship? I do not know whether that line of conduct would have been assumed by the right hon. Gentleman had he been responsible for the government of Ireland; but if Lord Spencer had pursued any policy of that kind in Ireland he would have been less successful in dealing with those forces of disorder with which he did deal so courageously and successfully. I hope the right hon. Gentleman is satisfied with my answer. I cannot plead guilty of having evaded the difficulties or of shirking the severer points. But I ask the Committee whether there could be more conclusive proof that the government of Ireland, as we have administered it, has not been subjected to more than the ordinary infirmities, to more than the ordinary errors, and to more than the ordinary mistakes which must beset all Governments so long as they are conducted by human beings, when hon. Gentlemen opposite find themselves reduced for their strongest arguments to these three or four points. They are their standing dishes, brought up in every speech made outside and inside the House. They cannot travel beyond the narrow limits of these three or four points, and often as they may be refuted and corrected in matters of fact, they still depend on these old dishes, cooked, re-cooked, served up time after time, until I should have thought even Members opposite must have sickened and nauseated by the recurrence of this cloying fare.

Notice taken, that 40 members were not present, Committee counted; and 40 members being found present,

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had concluded his speech by stating that the House and the country were thoroughly sick of these subjects. Yet, if the country were sick of this business it was because they were sick of the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman treated them; for whether the right hon. gentleman was right or wrong in his contention the subjects were of the greatest possible importance. He should hope that in connection with the Irish Prison's Vote they would be able to go more closely into the treatment of the late Mr. Mandeville than could be done on a Vote of this character; and when they came to some other Votes in connection with the Police they would be able to go more thoroughly into the Mitchelstown inquiry than it was possible that evening. These matters, however, had been very properly raised on the Vote for the right hon. Gentleman's salary, because not only did he condone those violations of legality and breaches of order which had been committed by the Constabulary Force in Ireland, but he applauded and approved of every act that had been done by the officials during the right hon. Gentleman's administration. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to be annoyed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had referred to this Mitchelstown business. The right hon. Gentleman accused the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian of having raised the question as to the ricochet shot and other such issues a long while ago. But such was not the case. This far-fetched theory of the

ricochet shot was never thought of or spoken of or hinted at during the inquest, or for many months afterwards, and it was not until the extraordinary report of Mr. Wellington Colomb was circulated among Members of this House, that the question of the ricochet shot was raised and the attention of the House and the country was directed to the theory. Well, it was an idle jest for the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, or any one else, to suggest that policemen in Ireland are able to fire round a corner so as to substantiate the ricochet shot theory, and make it go down with the most gullible of listeners. The right hon. Gentleman showed that he felt his case to be weak and unworthy the acceptance of sensible men; and surely, if he had any doubts himself as to the real facts of the case, those doubts ought to have been dissipated by the plan brought forward by one of the Members for Yorkshire, when he took a photographic camera down to Mitchelstown and established the contention that the place where this unfortunate man was killed was in a direct line from the window from which the deadly shot was fired. But it was not necessary that the right hon. Gentleman should have sent Mr. Wellington Colomb down to Mitchelstown to formulate this theory, for out of the mouths of the police themselves they had a case made out. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, not long ago, rather twitted the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, saying that because he had not been down to Mitchelstown he could not vouch for these things of his own knowledge. Well, neither could the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had referred the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian to *The Freeman's Journal* report, and he (Mr. Flynn) had those reports in his hand at that moment. He had also the reports which appeared in the Court newspapers, the reports of the proceedings at the inquest, which was a most labourious investigation. He found, according to these reports, that Sergeant Brennan deposed to firing a certain number of shots. He was asked by the cross-examining counsel—

"On your oath, did you fire in the direction where you found the marks on the wall?"

and the answer was—

"Where I fired would be in a line with the place where the laurels were, and on the Square."

The place referred to by the witness was a spot of considerable distance from the Police barracks, and the place where the unfortunate man was killed was very much nearer the barracks. The cross-examining counsel further said, "Did you fire to kill?" to which the reply was given, "I fired to wound some person." He was then asked, "Did you aim to kill or only to wound?" When he answered, "I aimed to kill." The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary disproved his own ricochet theory by acknowledging that if the police were justified in the firing they were justified in killing. Well, the Irish Members granted that theory, their whole contention being that the police were not justified in firing. The evidence brought before the Coroner's Jury, when the unfortunate occurrences were fresh in the minds of every one, proved beyond a doubt that the police were not justified in firing. Surely one would have thought that, at all events—the facts being before the world—it would require the greatest hardihood of assertion to indulge—as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary did—in this statement of the ricochet shot. If the crowd on the day of the Mitchelstown meeting came within stone-throwing distance of the police barracks, as was alleged by the right hon. Gentleman, there would have been some evidence of it; and yet, though the Police barracks contained a large number of windows, only six pains of glass were broken, and out of those six the police acknowledged that they themselves broke three to enable them to fire upon the people. In a conversation he had had with a Cork newspaper reporter—who was not examined as a witness because he was attending to his professional duties—this gentleman had assured him that he was coming up from the Square and passing the police barracks at the same time that the firing occurred, and though there was not a single individual within 20 or 30 yards of him, the policeman's rifle was levelled at him, and but for the interposition of the District Inspector, who came up at the time and knocked the policeman's rifle up, the

probability was that there would have been a fourth death. How did the Mitchelstown affair commence? The official in charge of the police was Captain Seagrave; and attention should be drawn to the important point that the person entrusted with the care of the forces of order on an occasion of popular excitement was a young man, only recently appointed to the Resident Magistracy, and, as he acknowledged himself, ignorant as to the proper time to read the Riot Act, and even of the meaning of the Riot Act. He was a man utterly untutored in his duties, and absolutely unqualified to take charge of the police. But what did this young man say? Why, speaking with regard to what happened a few minutes before the meeting was assembled in the Square, and while the meeting was assembling, he said—

"I should like to say that the demonstration had taken place, that the procession had passed with perfect quiet. No bands were playing except two or three, which started opposite the Court, and which I myself stopped. I remained in the barracks about three-quarters of an hour."

It was, therefore, plain from this gentleman's testimony that everything was going on peaceably. Now, if it had been necessary to get a Government notetaker at the meeting, there were three alternative routes by which they could have got to the platform, without disturbing the crowd of people. They had the evidence of the District Inspector and three or four constables at the inquest to the effect that the crowd was perfectly peaceable up to the moment when attacked, and that it was an utter impossibility for the police to pass the Government notetaker through the immense crowd without breaking up the meeting. The witnesses described how the people were tightly wedged together, with their faces towards the platform, listening to the speakers, and acknowledged that the vast bulk of the gathering were utterly unaware that the Police Force was trying to force their way to the platform. The witnesses said that as they saw the police forcing their way to the front, they noticed the men striking the horses with their batons, that one horse reared up, and that several horses were turned about whilst others were backed. The riders of the horses, or some of them, raised their ashplants and struck the police. They had this statement clearly and succinctly from the Inspector himself. The disturbance was precipitated by the police attempting to perform an impossibility, and committing a gross assault upon what was acknowledged to be a perfectly legal meeting. It was futile to try and argue the point as to whether the meeting was a legal one or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, had declared that it was not a legal meeting; but everybody knew how difficult a thing it was to prove that a meeting was illegal until they had had a reporter present, and had had the advantage of reading his notes. The police ran down the Square towards their barracks, and undoubtedly one of the constables was injured in the collision which occurred; but there had not been any evidence, from first to last, or any serious attempt to show, that there was any determined attack made on the police barracks by the crowd. No one would deny, not even hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House, that they were all interested in preserving the police from being assaulted and injured. No one would deny that the Constabulary or any other body of men were justified in firing, and in taking every possible means of defending themselves when their lives were in danger, but, surely, not even the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would contend that they were justified in firing except in case of the greatest necessity. Such necessity, however, had not been made out in this instance. There was no serious attack. Dozens of people had come forward to prove that there was only a scattered, sparse number of men between the Square and the police barracks when the unfortunate incident occurred. There was no serious attempt to show that at any time the police barracks were in danger, much less the constables inside it. The house was a strong one, well guarded and barricaded. Well, did not all this go to show that there was no necessity for any firing? The Coroner's Jury, summoned by the police themselves, found a verdict of wilful murder against certain parties, and one would have expected that in view of the debates that were likely to arise out of this melancholy transaction, the right hon. Gen-

tleman the Chief Secretary would not have broken through every precedent which had been held by former Chief Secretaries as binding upon them, and would not have refused this inquiry. What had been the entire effort made by the police to meet the case on behalf of the murdered man? Why, a Departmental Inquiry by an officer of police into the conduct of the police themselves. The right hon. Gentleman courted inquiry; he was anxious for the truth. In this case three men had been shot down; their relatives and friends contended that they had been murdered; the Coroner's Jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder, and yet no steps were taken to vindicate the law or to inquire into the gravity of this serious case. Months rolled by, and a considerable time afterwards a gentleman was sent down to invent a theory which might tend to dissipate the bad impression which the Mitchelstown tragedy was making in the minds of the people of England. He (Mr. Flynn) contended that the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman all throughout this business had not been compatible with the traditions of a responsible Minister. The right hon. Gentleman had then dealt with the Killeagh conspiracy case in that peculiar, ingenious, and clever manner for which he, no doubt, deserved great credit and which enabled him to put considerable gloss on circumstances which were patent to everybody else. He (Mr. Flynn) admired the right hon. Gentleman's ingenuity, but did not think it should be exercised as it was in that House. In reference to the Killeagh case the right hon. Gentleman not only traversed what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had said, but the statements of the two Judges—Baron Dowse and Chief Baron Pallas. The right hon. Gentleman said the real offence was conspiracy not to deal, and that the men ought to have been found guilty of conspiracy to compel or to induce. Well, but both these Judges held, in the clearest and most unambiguous manner possible, that there was no evidence whatever of any conspiracy to induce or of intimidation, and that the only evidence was of a refusal to deal. No matter what the right hon. Gentleman said, he (Mr. Flynn) contended there existed to-day, or ought to exist, in Ireland, as in every other country, a perfect right on the part of any other trader than a licensed trader to refuse to supply goods to any person. If a customer could exercise his right not to deal with a shopkeeper, a trader had an equal right to refuse to supply goods to anyone who might come upon his premises. There was no proof whatever of conspiracy in the case. All that could be proved was, that on a certain day these men in differents parts of the town, at their own initiative and in their own shops, refused to supply goods to certain parties. It should not be forgotten that these prosecutions were got up by the police themselves, and that if there was any conspiracy it was a conspiracy on the part of the police to entangle these men in the meshes of the Coercion Act. The right hon. Gentleman had drawn the attention of the Committee to these two licensed Magistrates who had been associated with this case. One of them was a very feeble and old man—a very respectable old man, no doubt, but anyone who knew him must be aware that there was no importance whatever to be attached to his opinion. The important person on this occasion was undoubtedly Mr. Gardener. Well, Mr. Gardener's name had been before the House, not alone in conspiracy cases, but in half-a-dozen other cases. It had been proved over and over again that he had strained this Coercion Act up to the very point of breaking. In his (Mr. Flynn's) own hearing, Mr. Gardener had refused to state a case on the application of *The Cork Examiner*, because, as he said, the case was not frivolous.

An hon. MEMBER: You mean the case was frivolous.

MR. FLYNN: No; because the case was not frivolous. In his (Mr. Flynn's) presence, and in the hearing of Mr. Adams, Q.C. Mr. Gardener's ignorance of the law he was called upon to administer was such that he said that his ground for refusing to state a case to the Superior Court was that he considered the application not frivolous. Evidently up to that moment his idea had been that if an application was frivolous he ought to grant it. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had spoken at considerable length about the Kinsella case, and had attached considerable importance to the fact that the

trial of these Emergency men did not take place under the Coercion Act, but took place under the ordinary law. But the charge of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was that on the part of the prosecution there had been an utter want of *bona fides*, and that had been borne out in the pamphlet written by the Rev. Dr. Dillon. The facts of the case were known in the locality and spoke for themselves. In the first place the jury was packed. The County Grand Jury threw out the Bill against the man Freeman, whom six people swore fired the fatal shot. The mode of procedure was this. A certain number of Emergency men were found guilty of manslaughter by the Coroner's Jury, and the agent, Freeman, was found guilty of wilful murder. The Grand Jury found no true bill in the case of the charge of wilful murder, but found true bills of manslaughter against the other Emergency men, but when the case against these Emergency men came before the ordinary jury, there was no evidence to find a verdict of manslaughter, because in the case of the man charged with firing the fatal shot the Grand Jury had thrown out the bill. This case did not occur under the Coercion Act, but under the ordinary law, and the charge was that the Executive acted in such a suspicious manner that there was considerable doubt as to the *bona fides* of the prosecution. It was evident that the anxiety of the Government was to screen the Emergency men from the penalties attaching to their action. There were 18 of these Emergency men, one of whom was in possession of a Winchester rifle and revolver, and it was proved that more than eight minutes elapsed after the firing of the fatal shot before there was any inspection of the revolvers, and in that time this man Freeman would have had ample time to change half-a-dozen revolvers. It was perfectly easy for him to get rid of his own and obtain another, and so destroy the evidence against himself. More than that, the man was taken before Lord Courtown, a magistrate, and the Sergeant who took him was not even sworn. Freeman was allowed to go away and was never charged until after the Coroner's inquest. All these circumstances went to show that the Executive, under the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, in this case as in scores of others, had strained the law to its fullest possible extent in order to punish their political opponents, or those they believed to be opposed to them in politics, and at the same time to shield those who had been guilty of the atrocious crimes at Mitchelstown and Coolgreaney. With reference to this unfortunate man Kinsella, Members of that (the Opposition) side of the House would be able to put the right hon. Gentleman in possession of facts, which, even if he knew them, the right hon. Gentleman at any rate had not given them to the Committee, or to any of the audiences he had been in the habit of inflicting his speeches upon and of which he declared he was so very tired. There were other reasons why they should ask the right hon. Gentleman for some explanation of his official conduct in connection with this Vote. When last they were passing a Vote on Account, he (Mr. Flynn) had called attention to the way in which the right hon. Gentleman had treated the representations which had come to him from various Public Bodies in Ireland. He (Mr. Flynn) had protested against the system of passing Votes on Account, and he thought that the Members of the Committee should, at the commencement of every vote, protest in the strongest possible manner against the inconvenient and unconstitutional course of taking Votes at the fag end of the Session for Services the money for which had been already spent. What satisfaction would it be to the House if they were enabled to prove to the Committee at large the strength of their position and induced them to reduce the Vote by one-half? He presumed the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had the greater portion of his salary in his pocket. The great inconvenience of this mode of conducting business was that they were removed to a considerable distance from many of the facts which had taken place during the right hon. Gentleman's administration, and had not the means of imposing a check upon his responsibility. They were now approaching Christmas, and a great deal of valuable Business had had to be abandoned because of the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman's Government had come down two or three times asking for Votes on Account, postponing the real Vote until

the end of the Session. When the last Vote on Account was before them he had referred to the contemptuous and discourteous manner in which the right hon. Gentleman treated representations coming from Public Bodies in Ireland on various subjects of general and political importance. Representations from Liberal Unionists, however small might be the number of such persons who addressed him, were always acknowledged in the most effusive manner by the right hon. Gentleman; but when protests were received by him from Public Bodies as to certain occurrences, not alone did the right hon. Gentleman neglect to inquire into the allegations made, but he did not extend the common courtesy of an answer. On the occasion of the arrest of the Mayor of Cork, who got a fortnight's imprisonment for what, at most, was a technical assault — an assault which ought probably to have been tried under the ordinary law, and for which probably a fine of 6*d.* and costs would have been imposed—the Corporation of Cork and several other Public Bodies had communicated with the right hon. Gentleman on the subject, making protests. The right hon. Gentleman had made no reply, but had simply thrown this communication into the waste-paper basket. Was this the way, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, in which he proposed to bring the Public Bodies and the people of Ireland into accord and sympathy with his policy? There were to be two elections in Ireland shortly, and if the right hon. Gentleman thought he was winning his way to the esteem of the Irish people by these measures, let him put the thing to the test and send down his nominees as candidates for the vacant seats. He (Mr. Flynn) should say that the word "discourtesy" was an extremely mild one to apply to the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman. The Town Council, the Board of Guardians, and the Harbour Commissioners of the town of Tralee, all sent formal resolutions to the right hon. Getleman protesting against the conduct of Mr. Cecil Roche. They did not go into the conduct of this gentleman in the administration of justice, but protested against his vile and offensive conduct towards the people of Tralee in the public streets on many occasions; and these Public Bodies had a right to take that course, seeing that they were to some extent responsible for obstructions of thoroughfares and the good conduct of the town. They protested against the conduct of this magisterial bully, and forwarded their representations to the right hon. Gentleman; but, so far as he knew, the right hon. Gentleman had made no answer to those representations. He had treated the whole thing in a most cavalier fashion. No doubt it was an ungracious thing to raise a question of this kind on a personal Vote for the salary of the right hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Flynn) should much prefer to do it in connection with other Votes; but there was no other opportunity open to the Committee, because the difference between the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and Chief Secretaries who had preceded him was this—hon. Members had had to find fault and to cross swords with Chief Secretaries who now sat on the Opposition side of the House, and with Mr. Forster, and although they had bitterly to protest against the administrative acts of those right hon. Gentlemen, at any rate it could not be said that they had not taken steps to inquire into representations made to them by Public Bodies and by the Irish Members. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary, however, was to ignore every expression of public opinion in Ireland, whether it came from the Irish Representatives or from Public Bodies. If the right hon. Gentleman thought that that policy was likely to be of advantage to the country, and was likely to check the National aspirations of the Irish people, he was welcome to continue it, so far as he (Mr. Flynn) was concerned, until the tenure of the right hon. Gentleman's Office was run out; but he (Mr. Flynn) maintained that it was incompatible with the traditions of statesmen, and incompatible with the duties of a responsible Minister, that the right hon. Gentleman should take up the attitude which distinguished him on these matters. It was resented by the Irish people themselves, and redounded more to the discredit and disgrace of the right hon. Gentleman's own administration than to any other institutions or set of officials, who, though they might carry out the Acts of Parliament, could not be accredited with re-

sponsibility for what had taken place in Ireland during the past two years.

MR. A. E. PEASE (York) said, that on several occasions that night allusion had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) and others to the murder of John Kinsella. In the reference the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian made in regard to that case, he had rather understated the circumstances which surrounded it. He (Mr. A. E. Pease) believed that the result of that case had done a good deal to foment that feeling of distrust which existed in Ireland as to the impartiality of the administration of Criminal Law in that country. He (Mr. A. E. Pease) had happened to be in the county of Wicklow shortly after the murder of John Kinsella, and he had taken particular pains to inquire into all the circumstances of the estate upon which the murdered man had been a tenant, and from which he had been evicted. He (Mr. A. E. Pease) had done his best to arrive at the correct facts with regard to the whole case. He was present at the Wicklow Assizes, not on the day when George Freeman was tried for the murder, but on the Saturday previous, and he thought he might be able, from independent testimony, to support in some manner the statement which had been put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and also by other hon. Members who had alluded to that subject. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had said, in his defence of the manner in which this case was dealt with, that it was a case which was very properly conducted by the Crown, and he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian should have indorsed the view of many Irish Members that a miscarriage of justice had taken place in this instance. Well, he (Mr. A. E. Pease) had never had more vividly brought to his mind the feelings which inspired many Nationalists in Ireland with regard to the question of the administration of law and order than was the case in connection with this instance of miscarriage of justice under the ordinary law in Ireland. It was true that this case had nothing to do with the Crimes Act of last year, for the murderer of John Kinsella was not put on his trial before a Coercion Court, or before a jury empanelled under any section of the Crimes Act. If the Committee would allow him, he would give his impression of the whole case as he had gathered the facts bearing upon it, and he thought he might be able to illustrate, in some way, how it was that he regarded this case as a gross miscarriage of justice. He supposed every man in the House had heard of the Coolgreaney evictions. There were 70 tenants evicted on the Coolgreaney estate, and amongst them was the man, John Kinsella. Kinsella, with a number of other evicted tenants, had taken refuge on the farm of a man named Kavanagh, who lived upon the slopes of Mount Coolgreaney. On a certain day 18 Emergency men, headed by a man named M'Cabe, and joined by Freeman, the estate bailiff, made a raid for cattle on the farm of Kavanagh. That raid, as had been pointed out, was perfectly illegal. The men, on going towards the farm, were warned by the police on the road that they had better take care what they were doing, as it was expected there would be resistance offered by the tenants. A number of police, he might also state, lived in the mansion house on the property with the Emergency men. These Emergency men went up the hill side to the house where Kavanagh lived. Behind a gate there were massed a number of the evicted tenantry, with members of their families, girls and children. The only act that could be interpreted as an act of active resistance was John Kinsella striking on the top bar of a gate as one of the Emergency men attempted to get over. As the Emergency men tried to mount the gate, Kinsella struck the bar with his pitchfork—a broken pitchfork. The Emergency man who was getting over at the time did not make any remark whatever to John Kinsella, but five or six witnesses swore to the fact that immediately Kinsella struck the top bar of the gate Freeman stepped forward and said, with an oath—"Get down from that, John Kinsella;" and then, using another oath, said—"I will shoot you!" With that he levelled his revolver across his hand and shot John Kinsella at the distance of about a yard. Now, he took that statement of the case from the evidence of five witnesses who were produced at the Coroner's inquest,

and to that evidence he should allude very shortly. First, however, he would describe what took place after the death of John Kinsella. Two volleys were fired by the Emergency men into the crowd. The crowd ran away, and the Emergency men, heedless of the death of Kinsella, went into the fold-yard and drove out the cattle. John Kinsella having been killed, it became the duty of the police to bring the attention of the authorities to the murder. A policeman, who was sworn, went before Lord Courtown, a magistrate, who refused to give a warrant for the arrest of any of the men concerned in this murder. Subsequently, a Coroner's inquest took place, and on that occasion the following evidence was taken, according to *The Irish Times*—a Conservative newspaper. Michael Kavanagh, the tenant of the farm at which Kinsella was killed, said—

"I heard George Freeman say to Kinsella, 'Go back, Kinsella, or by G—d I will shoot you!' He then took his revolver from his pocket, and Kinsella fell."

Elizabeth Kinsella, the daughter of the murdered man, said—

"I remember the 28th. On that day I saw my father shot. The man who shot him was George Freeman, the same I now identify. I also saw John Harris fire with a gun at Maggie Darcey, and she escaped."

Other witnesses gave evidence to a similar effect. He had visited the place and pointed out to the people the frightful responsibility they were under in making statements of which they were not absolutely sure, but there was not the slightest wavering on the part of any witness who happened to be in the yard at the time. There seemed to be enough evidence before the Coroner to induce the police to endeavour to arrest Freeman, and he believed M'Cabe, on the charge of murder; they tried to get a warrant against them from the magistrate, but failed in the application, and they went back to the Coroner, who, late at night, very reluctantly issued his warrant against Freeman and M'Cabe. The Coroner's jury, after the evidence of the police and persons present who swore that they had seen no blow struck or stone thrown, returned a verdict of wilful murder. There seemed, to be to any ordinary and partial mind, an overwhelming *primâ facie* case against Freeman and the Emergency men. It was sworn that the shot was a dull shot, and he (Mr. A. E. Pease) appealed to any Gentleman who had any knowledge of fire-arms to remember that a shot that strikes an animal was a dull shot. The police would not swear to any belief as to who fired the shot; but after the verdict the solicitor for the Crown spoke of the impartial manner in which the Coroner had conducted the inquiry. The men were committed for trial at Wicklow Assizes; the jury consisted of 24 gentlemen, of whom 22 were landlords and land agents; and, having served on Grand Juries, he could say that no impartial man would maintain that there was not a *primâ facie* case against Freeman. Although the jury was packed—it was exclusively Protestant, 23 Catholics having been ordered to stand aside — he could find no fault with their verdict. But the scandal of this case was brought into prominence by the manner in which a case, at which he was present, had been dealt with immediately before this at the Assizes. It was the trial of Waters in connection with the death of Constable Williams, and in that case a Protestant jury opposed to the prisoners was empanelled under the Crimes Act; the chief witness was an agent of the Executive in Ireland, and who confessed to having been sentenced over and over again for crimes, some of them almost too horrible to be mentioned in that House. When he contrasted the procedure in the case referred to with that in the case of Freeman he was bound to say there was a scandalous disparity in the method of meting out justice to Protestants on the one hand, who called themselves Loyalists, and to Catholics on the other. He had spoken plainly with regard to what he believed to be strong evidence against Freeman; on platforms in the country he had on one or two occasions alluded to the death of Kinsella, and to the manner in which the Grand Jury of landlords and agents had refused to put him on trial before a packed Petty Jury. And on one occasion, when he had confined himself to questions of evidence adduced at the Coroner's inquest, he received a letter from a firm of solicitors in Dublin threatening him with a prosecution for criminal libel for alluding to the case. He had, however, not been deterred from alluding to it, because he thought it was a good illus-

tration of the manner in which law and justice was meted out to the Irish political opponents of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. From personal inquiry he could substantiate the case to the details of which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had that evening alluded, and he hoped that the public would study it if they could get a correct report of the proceedings, because they would find in it one example among many that had occurred in Ireland of the unfair administration of justice in that country, which had done so much to bring English administration there into disrepute and the name of justice into contempt.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made merry at the end of his speech with Members on that side of the House, who, he said, had three or four matters which they were never weary of mentioning, and to which they practically confined themselves. They did not, at any rate, confine themselves to three or four subjects, however, with the same pleasing iteration with which the Government confined themselves to the case of the Curtins and Norah Fitzmaurice at every election since the General Election. He complained of the conduct of the Government in reference to the Mitchelstown riots, not because he thought they were to be blamed for policemen having gone wrong. He did not mean to say one word which would have the slightest personal application to the right hon. Gentleman; he recognized the distinguished ability with which he filled the Office to which he was appointed and his admirable fitness for it. If there had to be coercion, and the right hon. Gentleman had to be seated on the Treasury Bench for the purpose of carrying it out, he ventured to say that he was, perhaps, the model Member of the House to do the work. When they complained then of Mitchelstown they did not do so because they thought the Government should be blamed for the folly or rashness of policemen. What this Government did another Government might have the misfortune to do; and he thought that when there was a riot, and some reckless man had done what might cause bloodshed and death, to say that the Government was to be blamed for that would be what he, at all events, did not approve. But they complained that a murder having been committed, and he said deliberately, after reading with the greatest care the evidence at the inquest, that murder was committed by some one of the police on the occasion as clearly and certainly as ever was the case in the history of the world since Cain slew Abel. He believed that no man of intelligence or candour could read the evidence given at the inquest, and then examine the spot in question for himself, without coming to the conclusion that murder had been committed by the police. The allegation having been made in that House, and elsewhere, that a crime had been committed by the police, the Government, instead of leaving no stone unturned to have the matter investigated *coram populo* for their satisfaction, had thrown the broad shield of their protection over the men who committed it. That was their charge against the Government, and the result of their conduct was that the people of Ireland did not believe that they received at their hands the same justice and fair play—he would say the same favour—as was shown to the police. It was important that the Committee should consider the line which the Government had taken up with regard to this matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland said his first defence was that the police had fired at people who were apparently about to engage the police, who were kicking at the door, throwing stones at the windows, and that they did so in order to protect themselves. He was confident that the right hon. Gentleman had defended the police on the information which he had, and that the opinion in his own mind was, that there was an infuriated mob before the barracks which they had converted into a small bastile. He (Mr. Waddy) was quite prepared to take the evidence of the police alone, not forgetting that it came out in the evidence that they had been taken in hand by the District Inspector in order that they might have their evidence put right by him, and not forgetting that they were sent to Dublin and had their minds properly and adequately turned to the testimony it was right that they should give. Remembering all those things, he was prepared to say upon the

evidence the police gave that there was a purposed slaying of these particular men. The view lately set up by the Government was interesting and ingenious. It was now as certain as the day that there was no crowd but an open space in front of the barracks, and that at the time no attack was made upon them. As no one was in front to shoot the police did not shoot anyone in front, and anyone who was wounded must have been hit at a considerable angle. The defence was therefore set up that it was not intended to shoot down Lonergan, but that he was struck by a ricochet shot. He believed that account came out first at Battersea on the 16th of May, and he was determined to destroy the ricochet notion once for all that evening. He thought it a little too bad that a man in the position of the right hon. Gentleman, with the weight of his name and Office, should speak of the Coroner's jury in such terms as these—

"Even a corrupt Coroner's jury admitted that the man who gave the order to fire was right in giving the order."

But then came the first suggestion of ricochet. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"And from all I can learn about the situation of those killed, I believe they could not have been killed by direct fire from the barrack window. One of them at least, unquestionably, was killed by a ricochet shot which glanced from some obstacle or stone building in the way, although the evidence was not quite so certain in the other cases."

The words of the right hon. Gentleman were "from some obstacle or stone building," and he asked him which he proposed to maintain—he did not suppose that he meant the ground.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I meant exactly what I said. I meant an obstacle. That is an absolute interpretation of the word, and to that I adhere.

MR. WADDY said, he was glad to have that explanation, although it was no explanation. Until the last two or three days the theory had always been that this was a ricochet shot bounding off from some building at the side of the street. On the 28th of June Mr. Colomb made a report, valuable because it emphasized in the clearest way the interpretation which he (Mr. Waddy) had put upon the words of the right hon. Gentleman, and which everyone else would apply to them; and in the report he said—

"Lonergan must have been struck by a ricochet shot, because I found, when I visited Michelstown, that it is impossible to discharge a rifle from any of the Mitchelstown barrack windows in a direction to strike without ricochet any part of the square."

It was interesting to observe that there could be no doubt with regard to the spot, which was at once identified at the inquest, almost before the blood was dry, and at night it was left marked with the laurels referred to again and again in the evidence. It was known to the police and to the townspeople, and it was given in evidence, that "the stone crosses which are placed there accurately marked the spot." His hon. Friend the Member for Holmfirth (Mr. H. J. Wilson) had effectually disposed of the proposition made on behalf of the police that it was impossible to kill a man from the windows of the barracks by a direct shot; and he (Mr. Waddy) said it was absolutely impossible that the man could have been killed by a ricochet, unless it was said that the bullet cannoned from one side of the road to the other. The poor man who was slain stood seven yards at least behind the line of houses, and therefore, if it was a ricochet, the bullet must have ricochetted from one wall and then through the wall of a house. Anyone who would look at the map prepared by Mr. Colomb would see that this was absolutely and entirely impossible. A man was killed by a direct shot; if that was intended, he said, deliberately, it was a case of murder, and ought, at all events, to be investigated. He would tell the Committee why he ventured to say that the police themselves were sufficient for his purpose. He had in his hand a verbatim newspaper report, by which it appeared that the first policeman called said that he fired in the direction of the crowd; at the crowd at the corner, in the direction of two people who were throwing stones; that he believed the shot took effect; that he saw a man fall in the Square. Now there was only one man who fell in the Square, and that man was Lonergan. Brennan said further that he fired a second shot at the crowd. The next policeman called was Ryder, who said that he had tried to kill when he fired. There was no attack then being made, and he challenged any lawyer to say, under the circumstances, there could be any justification for this. This policeman said, further, that he had

singled out a person; that he had aimed to kill; that he did not know whether the bullet hit him or not, but his opinion was that it ought to have hit some person. Brennan, who was also called, said that he fired in the direction of the Square; that he fired to wound; and he was forced to say afterwards, "Well, I fired to kill." If there were any doubt with regard to this, the other facts of the case dispelled it entirely. A man and a boy had been shot, and no justification had been alleged in that case; further to the right Lonergan was shot, and died on the spot. He was doing no harm; he was not attacking the barracks. Still, no attempt was made to justify the act. But that was not all. Just opposite, in another direction, there was the house of Mr. O'Brien, who, as he stood at his own door, looked up, mechanically, and saw a rifle poked through a window in his direction; he turned round the corner, but he was only just in time, for directly he had gone away the bullet came true to its mark. He, too, was doing no harm. Again, there had been no explanation. Then there was Mr. Costello's shop, where there was a fan-light looking down a passage and another fan-light at the end; and when the firing began—two or three young women standing near—Costello shut the door; and he had no sooner done it than a girl, a milliner's assistant, came hammering at the door to be admitted. At that time the people were beginning to fall. Costello opened the door and let the girl in directly. She, and other poor girls who were already in, were frightened out of their lives lest the police should come in, and they went into the passage. What took place? The girl who last came in was so terrified and shocked that it was too much for her, and she was dead of the fright in 36 hours. Although there were 70 feet between them and the police, the girls got in such a position that they could be seen by the men at the police barracks who were kneeling down. Directly the young women inside the house, flying for protection, got within the line of fire four bullets came right through the fan-light upon them. There were the holes made by the bullets to be seen to this day; he had seen them. Do not tell the country that there was not an intention to fire. It was a panic, if they liked; it was a thoughtless, wicked act, if they liked; and he did not blame the Government because it happened, but he did blame the Government for not knowing what he had stated when they might have known it. If they did not know it, but would make any decent inquiry in regard to the matter, they would discover the absolute accuracy of every word he had said. He had been on the spot; he went there with the Government plan in his hand; he went there with a still larger and better plan which he had had prepared by a civil engineer. With the greatest care he endeavoured to ascertain the real truth, because he thought the matter ought to be investigated. Do not let anyone tell him that there was any necessity for the police on that day to force their way through the crowd. It was known from the policemen's own evidence that they used their batons in order to get in among the horses. They began the affray; there was no necessity for it, but they had persuaded the Chief Secretary that there was no possibility of getting to the speakers without the use of force. It was a falsity; there was nothing to prevent them getting round; the square was a large one, and only one-fourth of it was filled by the crowd. There was a street nearly exactly opposite the police barracks, and the police had nothing to do but to go up that, turn along another street, and then they would have been at the very place they wanted to be at. There was not the slightest reason or justification for what they did. In the face of these facts he asked the Government whether they were prepared to give some definite answer? It was no use to talk about ancient history—it was a continuing evil, it was a daily denial of justice, it was a fresh wrong done every year—until there was an investigation into this matter. What he and his hon. Friends complained of was not the original mischief, but it was that the power and the authority of the Government of this Empire was used to uphold what the Irish people firmly believed, and what others with them believed, to be a gross denial of justice, and a gross public wrong. The question was whether that was to be allowed or not? They could not forget that this exceeding mildness to one class of the people was not indicative with regard to others.

Mr. Waddy

He attended at the Court at Arthurstown when Mr. William Redmond was tried for the part he had taken at the Coolroe evictions. He (Mr. Waddy) was interested to see the way in which Ireland was being governed, and he went to Arthurstown. He had with him two gentlemen who were very well known to many Members of the House, Mr. Byles, of Bradford, and Mr. Ponsonby. The police were quite adequate to preserve order, except that he knew perfectly well by experience that instead of preserving order they were far more likely to make a row. He and his friends took the trouble to count the people at Arthurstown. Arthurstown was a small place—indeed it was a mere village. They counted all the men as they went down the street, and they found that the entire number of civilians there was about 58, including the people who were on their trial. They also counted the police who were present to take charge of the people. They did not count them all, because some of them were just outside the town, but they did find that there were inside the town 68 police to take charge of 58 men. What was the result? There were some men who had come from New Ross, about eight or nine miles away; they were going back in a wagonette drawn by a pair of horses, and they had brass musical instruments with them. They got to the extreme limit of the little village, just outside the police station, when they found that the police, who were drawn up across the road, positively refused to allow the wagonette to pass. Just think of the folly of such a proceeding! If these men had been the wickedest people in the world he should suppose that the best thing to do was to get rid of them. They were not allowed to go the particular way they wanted. What was the reason no one could tell. They could not do any harm, and surely the best thing that could happen was to let them go. But, rather than let them go, an attack must be made on the wagonette, and the brass musical instruments broken. The scrimmage took place in pure savagery; and in order that nothing should be left to tell the tale the drum itself was carefully stabbed by a bayonet. Next morning he saw one man whose cheek had been cut to the bone by the police when making a charge right down the street to clear it. The man was doing nothing, but simply standing in the street. The police, no doubt, felt they must do something to justify their existence when they were there in such large crowds. Now, let him give a contrast to that. He went over to Limerick at the request of one of his hon. Friends, and he met an hon. Member who had to speak there upon the occasion. Limerick stood upon the side of the Shannon, with the principal street running parallel with the river. Upon the occasion of which he spoke the number of persons in the town was variously calculated, but, at any rate, there were thousands present. Before the meeting took place he was informed by the Mayor, who was now a Member of the House of Commons, that there had been an interview between him and one of the magistrates. The magistrate said he was going to have the meeting proclaimed. Whereupon the Mayor said, whether it was proclaimed or not it was going to be held. "Well," said the magistrate, "but who is to be responsible for the peace of the town?" "I will," said the Mayor, "on one condition." "What is that?" asked the magistrate; and the reply was, "That you keep the police away." He (Mr. Waddy) should think that that was an unparalleled request; but as the one expedient to preserve law and order the police and the soldiery were withdrawn from the City. The City was filled with strangers; it was just upon the borders of Clare and very near Kerry; people came in by all kind of vehicles and in all kind of ways; people came from the disturbed districts, where they were not to be trusted; but from one end of Limerick to the other there was not the slightest disorder. He walked through the town on purpose that he might make his own investigations as completely as he could. He did not see a particle of disorder, nor did he ever see—perhaps it was too early in the day—one case of drunkenness. Why was this? Because he could not see the nose of a single soldier or policeman in the whole place. It had got to this in Ireland—that, if they wanted to preserve the peace, they must withdraw the guardians of the peace; and if, on the other hand, they wanted to have a disturbance, let them bring in the police. Then they would have a riot, or, as they had had at Mitchelstown, not only a riot, but bloodshed. They could not expect the

Irish people to bear this, and therefore he joined in supporting the present Motion. Personally, he should be very sorry to see the salary of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant reduced; but he supported this Motion because it was the only way, clumsy as it was, that Members had of protesting against what they believed to be misgovernment, and which was not known to Members on the Treasury Bench. He did not believe they were informed of these things by their police and others; he did not think they knew the actual truth. He would not detain the Committee any longer, but he thought it desirable that the Government should take into their own careful consideration all these facts, which, sooner or later, they would find too strong for them.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) carefully avoided what he (Mr. Dillon) considered to be one of the gravest charges that had been levelled against the Government—namely, the charge of administering the laws in a one-sided spirit. It was of no use for a country to have good laws if those laws were not properly administered. He had always held, and he believed it had been held by many Englishmen as well as Irishmen who had devoted attention to the social condition of Ireland, that perhaps the greatest of all the curses which had troubled, and disturbed, and filled that country with ruin and disorder, had been the deep-seated conviction in the minds of the masses of the people in Ireland that they could not look to the administration of the law for justice; that the privileged classes of Ireland had greater influence in the Castle and with the heads of the Executive than they ought to have; that the law was turned against the poor people, against the Nationalists, and that it was not administered with an even hand. He maintained that that charge could be brought home to the Government, and that no charge which the ingenuity of man could devise could be graver or more serious. Let him turn for a moment to the Kinsella case. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), without commenting on this case, used words which were strictly accurate, for he said, in describing the events which took place at the inquest, that there was some sort of a trial of the man who was charged with the murder of Kinsella. The Chief Secretary to-night, and on previous occasions, when replying to the right hon. Gentleman, said, in a scornful tone, that the case was tried by a Judge and an ordinary jury, and not dealt with under the Crimes Act at all. He proposed to examine what amount of truth there was in the right hon. Gentleman's statement. The only defence set up was that the case was submitted to an ordinary jury in the ordinary way, and that the jury acquitted the prisoners, and that a Judge presided over the trial. In the first place, the case was not submitted to a jury constituted under the ordinary law; it was a Crimes Act jury; it was a special panel of the county constituted under the Crimes Act. But that, after all, was a matter of trivial importance. In order to appreciate the full weight of his case that the law was administered in a one-sided spirit, they must compare the way in which the trial of George Freeman, and the other men who were charged with the murder of Kinsella, was conducted, with the way in which the trial—say, of the men who attacked Sexton's house in Clare was conducted. The men who attacked Sexton's house were farmers' sons or poor men, and the offence took place in a Catholic County. Under the Crimes Act the Government had the power of changing the venue and of empanelling a special jury. In the case of the alleged Moonlighters the Government, of course, exercised that power; they did three things—they changed the venue from Clare to Wicklow, because Wicklow had an extremely Orange jury list, and they called for a special jury. Having got a special jury to try the prisoners, they challenged every Roman Catholic that came to the Book until they got a purely Protestant jury. Furthermore, they were not content with challenging every Roman Catholic, but they challenged every Protestant who came forward and was suspected of having Liberal opinions, until they empanelled a jury whose names would remind one of the muster-roll of Cromwell's Army in Ireland. What did the Government do with George Freeman and his friends? George Freeman committed his crime at Coolgreaney. He

and his friends were in the payment of an association which numbered among its ranks nearly every one of the leading landlords in Wexford and Wicklow. The Crown had it in their power to transfer the venue to Clare or to some other southern county, but they did not change the venue, neither did they resist, which they might have done successfully, an application for a special jury. They allowed Freeman and his friends to be tried by a jury selected, practically speaking, from their own paymasters and employers. That was not all. When they came to examine the way in which the trial was conducted, the action of the Crown appeared to be even worse than these preliminary proceedings would make one suspect. There were, to his own knowledge, for he was present at the inquest, three men who swore that they were standing opposite George Freeman, and that they saw him lay his revolver across his wrist, and say he would shoot Kinsella through the heart if he did not throw his pitchfork down. They swore that they saw Freeman level his revolver at Kinsella and put a bullet through his heart. These three men went before the Grand Jury composed of the landlords of the county who were trying the Emergency men, and swore that they saw the murder committed with their own eyes. The Grand Jury, however, threw out the bill against George Freeman, a thing which, he believed, hon. Members would seek for in vain in the whole annals of criminal justice in any country in the world. The weight of testimony was against Freeman, but the Grand Jury threw out the bill, and it was sought to be contended that on that account the other men charged must be innocent. What happened when at last the case came for trial? Did the Attorney General, who, in the case of the Clare men, was careful to challenge every Roman Catholic who came forward as juror, challenge the Protestants and Orangemen in the Kinsella case? No; he let every single Orangeman be sworn, and never exercised the right of challenge, as far as he (Mr. Dillon) was informed, at all. The Attorney General turned the whole proceedings into a perfect farce, and the men who were charged with the murder of Kinsella were laughing at the witnesses as they came up. Let him direct attention to a few incidents during the trial. He believed that in the whole annals of the administration of justice there was not a more extraordinary instance of bare-faced collusion between the Crown and the accused than this. First of all, let him direct attention to the fact that the Property Defence Association, which included among its members many of those who formed the Grand Jury, had the indecency, on the 17th of November, just previous to the trial, to issue a circular, signed by Lord Courtown, the chairman of the Grand Jury of the neighbouring county, calling on the landlords of Ireland to take the opportunity of coming forward with their subscriptions and expressing their gratitude to the men who had served them. They actually invited subscriptions for these very men. At the trial Mr. Justice O'Brien asked one of the witnesses, "Were you evicted for non-payment of rent, or was your farm sold?" The witness said, "I was evicted for non-payment of rent." The Judge said, "Then you can redeem; has the period for redemption lapsed?" and the reply was, "No; there are a few days left." The Judge said—

"Well, I need not point out to you that those few days are of more importance to you than appearing here as a witness for the Crown."

He (Mr. Dillon) asked hon. Members, as Englishmen, whether they would tolerate such language from a Judge in this country? Here was a poor man coming forward as a witness to swear to a murder. What had the Judge to do with the question whether he had redeemed his farm? What business was it of the Judge to browbeat a witness?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I rise to Order, Mr. Chairman. Is it in Order for the hon. Gentleman to attack the conduct of one of Her Majesty's Judges?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is well known it is outside the province of a Member of this Committee.

MR. DILLON said, he should, of course, make no further reference to the matter. Indeed, he had been led to make a reference to it by the right hon. Gentleman who found fault with him for criticizing it, and who yet had not been ashamed to say that Mr. Justice O'Brien was one of the most impartial Judges on the Bench. He recognized fully that the right hon. Gentleman had a weak case, and that he did not like to have it attacked. He thought he had

made out a strong case for the statement that in the two parallel cases, in the one instance in which the peasantry of Clare, Roman Catholics and Nationalists, were placed on their trial, and in the other instance where men in the payment of Orange landlords in Wicklow were placed on their trial, the law did not stand impartially between the two classes of people and the officials of the Crown, who now ruled Ireland with all the irresponsibility of Turkish Pachas. These officials resorted to every contrivance to secure the conviction of the peasants from Clare, and treated them with the most shameful and horrible cruelty and unfairness. These men were now doing 10 years' penal servitude, while a man who committed a cold-blooded murder in the open day, and before the eyes of three or four witnesses who came to swear to the details of the transaction, was, by the collusion of the Crown, walking about the country triumphantly. That was the kind of justice they had been taught to expect in Ireland. Let him pursue the matter a little further. Whenever they took up any general line of attack on the Government it had been said, "Oh, these are isolated cases, and you can only pick out one or two cases." He contended that this was not a question of isolated cases. He contended that the detestable poison of one-sidedness and unfairness permeated the administration of the law from its highest point down to the lowest police magistrate in Ireland. The whole machinery of the law was strained to breaking point in order to rob the poorer class of the people of their liberties. What were the facts in the case of the Templemore murder? A man named Lloyd was going home from the fair of Templemore in the company of an Emergency man. The man was a small farmer in the district. A poor man in the town who knew him went after him, and had some conversation with him, in the course of which Lloyd was heard by some of the bystanders to take an oath, and to say to the Emergency man—"Shoot the ruffian!" The Emergency man thereupon shot the man through the heart. What was the consequence? This crime was committed in open daylight, and was witnessed by several people; but when the case came on for trial the usual course where landlords or the friends of the landlords had to be tried was pursued. The Government did not change the venue, Lloyd was put on his trial before a jury of the very district in which he committed the deed, and he was allowed to get a special jury in order that he might be put on his trial before anti-Nationalists, and therefore his own confederates. Had he been a poor peasant he would not have been tried in North Tipperary, but dragged away to Wicklow, and put on his trial before a packed jury. When the trial came on the Crown did not challenge anybody. The Judge, Mr. Justice O'Brien, intimated plainly that though he shot—well, he would not express what he thought of the Judge's charge—the Judge intimated plainly that he thought it was a case of murder. It was absolutely impossible, on the face of the evidence, for the jury to acquit the prisoner, because there was no attempt to break down the case, and the deed was witnessed by a number of people. But the defence of manslaughter was put in, and the jury convicted of manslaughter a man who had committed as cold-blooded a murder and as unprovoked a murder as was ever heard of, because there was no evidence that he got any provocation from the man shot. The Judge sentenced Lloyd to five years' penal servitude. How, in the face of such facts, could anyone get up in the House of Commons and tell them that justice was administered with impartiality and fairness throughout Ireland? He could give the Committee numberless instances of the same sort, but he would resist the temptation on the present occasion. He would content himself by directing attention for a few moments to the case tried recently at the Wicklow Assizes, known as the Belfast frauds. In that case men were guilty of one of the most horrible offences that men could possibly be guilty of. It turned out in the course of the trial that the accused had been engaged in widespread conspiracy for the purpose of defrauding Insurance Companies by a course which nearly always ended in murder. They obtained insurances on lives, and in one or two instances there was very strong presumptive evidence that they hastened death by priming their victims with whiskey. The Crown pursued exactly the same course they always pursued when they were trying Loyalists. They

did change the venue in this case; but they changed it to Co. Wicklow. They let the prisoners get a special jury, which meant, of course, a Protestant jury. The evidence, however, was so strong that there was no possibility of an acquittal, and the men were convicted. [*Ministerial cries of* "Hear, hear!"] Certainly they were convicted; that was what he was coming to; no jury in the world could have acquitted the men. What happened in the course of the trial? By a most scandalous arrangement with the Crown counsel, Mr. Chestnutt Smith, who had been the secretary of the Liberal Unionist Association, who nobly personified that commercial probity which was not to be found among the Parnellites at all, who received the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) on the occasion of his visit to Ulster, and who was never tired of dilating upon the enormities of the Parnellites, was allowed to turn informer on his accomplices, although the Crown had ample evidence to convict the whole gang. Mr. Chestnutt Smith was permitted to turn Queen's evidence, being, by his own admissions one of the greatest scoundrels of the whole lot. In the course of the trial one of the witnesses swore that Mr. Chestnutt Smith was a very pious and Gospel young man. His portrait, no doubt, would ornament a Sunday magazine. Mr. Robert Dunlop, who was one of the chief organizers of the conspiracy, was a man worth £80,000, and yet he was unable to resist the temptation to engage in this detestable and abominable system of fraud which led men into the committal of the vilest crimes. One of the prisoners was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, but Mr. Robert Dunlop got nine months. He got nine months as a common prisoner, but a couple of days after his conviction he was removed from one gaol to another, and they were told that at the time he was wearing a tall silk hat. The law could not be broken against a Parnellite Member of Parliament, but against such rogues and ruffians as that it could be broken. So scandalous were the whole transactions connected with the Belfast frauds that *The Dublin Daily Express*, the organ of the Orange Party in Ireland, spoke of it in this way—

"After a trial which kept the Court for four days, the prisoners were found guilty and sentenced—to penal servitude? No; but to nine months' imprisonment without hard labour. We venture to think that the punishment will excite as much astonishment from its lightness as did the frauds themselves for their enormity."

He (Mr. Dillon) maintained that it was an outrage and an atrocity that a poor man, who was driven to desperation, and who re-entered his house by what was called "forcible possession," should be sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, while this worthy gentleman, Mr. Robert Dunlop, should receive a somewhat similar sentence for an offence for which he ought to have got 10 years' penal servitude. What was the reason for the difference; could anyone say that if Dunlop had been a Nationalist he would have got off with nine months' imprisonment?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am reluctant to interfere with the hon. Member for East Mayo, but it must be obvious that what he has been entering upon is not appropriate to this Vote, but appropriate to the Votes in the next class relating to the administration of justice. The discussion has travelled extremely wide of the Motion. It was opened by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in connection with many trials, but I think that in each one of those cases the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has associated himself by his expressions out-of-doors with what has been done, and has connected himself not only officially, but personally, with the matters. It would be more convenient to the despatch of Business if the discussion of this Vote were confined to actions for which the Chief Secretary is personally responsible.

MR. DILLON said, he was led into the line of argument by the course which the debate had taken. He presumed that upon this Vote he might be allowed to refer to the method in which the machinery of the Crimes Act—he meant that portion of the machinery referring to Resident Magistrates—was worked. He presumed that the arrangement of Benches of Magistrates, and the directions as to whether cases were to be tried under the Crimes Act or the ordinary law, came from the Castle itself, and he wanted to give one very striking and extreme case for the purpose of

proving the proposition which he should shortly state. It was this: In Ireland, at present, the Crown used the Crimes Act in a great number of cases for the purpose of obtaining convictions where they did not think they had got any case at all.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, perhaps it might be convenient that he should state now that he never, under any circumstances whatever, gave the directions to which the hon. Gentleman had referred. He did not wish to stop the discussion, but he thought it necessary to make this statement.

MR. DILLON said, that in that case he would not pursue that line of argument any further, but perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would inform them, for the convenience of subsequent discussion, who was responsible for the directions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is either the Attorney General for Ireland or the Divisional Magistrate.

MR. DILLON: There is no Divisional Magistrate in the district I speak of—it is in County Louth.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is a Divisional Magistrate everywhere.

MR. DILLON said, that perhaps it would be as well he should postpone the discussion of the matter until the Vote for the salaries of the Divisional Magistrates, and of the Attorney General for Ireland, was brought on. Now he came to this one point, with which he proposed to conclude the observations he had to make to-night. The point was personal to the Chief Secretary himself. The right hon. Gentleman made a charge against him on an occasion on which the right hon. Gentleman really ought to have avoided charges of such a character. He conceived the charge to be one of the most offensive charges ever made against him in the course of his life. It was made on the 26th of June of this year, and it was that it had been given in evidence at a trial by one of the witnesses for the Crown that he, that was to say the witness, was moved to attempt the murder of Mr. Sexton by a speech delivered by Mr. Dillon. That was a terrible charge to be made against a Member of the House, and clearly it ought not to be made against a Member when he was lying in gaol. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

"Perhaps the House will allow me to read the evidence, and I will quote it from *The Freeman's Journal*,"

and then the right hon. Gentleman went on to give the evidence. Now, he (Mr. Dillon) knew the case to which the right hon. Gentleman referred very well. It was the case of a magisterial investigation into the attack on Sexton's house, in County Clare. In the first place, the witness was one of the characteristic specimens of the support of which the Crown lent in Ireland; he was the well known informer, Cullinane. But Cullinane did not swear that he, in his innocence, was urged to attempt the crime by a speech of his (Mr. Dillon's), but what he did swear was that some other fellow told him he was incited to this crime by the words he (Mr. Dillon) had spoken at a meeting in Ennis. Therefore the Chief Secretary's speech was inaccurate, but the inaccuracy was a very small part of what seemed to him (Mr. Dillon) to be the gross unfairness of the charge. The natural, and he supposed the intended, effect to be produced upon the minds of anyone who read the Chief Secretary's words was, that he (Mr. Dillon) had advised a man to commit the crime of murder. As he had said, the man never swore anything of the kind. All he said was that another man had told him that he had been incited to an attack on Sexton's house. But it ought to be noticed that there was no question of murder from the beginning of the transaction to the end. Cullinane never swore that it was intended to murder the man Sexton. He never swore that the prisoner had told him he meant to murder Sexton at his (Mr. Dillon's) incitement. What he did swear was that the man said he was incited by his (Mr. Dillon's) speech to visit Sexton's house. What their intention might be was open to opinion; it was not stated. Whatever the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman was, he had no right to put words in the mouth of this detestable informer when they were never uttered. Was it a decent or honourable act to charge a Member of this House, in his absence, with so foul and dishonouring a charge, on the faith of Cullinane, the informer? The right hon. Gentleman had no other ground whatever to go upon. What was the history of Cullinane? Cullinane swore at the trial

that he had been a police spy for seven years. He admitted, on cross-examination, that he was twice expelled from the Army for theft, that he was twice convicted of petty larceny, that he had been convicted for perjury, and had served a term of penal servitude for it, that he was convicted of several other different kinds of crimes, and, finally, that he was convicted of a crime for which he was tried by magistrates with the doors closed to the public, because the details were so shocking that the Press were not allowed to publish them, and that for that crime also he had served out a term of penal servitude. He admitted, on cross-examination also, that the police, being aware of these facts, retained him in their pay for several years. He (Mr. Dillon) charged the Government with keeping that man in their pay in order to induce him to go round the country moonlighting.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to make a charge of that kind.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is true.

MR. DILLON said, he would withdraw the charge. Of course, he did not make the charge against the Government, but against the police of Ireland. He maintained that it was rather a new duty of the police in modern times to extend the sphere of the informer. Certainly it was a most monstrous thing for a Minister of the Crown to charge a Member of the House with inciting to murder upon the word of a man like Cullinane. Of course, he did not expect any apology from the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman was not in the habit of making apologies, but he was perfectly confident that if he (Mr. Dillon) were an Englishman the right hon. Gentleman would make a very humble apology to him. He had alluded to the matter because he thought it was pertinent to the Chief Secretary's Vote, and he thought he had proved that the statement was grossly inaccurate, but that even if it was accurate it was a grossly improper statement. Cullinane undoubtedly, at the police investigation, did make that statement in answer to a leading question from the Counsel of the Crown, who put it to him in this way:—"Did so-and-so (namely, the prisoner) make any allusion to Mr. Dillon's speech?" and then Cullinane gave the answer attributed to him. One of the police officers in charge of the prosecution said, in the presence of a friend of his (Mr. Dillon's), that that was one of the most infamous transactions he had ever seen in a Court of Justice. In the interval between the police investigation in Ennis and the trial in Wicklow, the Crown amended their hand, for they never put the question to the witness. They were ashamed. They saw they had carried the game too far, and they did not attempt to ask the man whether his (Mr. Dillon's) speech had had any effect on the moonlighting outrage. He supposed Cullinane was at present carrying on his operations. There was evidence at the trial that Cullinane went to the police at Ennis two days before the attack on Sexton's house, and told them all the details of the attack, that the police constable gave him half a sovereign and sent him on his way to carry on the outrage, that the police constable went out two hours afterwards and found Cullinane lying in the gutter of the town unable to move, that they picked him up, took him to the police station, washed, him, sobered him, and started him out again with 7*s.* 6*d.* more to carry out the attack on Sexton's house. When the attack was made the captain of the gang was his friend Cullinane. Cullinane was the man who knocked at the door, he was the man who directed the operations, and he (Mr. Dillon) maintained that it was most extraordinary that facts of this kind should be allowed to go by without any explanation from the Government. He wanted to know, and he thought he was entitled to ask, whether Cullinane was still in the pay of the police, and whether, in the case of many of the unfortunate men who were convicted for the attack on Sexton's house, the conviction did not largely rest on the evidence of this perjured and detestable informer, who first lured them into committing the crime, and then sold them to the police? It was monstrous that creatures of this kind should still be retained in the service of the police, and be allowed to go about performing their attrocious work.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not propose to go through the whole speech of the hon. Member. A good deal of what the hon. Member had said was perhaps relevant to other Votes, but in the concluding part of his speech he made some observations which he was

bound to deal with. The hon. Member referred to some observations he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) made in June last, but at which, unfortunately, he had not had time to look. The hon. Gentleman accused him of having said that a speech of the hon. Member had moved the informer Cullinane to the outrage of which Whelehan was the victim. He might have said so inadvertently, but he could not put his finger on the passage in the report of the speech he had before him. But Cullinane was undoubtedly a man of bad character, and he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) could not conceive it would have been relevant to any argument he was addressing to the House on the occasion referred to to prove that Cullinane was influenced by anything the hon. Member had said. But he undoubtedly did say that a speech made by the hon. Member was alleged to have been largely responsible for the unfortunate affray in which Whelehan lost his life.

MR. DILLON: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to read the passage. The words appear on page 1383, and they are as follows:—

"It was given in evidence at the trial by one of the witnesses for the Crown that he was moved to attempt the crime of murdering Sexton by a speech delivered by Mr. Dillon." —(3 *Hansard*, [327] 1383.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he perfectly admitted he said that one of those guilty of the crime had been moved to it by the speech of the hon. Gentleman, but he did not think it was likely he accused the hon. Member of having influenced this particular man, who was a man of bad character, and who, he should think, was influenced by nothing but money. He did undoubtedly hold the hon. Member responsible for certain speeches he made in respect to land-grabbing in that part of the country. If the hon. Gentleman wanted his opinion on the subject, he repeated now most distinctly, though he did not accuse him of desiring that any men should be murdered for the offence of grabbing farms, that the kind of speech the hon. Gentleman made at Ennis on the occasion in question, and which his political associates had constantly made and were constantly making, had influenced public opinion in the districts in which the speeches were made in such a manner that they were indirectly, if not intentionally, responsible for some of the ghastly crimes under which Ireland suffered.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton): My motive in rising is the same as that put forward by the right hon. Gentleman. Some observations have been made in the debate personal to myself, and these observations demand an answer, and demand an answer while they are still fresh in the recollection of the Committee. I have the less hesitation in referring to them, because in answering the charges I shall clearly show what, in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of many Members of the House, is the difference between the right and the wrong way of governing Ireland. The remarks to which I particularly wish to reply are those made by the Chief Secretary on the treatment of what I will call political prisoners. Speaking at Leeds, the right hon. Gentleman said that as soon as the Irish Members began to "make a row" the old method of treatment which Lord Spencer had adopted with regard to persons imprisoned for speeches was altered. In the first place, I must put in a word of protest against this description of the action of the Irish Members. A great many inferences have been drawn from the conduct of leading Members of the Government, of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, but I say that neither the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, nor Lord Spencer, nor anyone occupying a responsible position in connection with the Government of Ireland of the time, ever used such an expression as the Irish Members making a row in the House. I would like to know what more legitimate and constitutional use this House can be put to than to bring before the notice of the Government grievances — grievances which, when brought before the notice of the Government, are remedied? In order to show that the charges of the right hon. Gentleman against Lord Spencer are off the mark, I will very shortly describe what actually happened when attention was called in the House to the fact that the hon. Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington) was treated like a common criminal. Correspondence and telegrams passed between myself in London and Lord Spencer, and Lord Spencer, at a very early date, communicated by

letter with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), who at that time was Home Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby wrote to the effect that in England he considered that the Secretary of State had absolute authority to deal with the treatment of particular prisoners as he thought fit under the circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman added—

"Of course, the regular rules are not departed from except for special and sufficient reasons. I have so departed from the regular rules in Davitt's case. I thought in that case undue severity would do more harm than good. I did not make a formal or official order, but I gave private instructions through the Prison Commissioner to the Governor of the gaol, that special leniency as to diet, employment, &c., was to be used."

That was the advice the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby gave to Lord Spencer, in the form of an allusion to the conduct which he himself had adopted in what was practically a similar case. Now the question was, if this was the right treatment to be pursued, by what method it should be carried out, and whether it was within the power of the Lord Lieutenant to order it? Lord Spencer, on examination, discovered that he had the power under the Statute. There was an Act passed in the year 1877 which bore upon Ireland. The Act set forth the case in these words—

"The Prisons Board shall, subject to such directions as they may from time to time receive from the Lord Lieutenant, and to the provisions of the Act, have the control and management of prisons and the prisoners therein,"

and Lord Spencer conceived that the words—

"The directions which from time to time they shall receive from the Lord Lieutenant,"

gave him the authority which he wished to exercise in Ireland.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Is there any Memorandum?

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: I will tell my story, and I will see what part of the story the right hon. Gentleman requests to have more information about. Acting under the spirit, and, as he believed, the letter of this Act, Lord Spencer took steps for relaxing the treatment of the hon. Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington). I will not detail the relaxations which were made. I believe them to have been considerable. A little while afterwards there was another "row" amongst the Irish Members—

"Mr. O'Brien asked the Chief Secretary whether Mr. John O'Brien, Mr. James Gilhooly, and Mr. Hodnett, at present undergoing imprisonment in Cork Gaol, for words spoken at a public meeting in Bantry, were subject to treatment prescribed for common criminals; and, if so, would he advise that the relaxations allowed in the case of Mr. T. C. Harrington, M.P., should be extended to these gentlemen?"

The answer I gave to that was that the subject was under consideration. Then Colonel King-Harman—

"Asked the Chief Secretary whether it was true that a person named Thomas Harrington, undergoing a sentence of imprisonment in Mullingar Gaol, is allowed indulgences inconsistent with the strict rule?"

And I stated that the Lord Lieutenant had instructed the Prison Authorities that such relaxations of the Prison Rules might be made as were consistent with the maintenance of prison discipline, and as the law would permit, and very shortly after that, with regard to the other men who were convicted and punished in consequence of speeches they had spoken and writings they had written, the same relaxation as had been given to Mr. Harrington was extended to them. The Chief Secretary, speaking, I think, at Leeds, thought it necessary to make an apology to Lord Spencer on account of a passage in a previous speech in which he stated that Lord Spencer had adopted exactly the same method with regard to Mr. Harrington as he himself had adopted towards other prisoners who were imprisoned for the same offences. With regard to that apology, all I can say is that those who heard the apology which the right hon. Gentleman made to me early this evening, for a gross mis-statement in regard to me, may have some idea, but only a very faint idea, of the impropriety of the apology he made to Lord Spencer. But in making the apology he said a good deal more. He said—

"Let me point out that in so acting Lord Spencer was guilty of the gravest official error. The Prisons Board of Ireland is the Supreme Court of Law over the subordinate prison officials. Every order which is given to the prison officials ought to be given through the Prisons Board. It appears from Lord Spencer's own confession, it appears even more conclu-

sively from inquiries I myself have made, that Lord Spencer gave his orders orally in this matter to the Governor and officials of the prison where Mr. Harrington was confined, that he never consulted the Prisons Board on the subject, and that they gave no orders, and that he went behind their backs in order to make that illegal alteration in the treatment of one of the prisoners committed to the charge of the Prisons Board."

Now what did Lord Spencer do? Did he go behind the backs of the Prisons Board? His account is as follows:—

"I simply have not the slightest recollection of acting in an improper way behind the backs of the Prisons Board. Quite the contrary. So far as my recollection goes—but I have no documentary evidence to prove it—I have distinct recollection of having an interview with one of the Board and telling him that I wished to be done what was done in England, and suggesting that an Inspector should go down to any prison when necessary in order to use his discretion."

It was a custom of Lord Spencer's to carry on such business by having personal interviews with officials. I remember, when he was selecting the Land Commissioners, he had interviews lasting about a quarter of an hour with about 120 gentlemen. There was no labour that he did not go through in order to make himself personally cognizant of the people who served under him, and his nature was to carry on all the business he had by personal interview, and especially where he wished to pay respect, and rather extra respect, to the officials who were serving under him. Therefore, when this extremely delicate and novel question, for such it was, came before him, he did what he always did when delicate and novel questions arose and had a personal interview with an important member of the Prisons Board, the result of which interview was that Mr. O'Brien, the Vice Chairman of the Board, went himself down to Galway and informed Mr. Harrington personally of the relaxation of prison discipline which was going to take place. Now, as regards the method by which the thing was done, I do not think it could possibly be done with more delicacy and more discretion, and as regards the substance of the matter, as to whether it was right or not, it was quite evident that the Home Secretary and the Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) and the Viceroy of Ireland held what I conceive to be undoubted principle of right, that persons who are imprisoned for acts committed with public and political motives, which in themselves were not crimes, ought to be treated differently from ordinary criminals. Now, that principle the late Government always endeavoured to observe. We treated Moonlighters and men who had committed outrages like ordinary criminals, but when you come to these persons who, in the state that the country was then in, and in the political excitement that had long been prevailing, had done acts which by a liberal and generous construction could be considered to be political, we treated them differently from ordinary criminals. If we did not do so in every case I am sorry that we did not; but we laid down the principle that they ought to be treated differently from ordinary criminals, and that it was our intention so to do. Now, we did it with regard to Members of Parliament as well as others—and here, in reply to the conduct of the Government, I repudiate and deprecate in the strongest words I can use the charge which has been brought against us all over the country, against all who sit on this side of the House, with certain well-known exceptions, that we have cut ourselves loose from the old liberal principle of not respecting one man any more than another. ["Hear, hear!"] I hear that charge echoed by cheers of hon. Members opposite. We hear it said——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the right hon. Gentleman that he is wandering very loosely from the Question before the Committee.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: I was speaking on what appears to me—I do not wish to dispute, Sir, but to explain—a most important question, the most important question of any in consideration of the salary of the Chief Secretary—namely, the question of the wholesale imprisonment of Members of Parliament. If you say, Sir, I am not to discuss that question, I will drop it at once.

THE CHAIRMAN: The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly justified in criticizing the conduct of the Chief Secretary, but he is not justified in entering into a defence of his own action.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: At that moment, Sir, I was not at all defending myself, but the whole Party—everyone on this side of the House who can in any way be said to represent or sympathize with the justice of our charges against the

Government in the wholesale imprisonment of Members of Parliament. I conceive that if ever the charge may be made it may be made on the Vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary. The horror with which we regard the imprisonment of 20, or as it will be in a few days 25, Members of Parliament is intimately allied with the sympathy which we have for the great mass of the Irish people. We have always protested against the punishment, as crimes, of offences which appear to us small offences, or excusable offences, or no offences at all, on the part of the common people. We have never been wanting in that respect, but it is worse when you come to their Representatives, for these Representatives are not only individuals, but are the great mass of the people themselves, and when you imprison and insult these Representatives you imprison and insult the Irish people. Now, the right hon. Gentleman apparently noticed in the attacks that I directed against him in the country, I used especially to rely upon the fact that great numbers of people had been put in prison because they belonged to the National League, for supporting the proceedings of the National League, and for offences which were not offences before the Crimes Act was passed. Therefore the right hon. Gentleman found it necessary to find out some charge against our Government which would show that we were guilty of some action which we charged against him. Now, Sir, across the Table to-day he said, and said without rebuke from the Chair, that he had brought forward the case in which Mr. Macnamara had been imprisoned by me, and that I had made no reply. Now, if that charge is an idle one, or an improper one, it ought not to have been made in the House, and if it was made in the House it ought to be answered. The right hon. Gentleman, speaking at Glasgow, said that—

"In April 1882, when Sir George Trevelyan was Chief Secretary, a man named Macnamara was charged by the police with being a man of bad character and belonging to an illegal association, and Sir George Trevelyan sent that man to prison."

Well, that was a personal charge. When the right hon. Gentleman made that charge against me at Glasgow, the audience hissed my name and laughed at Macnamara's being put in prison. Now, I am very indifferent, I was going to say, to either of these two performances, but when they are in combination I am very indifferent to them indeed, because I care little anywhere, and least of all in Glasgow, where my constituency is, about the cheers or about the hisses of men who laugh at Irish prisoners. Well now, what is the answer to this precious personal charge—which is one of the only two personal charges the right hon. Gentleman, searching through the whole of our administration, can bring against me? Personally, the gist of the charge is that I put a man in prison on a certain date, whereas, as a matter of fact, I was not appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland until some time subsequently. The right hon. Gentleman made that charge, and on my denying it he turns it into another charge and says, "Oh, yes, but you are always thinking of yourself." Sir, is this the manner in which the proprieties and fairnesses of debate are regarded on the other side of the House? If you do not want to have personal explanations which are not worthy of this House, then you should not have personal charges, and personal charges are not worthy of this House. To make an attack upon a man and then tell him that it proved that he is always thinking about himself because he answers in the best way he can is, I think, pretty sharp practice on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. Well, I can say that I have learned a lesson from this day's debate which I shall certainly take to heart. During the last year and a half the right hon. Gentleman, instead of defending his policy on the broad argument that it is conciliating Ireland and making the country happier and quieter, he defends it by picking out of the thousands of cases that occurred under other Governments some one or two precedents. The lesson I should draw is that from this time forward I shall discuss every case relating to Ireland and to the right hon. Gentleman on its merits, and on its merits alone, as it has been very largely my custom to do, and never from this time will I answer any charge relating to myself or any other Member of the late Government. Before I sit down I want to say one word on a case which of all others appears to me the strongest

against the right hon. Gentleman and his Government. I have never as yet said one word about Mitchelstown, but I shall say a few sentences now, and then shall have taken my share of the debate and shall sit down. What is the real charge, the unanswered charge, and, as I believe it to be, the unanswerable charge against the right hon. Gentleman in the case of Mitchelstown? The hon. Gentleman the Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton), immediately after that melancholy occurrence, called the attention of the House to what had passed on one of the stages of the Appropriation Bill, and these are the words, in my opinion the very measured and grave and even courteous words, of the Member for Belfast—

"In the days of Mr. Forster, in the days of Sir George Trevelyan, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, the course pursued was at least judicious and discreet, and nowhere was there any serious breach of the peace caused by the presence of a Government reporter. In every previous case, the Government, before a meeting was held, applied to the Committee, or the local promoters of the meeting, or some public man advertized to speak there—they applied to him by the Sub-Inspector, or the Head Constable, to provide accommodation for the Government reporter, and I am not aware of any case in which accommodation was refused or in which it was inadequate."

Nothing could be more quietly put than that. It required an answer, and this was the answer received—

"The hon. Gentleman asks us whether we have in this case pursued what he describes as the invariable practice of former Governments—namely, whether we have gone to the gentlemen who called the meeting, and asked them to guarantee the safety of a reporter. I do not know whether that has been the practice of previous Governments, but to lay it down as a canon which no Government shall outstep that the very persons to judge of whose conduct the Government are to send a police reporter are to be approached in an attitude of humility, and asked whether they can guarantee the reporter's safety, appears to me to be a most monstrous and unheard of proposition."

These words were spoken within a very few days of the occurrence at Mitchelstown. The right hon. Gentleman must have seen what would be the natural consequence of such a policy. It was entirely owing to thrusting the reporter through the crowded meeting that the tumult was incited, and the right hon. Gentleman had stated, and stated in the House of Commons, that the policy of thrusting the reporter through the crowd, instead of asking quietly that he should be allowed to take his place upon the platform, was a right policy, and therefore, by implication, a policy which should be pursued in the future. Now, Sir, on our side of the House I take we mostly regard that as a most reckless policy. We think that to refuse to make an arrangement which will obviate very great danger and certainly very great disorder, because you will not stoop to be courteous to these people, to judge of whose conduct the right hon. Gentleman says the Government are sending these police reporters, or, in other words, the vast majority of the people of Ireland, is a most dangerous and reckless policy, and I must say that until these words are unsaid it is idle to talk of these words being ancient history. It is idle to talk of this being old history until this policy is repented of. The words that the Government will not stoop to ask that a reporter may be allowed to take his place on the platform—until they are unsaid, and until that policy is disowned, the blame for the Mitchelstown disaster must rest at the door of the right hon. Gentleman and the Government to which he belongs.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman has complained of me because I said that to lay down that the Government were to ask the conveners of a meeting for leave before they sent a reporter to take notes of that meeting was a canon that could not be maintained. Does he maintain the contrary of that proposition? Does he maintain that, be the meeting as illegal as it might, even be its object to intimidate the peaceful inhabitants of a district, it is still the inevitable duty of Her Majesty's Government to ask the conveners of that meeting, whether they will or will not permit a reporter to take notes upon which notes subsequently these very persons may have to be prosecuted?

Mr. T. M. HEALY: The Police Code states that the conveners of a meeting shall be approached in that way—this is in the Code.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It is not in the Code.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I say it is in the Code.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I refer to the illegal conveners of an illegal meeting.

Sir GEORGE TREVELYAN: No, no.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then read out my words. I said that usually it might be expedient to allow this to be done, but that the illegal conveners of an illegal meeting of necessity and under all circumstances were to be taken into consultation by the Government before a police reporter is allowed to attend the meeting, is a doctrine which I cannot admit and never will admit. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken with much more interest and authority as to the transaction connected with Lord Spencer to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had called attention to, sending the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington) to prison. It appeared from the right hon. Gentleman's statement that all Lord Spencer's difficulties arose from the fact that he consulted the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) on a point of law. It was needless to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby had led Lord Spencer astray; and, whilst the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby appears to have been guilty of grossly irregular conduct in giving this advice, Lord Spencer seems to have been guilty of no less irregular conduct in accepting it. The right hon. Gentleman, so far as he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had understood him, had tried to persuade the House that Lord Spencer had acted with the Prisons Board in relaxing the punishment of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin; but Lord Spencer did not act with the Prisons Board. It might be that Lord Spencer employed one of the members of the Prisons Board to carry out his behest, but there was no official communication with the Prisons Board, nor would the Prisons Board have agreed to the relaxation of the punishment which Lord Spencer, acting upon his own authority, appeared to have directed the Governor of Galway Gaol to make.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): How does the right hon. Gentleman know that?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I know it. I observe that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) quoted, as Lord Spencer's justification, the Statute relating to the management of prisoners passed in the year 1877. But even if that Act is capable of the interpretation put upon it by the right hon. Gentleman, which I deny, his argument would inevitably lead to the conclusion that the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland and the Home Secretary in England could interfere not merely to mitigate but to increase the punishment of prisoners. If that is the interpretation to be placed upon that Statute I maintain that the Statute entirely destroys all regularity and justice in the matter of prison management. It renders the punishment of a prisoner not a question of law, not a question to be determined by the Court, by Judge and Jury or Magistrate, but a question to be determined at the goodwill and pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Home Secretary of England for the time being. So much for the interpretation the right hon. Gentleman puts upon this Statute, but even so interpreted the Statute does not bear out Lord Spencer's conduct. The Act says: "Such Board should, subject to such direction as the Lord Lieutenant may give." Yes, but in this case the Lord Lieutenant never gave directions to the Prisons Board. The noble Lord first misinterpreted the Statute and then did not obey the Statute so misinterpreted. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, I think, was most ill-advised in raising this question, for he did not succeed in defending Lord Spencer, and what he said has only served to give me an opportunity of pointing out even more clearly than before the error of Lord Spencer's policy. The right hon. Gentleman quoted the old traditions of the Liberal Party for carrying out the mitigation of sentences on prisoners whom he describes as political. I do not know whether these are the old traditions of the Liberal Party, but, at any rate, they are not the traditions of the right hon. Gentleman himself when he was in Office. I do not know whether now, as then, he represents the traditions of the Liberal Party, but I will read him for his own instruction, what he said, not in the abstract or a general proposition, but in regard to the very case of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin. The right hon. Gentleman says this is a political case which, in conformity with the traditions of the Liberal Party, they

treated in a different way to the manner in which they had treated other cases; but what did the right hon. Gentleman say in regard to this imprisonment on February 27, 1883?—

"Mr. TREVELYAN: I cannot admit that Mr. Harrington has been convicted of a political offence."

I am afraid the old traditions of the Liberal Party fare very badly in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow. The right hon. Gentleman stated in his speech that it was a monstrous thing that Irish Members and other Members of Parliament should be imprisoned. It appears to afflict his soul very greatly; but I observe that when he represented the then traditions of the Liberal Party, on March 9, 1883, he said—

"The Government of the day were extremely sorry that they had to proceed against anyone for what they said politically. They, however, considered that they were bound in the interests of public safety to prosecute these hon. Gentlemen amongst others."

The fact of a man being a Member of Parliament was in itself a double reason for proceeding against him.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: How many did we prosecute?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Oh! the right hon. Gentleman seems to think that it was a double reason for prosecuting one or two, but not for prosecuting three or four. With this quotation from the quondam utterances of the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland, I leave to the consideration of the Committee the "old traditions of the Liberal Party."

MR. T. M. HEALY said, there was just one weak point in the illusion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the utterances of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow, and it was this—as a matter of fact, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division never attacked any Member of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Brigdeton Division had not imprisoned any Member of Parliament. His (Mr. T. M. Healy's) hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin was not a Member of Parliament when prosecuted, but was elected to Parliament whilst in prison, and Mr. Gilhooly was not in Parliament when prosecuted, but was elected on coming out of prison. In fact, with the single exception of himself (Mr. T. M. Healy) there was not a single Member of Parliament prosecuted during the term of Office of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division, and he (Mr. T. M. Healy) was made a first-class misdemeanant. But he did not rise for the purpose of labouring this discussion between the two Front Benches. The Irish Party were always between the upper and nether millstones in this House. The two Front Benches were always attacking each other over what they had done when they had been in Office. The Irish Party had never been in Office, and he could assure the Committee that it was all the same to them whether they were dissected by a Liberal or a Conservative Government; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would have been much better advised, when making his observations, if he had referred to the rules and regulations which guided the conduct of the police. No one admired the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as an artist of imagination more than he (Mr. T. M. Healy) did, because he knew the right hon. Gentleman could get up in that House and say anything, just as in Ireland he could go to the Castle and do anything. He would ask the House to remember what the right hon. Gentleman had said a minute or two ago on the subject of these meetings. The right hon, Gentleman had said that the Government could not be expected to go hat in hand to those who got up illegal demonstrations, and ask for permission to send a reporter upon the platform. The right hon. Gentleman must have a very poor memory. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) had asked his attention some months ago to the Code, and on quoting this Code he (Mr. T. M. Healy) would ask the Committee whether the right hon, Gentleman was well advised in the remarks he had just made, Section 11,102 said:—

"Whenever any public meeting"—observe, it said "any public meeting," not "some public meeting," but "any public meeting," good, bad, or indifferent—"is announced, it is the duty of the officer of constabulary within whose district such meeting is to be held to be present thereat, or, if that is impracticable, to depute another constable in plain clothes for the purpose of taking notes of any inflam-

matory language that may be used. This duty, however, is to be performed with discretion."

This was precisely what was not done at Mitchelstown. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was attacked for exaggeration on this matter, but he (Mr. T. M. Healy) thought the right hon. Gentleman had not gone far enough, because he did not seem to be aware, sometimes owing no doubt to the multiplicity and importance of the duties he had to perform, of the entire strength of the case against the Government. The Code went on to say—

"In cases where a shorthand writer is sent to take notes at a meeting, the promoters thereof should be asked to provide him with a place on the platform. If this be not accorded, he must take the best position available."

Well, he (Mr. T. M. Healy) would ask the Committee to contrast this Official Rule of the Irish police with the statement of the right hon, Gentleman that the police, forsooth, could not go hat in hand to the conveners of one of these illegal meetings, and ask for permission to send a reporter on to the platform. The funny thing about this rule was that it was not in existence in 1881 or 1882, and was only put into the Code about 12 months before the Mitchelstown assembly, and, therefore, he might say was put in the Code under the auspices of right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary himself. It was in the face of this rule that in the Mitchelstown case the police had endeavoured to get their reporter to the front by forcing themselves like a wedge into the crowd. In that way they had broken up the meeting. Even after the Mitchelstown meeting he (Mr. T. M. Healy) had several times known the police to come to the promoters of meetings, not hat in hand, for he had never seen a policeman except with his hat on his head, but come to them and ask for permission to send a reporter on the platform. Anyone of common sense would do that, and yet, with the Code staring him in the face, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary could get up and say that to make this application to the promoters of meetings was a canon he could not subscribe to. What was the House to think of a right hon. Gentleman who would do that? Why, it seemed to him (Mr. T. M. Healy), that in this House it was safe to do anything. A more ignorant Body of men than the Members composing it he had never met. They could say anything about Ireland, they could do anything about Ireland, and he really believed if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary were to get up at that Table and say that the Irish people were blacks, as Lord Salisbury might very easily say, and that they practised polygamy and polyandry, Members opposite would pretend to believe the statements, and go down to Primrose League meetings and announce it as Gospel. What he admired about the right hon. Gentleman most was, that from the first moment that the right hon. Gentleman got up at the Table to make an important speech on the Coercion Bill, he had always disregarded facts, and sailed boldly into the broad ocean of imagination. The right hon. Gentleman was right in this. If he (Mr. T. M. Healy) were in his position, and if he had, like him, to deal with a lot of ignoramuses, he should do the very same thing. Why should the right hon. Gentleman bother himself with facts? The right hon. Gentleman had a faculty for saying smart things, and that was all hon. Gentlemen opposite wanted. They thought the Irish Question was settled when the Irish Secretary dropped a little drop of vitriol on some sensitive Irish heart. That was all they wanted. They wanted to be made to laugh at Irish misery; they thought that government was a sort of joke. They went to war with a light heart. If they had to deal with an Emin Pasha expedition, or with the Congo, or some similar question, each Member opposite would cram himself for the debate; but when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary got up at the Table and made a statement, whatever its character, they were without information on the point themselves, and they were willing to believe whatever he said. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) had heard the right hon. Gentleman make statements that evening about Ireland which had positively raised his hair on end. They were, however, just as good for the majority of the House as if they had been true; and the right hon. Gentleman showed a proper contempt for the House, and treated it with just as much respect as it deserved. Allow him to show the Committee how the right hon. Gentleman treated his

own word. He would not go into the Mitchelstown occurrence, or anything of that sort, but would deal with a matter in connection with an Island in the West of Ireland. Last year the Irish Members had brought to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the case of a Magistrate in the Isle of Achill, Mr. Vesey Stoney, who had been found guilty of peculating money intrusted to him under the Emigration clauses. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary on that occasion admitted that Mr. Vesey Stoney had been guilty of a great dereliction of duty, and possibly of something more. Mr. Stoney was the only magistrate in the district in which he lived, and he was the landlord, and practically master of the souls and bodies of a Gaelic-speaking people. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he would forward a report which had been received in the case from the Government Inspector to the Law Officers of the Crown, although he doubted whether a criminal prosecution would lie against him. This person was accused of using the funds of the Government supplied under the Emigration clauses for emigrating his own tenants in order to grab their land and destroy their tenant-right. An Inspector, an honest man, was sent down to make inquiries, and he found that in the case of one Mary Moran Mr. Vesey Stoney had improperly emigrated her; in fact, Mr. Stoney confessed that he had weakly, but knowingly, consented to the emigration of this person, who was not eligible for assistance under the measure. The right hon. Gentleman was called upon to make good what was understood to be his position in regard to Mr. Stoney; and, by calling for his removal from the Bench, Irish Members were "forcing an open door"—they had no other position. But they were stopped in the middle of debate, and, so far as they knew, the right hon. Gentleman had never uttered a word of expostulation on the subject to the Lord Chancellor—his Colleague in the Cabinet—for allowing Mr. Stoney to continue to sit on the Bench, the only man to whom these miserable Gaelic-speaking people could go for justice, and who had been found guilty of corruption in the discharge of his magisterial duties. Why, it would seem that a man had only to say he was Boycotted or that he was a Loyalist, and if he had sinned against the Holy Ghost he would be retained in office. Why, he believed that in the appeal made to the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of Dr. Cross, who murdered his wife, one ground seized as a plea for mercy was that Dr. Cross was a Boycotted man. As if that could affect a charge against a man of poisoning his wife. Mr. Stoney wrote to the Lord Chancellor, and he went into the transaction with this woman. He said—

"In no way did I desire any profit, directly or indirectly, in the matter."

Of course, grabbing her father's land was a mere trifle. That was a pecuniary loss, just as the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) said his brother suffered a pecuniary loss by pocketing £200,000 under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Mr. Stoney went on—

"Accounting for the hatred, spleen, and venom the Nationalists have shown to me, some of which may be seen from the police reports for the last few years, is the fact that I am the only magistrate free to do his duty, the only local Justice west of Newport in three Petty Sessions,"—

Yes, he was the only local Justice in three Petty Sessions, this corrupt official!—

"and if they could banish me, the law of the National League would have full sway."

Well, he did not pour this tale in vain into the sympathetic bosom of Lord Ashbourne; and here was what Lord Ashbourne said in reply—observe how judicial it was, how fairly in sentiment, how full towards Irish peasants of what Lord Dufferin in India called the "august impartiality of British rule." Lord Ashbourne said—

"The Inspector does not appear to have come to the conclusion that you were influenced by the surrender of the land, though the coincidence was plainly open to grave suspicion; but he thought the first charge substantiated, and misconduct must be attributed."

This was the man who had dismissed members from the Commission of the Peace and from the office of Sheriff for making speeches, who had dismissed a Justice for presiding at a Land League meeting.

"In permitting Mary Moran to emigrate you contravened the directions of the Local Government Board, which you had no power to vary or infringe. Even assuming you yielded to the girl's cries and entreaties, and acted under impulse in the emergency, still it re-

mains you had knowledge, and exposed yourself to the charge of misconduct and a clear dereliction of duty."

Here could be imagined the tears falling from Lord Ashbourne's eyes and blistering the paper.

"A man in your responsible position has no right to yield to weakness; and when, from any motive, he falters in his duty, he must be prepared not only for harsh criticism, but direct rebuke. His Lordship feels your conduct is open to serious observation, and that the rebuke he is bound to administer will make you more careful in future in the discharge of your duties."

So this man was allowed to remain the only magistrate in three Petty Sessional Divisions. Then the right hon. Gentleman said he was not going to dismiss this man, that cases had occupied the Superior Courts day after day, and if men were dismissed for a mistake in point of law, how could public servants be expected to serve their country. But he (Mr. T. M. Healy) would not be diverted from this case of a man who had fobbed the public money, who had got a girl to emigrate, seized the land, let it again, pocketed the rent, and this man he showed up in the light of day, when the right hon. Gentleman stopped the debate last year, and then it was found he left the whole matter to the Lord Chancellor, saying it was not in his Department. This was the august impartiality of British rule! The object of Government rule in Ireland seemed to be to harass and annoy the people as much as possible, and then to hold up hands in horror because outrages were committed. The people were treated as enemies of society and the human race, and then there was astonishment because the people revenged themselves in their own way. No doubt this Robert Vesey Stoney would attend before the Commission on a subpœna from *The Times*, as a witness against Irish Members for crimes and misdemeanours. These were the mean and malicious agents of the Government in Ireland, whose conduct had the effect of keeping up the hatred and horror of the people for British rule. He took his stand upon this case of Mr. Stoney. This man had been caught. That was the only difference between him and his fellows. Barrett was caught stealing money under Lord Ashbourne's Act. White, again, in another instance; but still the Government stuck to such men, employed them and called them as witnesses, and arraigned Irish Members upon their testimony. When the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary took high moral ground, he (Mr. T. M. Healy) declined to soar into those regions; he preferred to confine himself to small details of administration, and so form a judgment of what administration was likely to be in other Departments. Having heard what he had read, knowing what they did of the circumstances from public evidence, he would ask Englishmen, was a man who did as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary did, likely to conciliate the opinions of 5,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects who experienced only the worst features of British rule?

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, of course he quite recognised that on this Vote for the Chief Secretary's salary a general discussion of the administration in Ireland might be taken, and it was on the understanding that the great debate should take place on this Vote that he agreed to the Motion. He believed he was not wrong in saying that, technically speaking, a good deal of the discussion during the night, if not out of Order, had come very near being out of Order. He did not complain of it; far from it. But if he might illustrate his meaning, a good deal of the hon. and learned Gentleman's comments had been directed to the conduct of the Lord Chancellor, and was, therefore, not connected with this Vote. He did not complain; he only pointed this out, and hoped it would be understood that every question that had been raised on this Vote would not be raised again on other Votes to which they were relevant. In that hope, and in the hope that the discussion might close early on the morrow, he agreed to the Motion. He understood there was a general disposition to conclude the discussion to-morrow night. [*Cries of* "No, no!" "Certainly not."] Of course he only spoke from information through the ordinary channels, and understood the desire had been expressed in all quarters, and on that understanding he consented to the Motion.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, of course on both sides there was a feeling that the debate on one item ought not to be indefinitely prolonged, and he ventured to hope that there would not be an unreasonable amount of discussion on the morrow. He hoped, however, the right hon. Gentleman did not mean to convey that the Committee were not to go into other Irish Votes, even to considerable length. He was perfectly certain there were other topics to be raised, besides some that had only lightly been touched upon that night, and it was impossible to expect a very early termination of debate.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 348.]

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight), said there was a clause upon which a question turned whether the Bill should extend to the Channel Islands, and one or two other matters that required consideration. He was not prepared to deal with those points at present, and suggested the Bill should be deferred.

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 374.]

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [10th August] read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he hoped the House would agree to the second reading. The Bill made no alteration in the number or salaries of Divisional Magistrates.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he would remind the hon. Gentleman that Irish Members had reason in connection with this subject to be dissatisfied with the answers they had received in reference to Captain Plunkett. Waiting about the Law Courts, he might as well be at home, and Irish Members were anxious he should be.

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

COMPANIES CLAUSES CONSOLIDATION ACT (1845) AMENDMENT BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords' Amendments read.

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND (York, W. R., Rotherham) said, this Bill had passed both Houses. It provided for allowing signatures by proxy at public meetings of companies. The Lords had made Amendments.

Objection being taken,

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND said, he would like to know what it was an hon. Member objected to. ["Order, order!"]

Consideration of Lords' Amendments *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at ten minutes after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 4th December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Land Purchase (Ireland) (293).

Select Committee — Report — Land Transfer [No. 294].

Committee — Report — Public Health Acts Amendment (Buildings in Streets) (283).

Report—Land Transfer* (21-295); Municipal Funds (Ireland)* (290-296); Sea Fisheries Regulations* (291).

Third Reading—Oaths (272); Statute Law Revision (No. 2)* (258), and *passed.*

OATHS BILL.—(No. 272.)

(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

LORD ADDINGTON said, he wished to address a few words to their Lordships before the Bill was read a third time. It was said that the measure

was the result of a compromise effected in the other House and that it was to settle a question which had been long and unhappily discussed. He held, however, that it would not settle the matter, because the subject was one which was not capable of being compromised. They could not compromise a question of religious principle, and it so happened that religious principle was the life and soul of this matter. He thought it would be a dangerous thing to admit the principle into legislation that a person who had a personal religious aversion to a law should not be required to obey it. If personal religious aversion to pay taxes ensured exemption, the consequences would be serious to the Exchequer. He could not, and it was evident that their Lordships did not agree with the Most Rev. Primate on this point. He would have preferred to make the Bill one for Members of Parliament only, and that all should be required to affirm, but his suggestion was rejected on a former occasion. In his opinion the Bill, as it now stood, will fail to give satisfaction on either side. On the side of the Christian man the arrangement was not satisfactory, and those who had moved first in the matter were of opinion that it was not a good settlement of the law, recognizing as it did the odious principle of inquiry into the religious opinion of the individual. The Bill would leave nothing settled; it was nothing more than an armed truce. Regarding the Bill as a serious calamity and a retrograde step in civilization, he should object to its being read a third time.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question? That the Bill do pass,

LORD FITZGERALD said, he rose to move an Amendment, but in doing so did not seek to narrow the effect of the Bill. When the measure was introduced in "another place" by Mr. Bradlaugh, the form of the first clause was this—

"Every person objecting to be sworn shall be at liberty to make a solemn affirmation instead of an oath."

That was clear language which he would be prepared to accept, in order, once and for all, to terminate this controversy. But it was said there was undue generality in those words, and that danger was likely to arise if they were sanctioned by the Legislature. After some difficulty, what was called a compromise in regard to the language of the Bill was suggested. The Solicitor General and Mr. Bradlaugh were the negotiators, and the very objectionable language of the Bill as it now stood was said to be the invention of the Solicitor General. It had been urged that the compromise ought not now to be interfered with in the slightest degree. Compromise with whom? The Government neither resisted, nor supported, nor took up the Bill; and if a compromise on a question of that kind could be admitted, he denied the right of the House of Commons to bind their Lordships' House by it. The words, however, that were substituted for Mr. Bradlaugh's original words were—

"Every person, upon objecting to be sworn, and stating as the ground of such objection either that he has no religious belief, or that the taking of an oath is contrary to his religious belief, shall be permitted to make his solemn affirmation."

The words to which he now took exception were those in which it was said that the person coming in to take the benefit of the Bill was to state "that he had no religious belief." Those words could only mean that the person to be excused from taking the oath was on every occasion when he took the benefit of the Act to blazon out to the public that he was an Atheist—a total disbeliever in the existence of Almighty God or of any Supreme Being having power to punish here or hereafter. There could be no doubt of the meaning of the words objected to. They must be taken to mean absolute infidelity, for our wise Common Law received the oath of every man, no matter what his country or his creed, or in what form he desired to be sworn, provided that he believed in the existence of some Supreme Being having power to punish here or hereafter. The Bill was not necessary save for absolute Atheists, and he did not object to relieve them, but he did strongly condemn the manner in which it was proposed to do so. The Amendment, therefore, which he desired to move was in Clause 1, lines 6 and 7, to leave out "that he has no religious belief or," and in line 7, after "belief," to insert "or to his moral convictions." The clause would then run—

"Every person, upon objecting to be sworn, and stating as the ground of his objection either that the taking of an oath is contrary to his religious belief or to his moral convictions, shall be permitted to make his solemn affirmation."

He apprehended that that alteration would not reduce the relief given by the Bill, while it would have a very great effect in taking from the face of the measure those most objectionable words, "he has no religious belief," which might force persons who were unbelievers to become also hypocrites, and go through the form of taking an oath attesting a Supreme God in whose existence they did not believe in order to avoid the obloquy of publicly declaring themselves to be Atheists. He might be asked what was the meaning of "moral convictions." The words contemplated the case of everyone who was convinced by moral reasoning that the taking of an oath was an objectionable or bad act. He begged to move his Amendment.

Amendment *moved*, in Clause 1, lines 6 and 7, leave out ("that he has no religious belief or"), and in line 7, after ("belief"), insert ("or to his moral convictions.")—(*The Lord Fitzgerald.*)

EARL SPENCER said, he felt almost ashamed to trouble their Lordships again on this Bill. No doubt the Bill did not originally contain the words to which his noble and learned friend objected. They were accepted in another place from the other side, and inserted because it was believed by the promoters of the measure that it would otherwise have been impossible to carry it through the House. The noble and learned Lord said their Lordships were not bound by the compromise arrived at in the other House. He quite agreed in that, but he submitted that they ought to take into consideration the views strongly expressed by men on both sides in favour of the Bill as it now stood; and if such an alteration as the noble and learned Lord now proposed would cause the Bill to be lost in another place, he thought that although they were not legally bound by the compromise that had been made, they were morally required to have some regard to it. He shared the opinion of his noble and learned friend, that the views of a person without religious belief should not be blazoned forth, but there were many persons who wished that those views should be known before a man took part in an act in a Court of Justice. He thought a nice point might arise as to the meaning of the words "moral conviction." He did not know what might be said as to the legal interpretation of the word "moral." Had the word an independent signification of its own, and could anything be moral which was not religious? He was afraid an argument of that kind might be raised, and then the whole object of the Bill would be lost, and those persons who had no religious belief would be excluded as they had hitherto been under the present state of the law. In those circumstances, he must appeal to their Lordships, without labouring the argument any further, to resist the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend, and allow the Bill now to pass in the form in which it came from the Lower House.

Amendment *negatived*; Bill *passed.*

LAND CHARGES REGISTRATION AND SEARCHES BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENTS.

LORD HOBHOUSE, in moving that the Commons' Amendments to this Bill be considered, said, that the Bill carried out a useful reform much appreciated by the legal profession. There were one or two verbal Amendments which he desired to make, consequential upon the alterations made in the House of Commons.

Moved, "That the Commons' Amendments be now considered."—(*Lord Hobhouse.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Commons' Amendments *considered* and *agreed to.*

Consequential Amendments made; and the Bill returned to the Commons.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

(NO. 293.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: My Lords, when, a little over

three years ago, your Lordships were pleased to assent to the passing of the Land Purchase Bill for Ireland, it was earnestly hoped by the Government that it would prove at all events a workable Bill. The machinery of the Bill was simple, and it was proposed that it should be worked in a not ambitious way by Commissioners appointed for the purpose, and a sum of £5,000,000, not extravagant but deemed to be sufficient for the occasion, was granted by the nation for the working of the measure. The Bill was presented to your Lordships and the country as an experiment worthy of your Lordships' acceptance and worthy of a fair and reasonable trial. So many experiments had been tried before in reference to land purchase that it was unwise to speak in terms of over-confidence of what might be the future of the Bill. The idea of purchase in reference to Irish land, carried out by State aid and encouragement, was not a new one. Carefully and well considered clauses for that purpose were placed in the Land Act of 1870, and they are honourably known by the great name of Mr. Bright, around whose sick bed at the present moment centres so much of the respectful and affectionate sympathy of the nation. For reasons which it is not necessary that I should examine now, that Bill and the clauses to which I have referred were not attended with that measure of success to which they were entitled. Again an effort was made with the same good intention in the Land Act of 1881; and again, from no fault of the clauses, they failed to attract any great measure of success; in fact, they were used only to a very limited extent indeed. In 1884, in the time of the late Government, a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir George Trevelyan, proposing a grant of £20,000,000, not more than £5,000,000 of which should be advanced in any single year, provided that a local guarantee should be given. That Bill never passed beyond the stage of being a Bill. It was unable to survive the criticisms which were made upon the nature and the character of the security proposed—the local guarantee. I shall not discuss those proposals. I am sure they were honestly proposed; but the criticisms made at the time showed that there was no prospect of carrying the Bill, and that, if carried, it was not likely to be worked out without considerable friction. Then came the Purchase Bill of 1885. That Bill was framed on simple and plain principles intelligible to all. It was purely voluntary in its character. If the tenant did not like it he had only to say so; if the landlord did not wish to avail himself of it he need not do so. I believe that any measure of success which has attended the Bill of 1885 was owing to the fact that it was so entirely voluntary. One other reason which earned for that Bill the success it has so largely achieved is the fact that it obviously held out, with transparent plainness, an inducement to the tenant to purchase, and the tenant, no matter how dull, no matter how uneducated, could see at a glance what was his present and what would be his future position—that the Bill would distinctly benefit him in a pecuniary way and his property as well. That was a circumstance which, I venture to think, substantially contributed to the success of the measure. I believe the Bill, as a whole, is more advantageous to the tenants than the landlords; and I am surprised that that consideration has not put to silence the objection so often urged by those professing to make a calm review of the working of the Bill that it may be regarded as a Landlords' Relief Bill. The £5,000,000 granted in 1885 are gone. More money is needed, and therefore I now move the second reading of this Bill. The nation has a right to ask for, and has a right to get, a full account of the working of the Act of 1885 and of the expenditure of the nation's money. But the Government and those who were responsible for the working of the Act have a right to ask that the Act should be taken on its merits, and, if it is proved that it has been a successful measure, if the management and the administration of the Act can run the gauntlet of the keenest and most searching criticism, it is not too much to ask that the further instalment of £5,000,000 which has now been granted by the House of Commons should be given frankly, openly, and ungrudingly, as being necessary for the working of this measure till a larger system is decided upon and presented to Parliament. The other House of Parliament subjected the Bill to a searching ordeal. I do not question

the right of the House of Commons to do so. The criticism to which the House of Commons subjected the Bill was as minute, and I may say as hostile, in many of its features as it could well be. The Bill was tested as by fire, and with what result? Day after day for almost two weeks the Bill was on the rack. Every point that could be urged against its working, its administration, its policy, and its provisions, was stated over and over again; and I ask what was the result? I venture to say that the discussions demonstrated the absolute, the entire, and the unqualified success of the Act of 1885. The testimony came from all sides and from all sorts and conditions of men—from merchants, traders, landlords, tenants, Tories, those who have the misfortune not to be Tories, and a variety of other politicians whom it is not easy to describe by any particular name. All men who have considered its working have given their testimony in favour of the working of the Purchase Act of 1885. With regard to the criticisms made in the House of Commons and in the Press, I think I am entitled to say it was conceded by all that the administration of the Act by the Commission to which it was intrusted was an honest, a capable, an upright, and a perfectly fair administration. It was cautious, it was able, it was economical, and I venture to think that during the three years and a-half in which the Act has been in operation, and during the distribution of these £5,000,000, not one single abuse, or anything verging on an abuse, has been stated or even suggested in regard to the working of the Act. If anyone should think that that statement is too wide, it is not too late to make a suggestion on the subject. Your Lordships are so familiar with the working of the Act that I should not feel it necessary to occupy your time at any considerable length. The admirable letters of *The Times* correspondent and the speeches in the other House have brought home to many minds a close knowledge of the working of the Act. Up to the 30th of November last there were 14,600 applications for £6,141,620. These figures show the magnitude of the operations. Of the applications, 11,920 were sanctioned for the sum of £4,922,100. Now, it is very expedient to see that the benefits conferred by such an Act are not concentrated on any particular class or on any particular part of Ireland. The numbers of the advances were as follows:—Of £100 and under that amount, 2,023; between £100 and £200, 2,059; between £200 and £500, 2,562; between £500 and £1,000, 1,182; and over £1,000, 826. These figures, rightly understood and followed with any kind of intelligence of the subject, would indicate a considerable diffusion of the benefits of the Act. Again, taking the basis of rent, it will be found that the number of advances made to those under £10 rent was 3,599; to those whose rent was between £10 and £30, 3,234; and to those whose rent was over £30, 1,819. These figures show that the humbler and the middle class of tenants have received a very substantial portion of the £5,000,000. The benefits of the Act have also been diffused all over Ireland, which is a very important circumstance. Londonderry and Monaghan have made the greatest number of applications, but Kerry stands third on the list. There were 860 applications from Kerry, 572 from Tipperary, 547 from Cork, and 468 from Mayo. Connaught is a Province that is interesting owing to its economic condition, and for other reasons. The applications from Connaught are largely on the increase. In 1886 there were only 185 applications from Connaught; now there are 1,533. These figures are of the highest significance to anyone who knows Ireland and who knows Connaught in its relation to the rest of Ireland. From some of the criticisms in the other House one might be led to suppose that the sales were confined to a few great estates. There was never any greater mistake made in reference to the Act. One thousand and thirty-three different estates have been brought under the operation of the Act, and their division is noteworthy. Three hundred and fifty-one of these estates are in Munster, 308 in Leinster, 269 in Ulster, and 105 in Connaught. It is true that the largest operations have been in Ulster; but there has always been in that Province a greater desire to purchase land with the assistance of the State than exists in other parts of Ireland. Then there is this further fact, which would render it not only probable, but almost necessary, that you should find larger figures in Ulster. There are more holdings there

by far. The number of holdings is 200,035 in Ulster, 121,708 in Munster, 121,322 in Leinster, and 121,287 in Connaught. The security for the advances is, of course, a matter of the highest importance, for we are dealing with the money of the nation. One-fifth of the purchase-money has been retained as a deposit, and that is a great security which cannot be explained away, for it meant that that money was kept to meet any catastrophe which may happen. In only two cases since the Act came into operation has it been necessary to have recourse to this deposit. In each case it was found efficacious and satisfactory, and fulfilled its purpose admirably. Another security is what may be gathered from the punctual payment of instalments. Unquestionably the figures then speak with a trumpet-tongued voice. On the 1st of May, 1888, £90,630 accrued due from 4,070 payers. Of this sum only the small and insignificant amount of £901 now remains due, and that £901 is in course of collection. Again, taking Connaught and Kerry in consequence of their special circumstances, it is interesting to know that only £4 was due from the whole of Connaught; and from Kerry, which enjoys an admirable pre-eminence, there are only 10 purchasers who are found behind in the payment of their instalments. I cannot but think that these few facts are of extreme importance. The instalments due as recently as last November 1 show still more remarkable figures. The amount then due was £58,300 from 6,670 payers. There has been received the sum of £43,686. My Lords, that is an immense ratio of punctual payment. I appeal to your Lordships, who own head rents and other rents, ground rents and other kinds of property which are considered most eligible. Can any of your Lordships say that the most eligible class of rents are paid with a punctuality equal to that of the purchasers under this Act? As security for the advance the State has the entire holding; it gets the landlord's entire interest, on the most moderate estimate, to some extent at all events enhanced and enlarged by the tenant's interest in the holding. That is obviously a matter of great importance taken in connection with the fact that one-fifth of the purchase-money is retained, as your Lordships know. If the price is not too high, it is hardly conceivable where there is room for risk of any serious kind. The Commission presided over by Lord Cowper, of which my noble Friend behind me was a member, and of which also Sir James Caird was a distinguished member, made this recommendation—that a discretion should be vested in the Commission to dispense with the guarantee deposit when it was satisfied of the value of the tenant's interest, and when the landlord offered sufficient security. My Lords, the Government have not accepted that proposal, and have adhered to all the safeguards found in the Act of 1885, and in no circumstance is it possible to dispense with the retention of the deposit of one-fifth, so that the highest and closest amount of caution has been taken to safeguard the interests of the State in reference to this pecuniary advance. Another circumstance which shows the security is the way in which the price is arrived at. It is not arrived at in the open market, where the element of competition enters, but by the two persons concerned alone. If the two cannot agree as to the price, there is no bargain and advance; the element of competition is entirely absent. That is a circumstance of the highest possible importance, insuring that the price given is not likely to be bloated or exorbitant. When the price is agreed upon between landlord and tenant, who are absolutely free to consider what their interest is, then comes the function of the Commissioners. A valuer goes down to perform his function, which he discharges in a very critical, very suspicious, very jealous spirit. It is thought that the valuers have been excessively and painfully suspicious in prying too closely into the contracts. But their duty, which is sometimes an unpopular duty, they fulfil with a resolute determination not to forget that they are going to give the money of the State, and must get adequate security. The Commissioners indicate in their Report the reality of the check created by the valuers' supervision, because they objected to as many as 1,377 applications for such large figures as £707,894. These were rejected with this qualification, which shows again the rigorous and searching accuracy with which the Commissioners have discharged their duty to the State and to

the Treasury. Five hundred and nineteen of those 1,377 rejected applications have had their loans sanctioned. Under what condition? They previously asked £243,269; they got the sanction to a State advance of £204,210, or £40,000 less than was originally asked. This shows the close and keen way in which the Commissioners have done their business in getting adequate security for every penny advanced. The work of the Commissioners has been naturally much more rapid since the Act of 1887. Your Lordships may remember that in addition to its general clauses that Act contained a few clauses facilitating land purchase. They have facilitated it, and the operations have been more rapid and the Commission has worked more smoothly. During the year ending August 31, 1888, 4,478 conveyances and vesting orders were made. That is a record of work which indicates very considerable efficiency and shows that the Commissioners have had no idle moments. It is so necessary to show that every penny is closely looked after which is spent by a tribunal so jealously scanned that I am obliged to mention one further fact. The cost of the Commission yearly is somewhat under £16,000—not a large figure for operations of such magnitude, involving so considerable a sum of money. But the Commissioners received from the stamps on conveyances and registration fees over £8,000, so that the expense of the Commission does not quite amount to £7,500 a-year. Your Lordships will see that a great effort at self-support is made in the work of the Commission. There is just one more observation I will make. Some misconception appears to exist which I am anxious to remove. It is thought by those who have not read the Bill that there is some provision preventing the payment of interest on the purchase-money between the sanction of the advance and the completion of the transaction. In all the contracts provision is made that from the time of sanction the tenant is to pay interest at 4 per cent on the purchase money, and there is nothing in the Amendment accepted in the other House which is intended to interfere with the payment of interest. I think I have stated to your Lordships—I fear at too great length—the history of the past operations of the Purchase Act, which, I think, encourages strong hopes for the future. I have not been able to find a single record of disappointment. I have not heard of a single person who has been disappointed and wished to have his former position back again. I have heard of many of these purchasers who apply themselves with great heart and energy to improve their holdings, and everything goes to indicate that what people expect from the sense of property is found in the case of those who have purchased under this Act. It is obvious that the operations of this Act wherever it is applied have a great and remarkable bearing in support of law and order. I need not dwell upon that point. The peaceful operations of the Act have smoothed down many estrangements which had grown up between landlords and tenants. They have also checked angry agrarian litigation which might have arisen about the opening of leases, the re-adjustment of contracts, and the fixing of fair rents. I therefore ask your Lordships without hesitation to agree to the second reading of this Bill as one which is honestly calculated to effect some real good for Ireland and to give some real prosperity to those who avail themselves of its provisions.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, that the noble and learned Lord had moved the second reading of the Bill in a speech which was characteristically lucid and moderate in tone; and, although he naturally felt diffident in attempting to follow that speech, there were reasons which made it impossible for him to remain silent. The Members of the Opposition were able to give very good reasons, not only for demurring to the passing of the Bill, but why, in fact, it would be inconsistent on their part to support it. He quite admitted that the attitude which the Opposition had taken up opened the door to a misunderstanding or a misrepresentation of their position. He frankly owned that he was not one who looked with distrust upon the purchase of land on State guarantee; on the contrary, he approved of the principle; but it was one thing to approve of a principle and it was quite another thing to endorse every application of it without reference to time, circumstances, or method. He did not

recognize any reasonableness in describing the Bill as a Landlords' Relief Bill; even if the landlords were to take more benefit than the tenants he for one would not grudge it; and as to the allegation that the Bill imposed a burden upon the British taxpayer, he had always felt that, as so many of our Irish measures had been failures, it was only fair and right that we should incur some sacrifice, if it were necessary, in order to remedy a state of things for which we were responsible. He objected to the Bill, not so much on account of what it was as on account of what it was not; it was not opportune, and it did not deal with the far more urgent question of arrears. What had been said about the urgency of arrears in connection with this Bill ought not to be regarded as a factious opposition. For the last three years the Opposition had lost no opportunity of urging the great importance of dealing with arrears. As to the Bill itself, what did it settle? The noble and learned Lord said that this legislation was preparatory to some larger and more comprehensive measure. If that were so, he could not help thinking the Bill was either too large or too small. It was larger than would be required for merely carrying on the operations of the Act of 1885 with a view to the initiation of some new and more comprehensive policy; on the other hand, it was quite large enough to have the effect of interfering with a future comprehensive measure. He should like to know where we were, or, rather, whither we were going in connection with this question of land purchase. It was not surprising to hear that payments had been punctually made by purchasers under the original Act; at least, it was not surprising to the Opposition, who for a long time had been urging that the Irish people ought to be more trusted than they had been hitherto. While he rejoiced that the facts and figures as to the operation of the Act were of a satisfactory character, he thought it would have been convenient if more figures had been presented to Parliament before the discussion of the Bill. Everyone knew that there were, unfortunately, encumbered estates in Ireland, and the figures quoted did not throw much light on the question how far these estates had been affected hitherto. As to the pacifying effects which were attributed to the operation of the Act, they might reserve their opinion as to whether the more favourable disposition of the people was due to the operation of this Act or to other causes that had been concurrently in operation. He had not heard from anyone in a responsible position any complaint as to the mode in which the Act had been administered; those who were responsible for its administration appeared to have done their duty with fairness. The question involved must be regarded as part of the settlement of Ireland. The Opposition looked forward to a future for Ireland different from that contemplated by the Government. They looked forward to a time when there would be a constituted authority intermediary between the State and the tenants, and they were bound to contemplate this question with an eye to the future. For these and other reasons he felt that this Bill, whatever recommendations it might have, was not calculated, in the main, to promote the future settlement of Ireland.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that for this Bill the Government were entitled to the thanks of the tenants, whose views had been fearfully misrepresented elsewhere. As a Member of the Royal Commission which went through Ireland and examined witnesses in every position of life and of every shade of politics, he affirmed that they were unanimously in favour of the original Act. Suggestions were made as to enlarging its scope, and in order to throw more of the burden upon posterity, it was urged that the repayment of the purchase-money should be extended over a longer period. A tenant farmer said that every purchase under the Act diminished the power of the National League, converted tenants into free men, and made them loyal subjects of the Crown. An Inspector of Constabulary said that purchasers would be anxious to preserve law and order, and would become Conservatives in politics. Father O'Leary, a parish priest in Kerry, stated in evidence that he knew a man who at one time spent a great deal of his time drinking in the towns, but who, since he became a purchaser of his farm, worked like a slave on his holding. He added that the people were anxious for law and order, and

were tired of agitation. That was the kind of evidence which the Commission received on all hands. It had been suggested that the tenants might repudiate their liability under the Bill. This was a gross insult upon the tenants; he knew them thoroughly, and he had every confidence in them. He believed that they would pay to the fullest extent of their power, and pay regularly. He knew that when the first or second instalment had been paid they would consider that they had such an interest in their holding that nothing on earth would induce them to part with it. As to the question of security, the tenant right was of enormous value, and it exceeded in value in many parts of Ireland the fee-simple. The statements that had been made on this point by certain people were of a most astounding character. He hoped that the greater part of the money voted under the present Bill would be made use of outside Ulster. The operation of the Ashbourne Act had hitherto been confined to a great extent to Ulster. The cause of this was that the great London Companies were very glad to avail themselves of the opportunity to sell their estates. Then it was made a cause of complaint that the Act had not worked in congested districts. He might say that the two Land Commissioners, Mr. Lynch and Mr. MacCarthy, were opposed to the Act being allowed to work in the congested districts, because the small holdings would afford no adequate security to the State. The Commission, however, of which he was a Member, were not inclined to draw a hard and fast line. The noble Earl who had just addressed their Lordships objected to the Bill because it did not deal with arrears. He submitted that that question was not germane to the Bill. Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1882, by which arrears were wiped out, was the most mischievous and pernicious of all his legislative measures. The effect of it upon Ireland was disastrous. The people who were now in arrear were the very men who had their arrears wiped out in 1882, and naturally enough they began to run up fresh scores in the hope that Mr. Gladstone would come along and wipe them out again. On the part of the honest tenant, and in the interests of law and order, he hoped that they would have no further wiping away of arrears by legislative action. While expressing his thanks to the Government for bringing this Bill forward, he could not help saying that the added clauses were either mischievous or unnecessary. The third clause, as he read it, released the tenant purchaser from the obligation of paying anything whatever, once the Commissioners had agreed to the purchase. The next clause gave the Commissioners very large powers indeed in regard to subletting. The fifth clause spoke of the applications for advances exhausting the amount provided; but how applications could exhaust the amount provided he confessed he could not understand. The sixth clause relating to publication in *The Dublin Gazette* he regarded as perfectly useless. In conclusion, he was not desirous of selling any of his family estates, nor had he any desire to purchase his neighbours'. He had confidence in the future of Ireland now that they had at last got a man who had neither dread nor shame to govern Ireland without fear, favour, or affection, and also a Ministry honest enough to pursue that policy. Personally, he had no interest in that measure; but he believed it to be one of the greatest importance for the preservation of law and order, and that a large extension of tenant ownerships would alone extricate them from the terrible *impasse* into which Mr. Gladstone's legislation had landed them.

LORD DENMAN, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day two months, said, he did not believe that the English people wished to see money taken away from the Exchequer to purchase property under a system by which the State might ultimately become the landlord over a large part of Ireland; and he thought it would be far better to maintain the usual relation between landlord and tenant, the landlord rendering friendly assistance to the cultivator, and the cultivator, on the other hand, placing confidence in the owner of his farm.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day two months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I am afraid that a debate where there is to be no Division always labours under a

great disadvantage; but I must ask your indulgence while I trespass on your attention for a few moments on this subject. This Bill is a very short one, but it really opens up the whole agrarian question in Ireland. I hope your Lordships will not be alarmed at that declaration, because I can assure you that I do not intend, beyond a few sentences, to touch on the general Agrarian Question. At the same time I am bound to refer to a matter which has already to-night formed part of the speeches of two of your Lordships, and which elsewhere and in the country has formed the subject of very great discussion. I mean the question of arrears of rent That is not a new subject by any means to your Lordships. In 1887, when Her Majesty's Government introduced the measure which became law, we had a discussion on that very subject under the leadership of my noble and learned Friend on my right (Lord Fitzgerald) when the Amendments from the House of Commons came up. On that occasion (August 11, 1887) my noble and learned Friend moved a clause allowing the County Court Judges to deal with the question of arrears when the landlord and the tenant could not agree. I had the honour of addressing your Lordships on that occasion, and I made an earnest appeal to the House to accede to the proposal of my noble and learned Friend. I felt at that time that if that proposal, or a proposal on similar lines, were not entertained, there would be great danger of the measure breaking down in important particulars. Since then I have every reason to be confirmed in the opinion I then formed. I believe that if power had been taken to deal in the Act, not with general arrears, but with arrears accruing from rents which had become excessive owing to the altered agricultural circumstances, a great number of the difficulties which have taken place in Ireland since then would have been altogether avoided. The noble Marquess, in dealing recently in Scotland with the arguments to be urged in favour of dealing with arrears, had instituted a comparison between the Act passed for the relief of the crofters and the Act with regard to judicial rents in Ireland. I shall not be misinterpreting that argument by saying that the noble Marquess considered the cases different, that the crofters held under a different tenure to the Irish, that until very recent times they had been in a different position to what they were when the Act was passed; that in Ireland, on the contrary, the position of the tenants had been ratified by numerous Acts of Parliament, and they were therefore in an entirely different position. I confess that I do not follow the argument of the noble Marquess. My view is this. Parliament, rightly or wrongly—and I know the immense difficulties entailed in interfering with it—interfered in both cases, and decided that the question of rents in Scotland and in Ireland must be dealt with by a Commission. That being so, I think it follows as a matter of justice that if arrears accrue from the rents which were decided to be unjust in either case, the Commission should have the same power of dealing with them as was given in Scotland. I cannot see why, when Parliament interfered in Scotland irrespective of the old tenure, the same power was not extended to the Irish Land Commission. We know the argument that the Government were ready to deal with the question if Parliament dealt with the debts of the Irish tenants, but I say that it does not come home to me as a forcible argument in any way. Parliament interfered in regard to rents; it did not interfere in regard to other debts, or to the values placed on the commodities sold in Ireland. If it had interfered with the price of bread or meat or other commodities, then there might be justice in the argument; but the question of rent had been taken up by Parliament, and it decided to allow a tribunal to go into the question whether rents were unjust or not. I therefore think it is manifestly unjust not to allow the Court to deal with the arrears of rent, just in the same way as the Crofters Commission dealt with arrears. The noble Earl who served on Lord Cowper's Commission referred to the Arrears Act of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1882, and remarked on the injustice to honest tenants which that Act had inflicted. I believe the Arrears Act of 1882 can be defended on just grounds. It was necessary to take a new departure after the terrible convulsion of society which had recently taken place, and I believe a measure of that kind was indispensable. I believe

that the measure was not only beneficial to the tenants, but it was a measure, to a great extent, of relief to the landlords. Dealing with arrears, however, as now advocated, was a totally different affair. In this case we do not propose that there should be a universal sweeping off of arrears; we only advocate that arrears should be dealt with which accrue from unjust rents. I feel it necessary as to the Bill itself to make some explanation, because I have on a previous occasion very often advocated land purchase in this House and elsewhere. I have been more than once quoted with reference to the measure of 1885. I admit that I made observations wishing success to the measure, and I have nothing to regret in having made them. But those who quoted that portion of my speech did not quote other portions of it in which I ventured to criticize pretty severely various provisions of the measure. I criticized the terms of the advance. They were extravagant terms, and amounted almost to bribing the tenants. But I made another and a stronger objection. I objected most strongly to there not being any Representative Body between the Imperial Exchequer and the Irish tenant. I feel the same objection most strongly now; and all the circumstances that have occurred since then have strengthened the view that I have taken on that point. I agree with the noble Earl opposite that the Irish tenants in ordinary circumstances are not likely to repudiate their debts. I do not charge them with that, but who knows what position Ireland may be in, say, under stress of circumstances—it may be bad seasons, famine, fall in prices, or it may be by intense political agitation? Then I do maintain that there is a very serious danger indeed of the State becoming directly responsible to receive what is tantamount to the rents of enormous bodies of tenantry in Ireland. We all know the unfortunate condition in which landlords are often placed when they have to demand their just rights, when they have to evict their tenants. It is always a very painful thing to do, and no doubt there are occasions when it is done harshly, and when it cannot be avoided. But if it is done, we all know what lamentable scenes occur in the country. The landlord has to go to the Sheriff; the Sheriff has to go to the Government, and the Government sends large bodies of police, often with cavalry and infantry, to support the Sheriff; and those forces march like an army through a foreign country, and terrible scenes occur. Do we imagine that we shall avoid a similar state of things when the State has to recover the annuities which tenants have to pay under the Bill? My opinion is that the position will be very much more aggravated, and the Government may be courting an increase of the already stupendous difficulties they have to meet in Ireland by bringing in a measure of this kind, where there is no local body standing between the tenantry of Ireland and the Imperial Exchequer. I cannot conclude what I have to say on this part of the subject without quoting some words which well depict the danger of the situation. A noble Lord, a Member of the present Government, brought forward in 1883 some Resolutions in the House of Commons with regard to land purchase. That noble Lord is the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the words he used were as follows:—

> "It might with equal truth be asserted that few conditions could be more dangerous to Governments than that they should be the creditors of a large portion of their subjects, especially if those so indebted were also politically disaffected towards them. This was the great objection which had hitherto existed against a rapid conversion of tenants into proprietors in Ireland through State agency. To bring the State face to face with hundreds of thousands of tenants to whom the doctrine of repudiation of contract was too familiar would be a perilous condition for all concerned."

Those are the words, not only of a Member of the Government, but of a nobleman intimately connected with Ireland who certainly cannot be accused of not knowing the subject on which he speaks. Since the Act of 1885 was passed events have rolled on with great rapidity in Ireland. In 1886 an important land purchase measure was introduced as part of the Irish policy of Mr. Gladstone. That measure was a well considered scheme. I believe there was never more trouble bestowed on a measure than was bestowed on that Bill. It has not been much discussed, and many of its provisions are, I think, now almost forgotten. It is dead, and we do not know whether it will reappear again. Still, it represents the views of the Government of the day. As far as I am concerned, though there may be modifica-

tions introduced in it, I still believe that that measure was a sound one, and I prefer many of its principles to the measure now before us. There are certain differences to which I should like to call attention between the present measure and the large Bill of 1886. The measure of 1886 was much more comprehensive, and in that respect it differed from the present Bill. Moreover, it gave much better security than will be given by the present measure for what was to be done. Then it gave to the local authority a pecuniary interest in seeing that the provisions of the Bill were carried into effect. The Bill of 1886 contained another clause, which, I think, is almost forgotten. It dealt specially with the congested districts. I believe it is almost impossible to deal with them under the provisions of the Act of 1885. One of my objections to the Bill now under discussion is that it will not enable you to deal with congested districts, and, apart from them, it is impossible to deal completely with the Irish agrarian question. The Bill of 1886 did deal with those districts. Of course we never got into Committee, and I do not know how the clause would have stood discussion, but at all events we inserted a clause to the effect that in the congested districts the tenants should not be put in the position of owners. Now I will touch upon another matter. I am not going to comment in any way on the fact that in certain cases large proprietors have come forward and sold their estates. But it is found that the least incumbered landlords are the persons first to come forward. That is a serious thing, because you shut out from the operation of this Act, which no doubt to a certain extent has had a good political and social effect in Ireland, you shut out from its operation those cases where there is the greatest necessity for relief. I say nothing as to the voluntary principle of this Act. I admit that in our Bill there was no compulsion, but I am not sure that when we come to consider a larger scheme it will not be necessary to take power to force sales in order to meet some of the difficulties to which I have adverted. There is another matter to which I shall briefly refer, and that is with regard to what has been called duress. No doubt there may be duress on both sides. There may be duress by a combination or an association in a district, the members of which try to induce tenants not to purchase their farms; and there may be duress on the part of the landlord. It has been stated that in some cases landlords have used a real pressure in order to force on the tenants a price which otherwise they would not give. In the examination of Mr. J. G. MacCarthy before the Cowper Commission the witness was asked by the President, "How does he (the agent) exercise the pressure?" The reply was—

> "By telling the tenant he must either sign a contract for sale or go out. I have seen letters of this class. I have a letter in my possession from an extensive land agent, telling the tenant that the Sheriff would not be put off beyond to-morrow, but that if he handed the Sheriff the contracts for purchase duly executed he would not take possession."

Surely a contract signed under such circumstances cannot be free. I should like to know whether there has been any answer given to that statement, which was made by one of the Commissioners. It is alleged that duress can be exercised by means of the arrears on the tenant. Under our Bill of 1886 this could not have been done. Under the provisions of that measure the Commissioners would have had themselves to fix the price, and they would have had to go into all these matters and to meet the duress if duress took place. But under the present Bill the landlord and tenant agree as to the price, and the duty of the Commission is simply to see that the security is sufficient; in case therefore of the tenant right being of high value, it is possible that if the landlord exercised pressure he might get from the tenant a larger price than he is entitled to, and it would be covered by that part of the security which belongs to the tenant right. If the tenant cannot pay his instalments the Government will have to fall back upon the security, which will include not only the portion of the money advanced which is kept by the Commissioners, but also the value of the tenant right, which in many cases represents the actual improvements in buildings which the tenant has made on his holding. I believe that the question of duress is important, and it would be a satisfaction to know whether the Government can devise means to prevent the landlord by means of the arrears from getting a price which will make the instalments larger

than what he is entitled to. I see also great difficulty springing up out of the extremely favourable terms given to the tenant who purchases under this Act. Suppose there is a district where there are two estates contiguous to each other of much the same quality, and managed in the same way. In the one case the landlord has been able to come to an agreement and effects a sale, and the tenant, instead of paying, say, £100 a-year rent, has to pay £80 or even less. His neighbour on the adjoining farm, in other respects almost identically circumstanced, who has not been able to make an arrangement with his landlord, will still have to pay £100, and while his neighbour at the lower rent is gradually becoming the owner of his farm he is getting no nearer ownership. There is a great danger there. In these cases the landlord will be obliged to reduce his rent to the same level as that paid by the tenant who pays the annuity, or be liable to the inconveniences of having discontented tenants. I feel bound to point out the objections which I feel to the further extension of what was at the time called by myself and others the experiment of Lord Ashbourne's Act. I rejoice to hear that the Act has been successful, and that the whole £5,000,000 is spent. We are going to repeat the operation. Why should we not do so until it comes to £20,000,000 or £30,000,000? It then becomes a serious matter, and I, for one, protest against dealing with the subject in the manner in which the Bill deals with it. I wish, before I sit down, to call the attention of the Government to one matter which was discussed in the other House. I do not wish to press the matter, but if I find any encouragement on the part of the Government I desire to move an Instruction to the Committee as an Amendment. An Amendment was prepared in "another place" dealing with mines, quarries, and foreshores. It was proposed that these rights should be reserved to the Government instead of the landlord, as is the case under the Bill as it now stands. I think it would be advantageous that these rights should be reserved to the State. If you are going to divide the country up into a large number of small owners, there may be difficulty in developing any great industry if these rights are reserved to the numerous new landlords created by the Bill. I hope, before the debate closes, the Government will allude to this matter, and if any encouragement is given I shall move an Amendment dealing with the question.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that an Act which three years ago had been accepted by all parties, and which had proved to have been, in the highest degree, successful and beneficial to Ireland, was now sought to be extended by a Bill of precisely similar character. Yet opposition was offered by the very men who accepted the Bill of three years ago. He would, however, remark that not one bit of opposition came from Ireland. The tenants had shown their appreciation of the Act, and no Petition against the Bill had come from Ireland. The opposition came from two or three different quarters, but the most thorough-going opposition proceeded from the Parnellite Members. The alleged cause of this opposition was certainly rather singular; when Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Sexton expressed great anxiety on behalf of the British taxpayer, it was a little difficult to believe in their disinterestedness. The change in the position of the Home Rule Party was significant indeed; it showed not that the Act had not been working well, but that it had been going to the root of the evil, which was not the question of an Irish Parliament, but was the Land Question. If there were a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin, he believed the State would run a serious danger by passing this Bill, because the Receiver General, in collecting the instalments from the tenants, would not be supported by the Irish Parliament, which would have no interest in enforcing the debts due to England; and, in these circumstances the Imperial Treasury would be almost certain to incur a loss. He was thankful to say we had not yet got a Parliament in Dublin; and as long as the Imperial Parliament collected the debts which were due to it through its own officers, the risk would be very small indeed. Up to the present time the arrears of tenant purchasers had been very small indeed, and this was true also of the purchases under the Church Act, the instalments of which had been paid with extraordinary punctuality under the most adverse circumstances. With our past experience, as long as we had

Imperial Officers to collect the debts due to us, and as long as Ireland was under Imperial authority, he thought we might proceed tentatively in the direction of this Bill. He could hardly follow the argument that there would be less danger with an intermediate body to intervene between the State and the purchasing tenant. He should have said, on the other hand, that the Imperial Parliament would be much better able to collect its debts than any other authority. If it were meant that a small local body should be responsible for the instalments, then an issue was raised which was more than open to debate. As he understood it, the local guarantee would be the county cess, or, in other words, the joint guarantee of all the ratepayers. What reason was there to suppose that that guarantee would be given, or, if it were given, that there would be any reality in it? Why should the county authority give a guarantee for a debt due by a single person to the State? Suppose any one of their Lordships were to make a purchase in a county, and it were proposed that the county ratepayers should guarantee the payment of the purchase-money, the ratepayers would say, "You do not offer us any inducement." In the same way the Irish ratepayers would say, "You do not offer us any inducement; we shall not do it;" and in that event the local guarantee would be wholly inoperative. There was one condition under which ratepayers might undertake to give a guarantee, and that would be when a large proportion of the ratepayers were purchasing their holdings; but in that case such a guarantee would amount only to the purchasers guaranteeing the payment of the purchase-money; and that would be like asking a man who was giving a bill to write his own name on the back of it. When the original Bill was before this House, the noble Earl supported it because it was not a comprehensive measure, and said that what we required to do was to proceed gradually, in a sound way, for increasing the number of proprietors in Ireland; that we did not want to sweep into the nets all tenants, bad as well as good, but to raise up an enlightened class of small proprietors. That was the opinion of the noble Earl in 1885; and in the year 1886 he was a member of a Government that introduced a measure which did deal comprehensively with all tenants. He could not understand why, because a measure was not comprehensive, it was not to be followed up if its effects were likely to be good. He was glad that the Bill did proceed tentatively, believing that the best thing to do was to deal with the wants of Ireland as they occurred. If you attempted by one stroke to convert all tenants into owners, you were more likely to tempt them not to fulfil their obligations than if you proceeded to do so gradually by such an Act as that which was continued by this Bill.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I must apologize for troubling your Lordships at all, because it is quite evident that there is no serious opposition to this measure, and in such a case there is no great use in answering objections which have not been taken, or replying to criticisms which one has to suggest in order to refute them. The speech of the first noble Earl who criticized the Bill reminds me of a certain prophet in ancient times, who did not satisfy his employers in the discharge of the duty imposed upon him, for the noble Earl came forward to curse the Bill but instead of that he blessed it altogether. He said he opposed the principle of the Bill, but he did not grudge any benefit it gave to the landlord; he did not share the fears which some entertained on behalf of the British taxpayer, and he did not complain of the administration of the Act. These admissions seem to me to do great credit to the candour and fairness of my noble Friend, but they do not leave much ground for opposition. His only objection was that the question of arrears ought to have been dealt with, and my noble Friend behind me enlarged upon that point and said that the Bill would open up the whole agrarian question, that of arrears among the rest. To my mind, however, the question of arrears is entirely separate and distinct. No doubt it has something to do with the capacity of the Irish tenant to buy his holding, but then so have questions of public works, of the Poor Law, taxation, and whatever else may affect the condition of the tenants of Ireland. Are we not to deal with one of them because we cannot deal with all? Then my noble Friend regretted—and no doubt this is a difficult part, and one well deserving to be considered in connection with this Bill—the absence

of any Representative Body which could act as an intermediary between the Imperial Government and the tenants who had to pay for their farms. I think with regard to this that there is a great deal in what my noble Friend who spoke last said—namely, that it would not be an easy thing to get a local representative authority which could be trusted to deal impartially with questions of this kind. The persons who mainly constitute the existing local authority belong to that class which is decidedly interested in buying the farms —the class of tenant farmers. If they are to be responsible they must have a voice in fixing the price, and it is impossible to suppose that they—intending purchasers — will be in a position to do so fairly. Then my noble Friend said, and I think it is quite true, that this Bill is not sufficient for the congested districts. I am afraid you will require to do something more than is done by this Bill for these districts. But after all you must not forget that the congested parts of Ireland which, by their unfortunate circumstances, attract a good deal of attention, constitute only about one-tenth of the whole country; and it is not a very damaging criticism to say that this Bill, while it works well for nine-tenths of the country, does not do enough for the remaining tenth. I readily admit that there is a good deal in what has been said about the unfortunate position of some of the owners. It is said that many of them are living on the margin between their rents and their incumbrances, and that they would lose this small margin in the process of sale. That may be so, but whether this Bill comes into operation or not, I think it is tolerably clear that these landowners will not long be able to maintain their position. They will, before long, have to sell to somebody, and under existing circumstances I do not see whom they can sell to except to the State. They will suffer in any case, but not in consequence of this legislation. Then the point is raised that a tenant who purchases under the Bill is placed in such favourable circumstances that his neighbour who is not able to purchase will be aggrieved because he does not obtain his share of the benefit. That argument cuts both ways. It may be a hardship on the landlord to be pressed to sell when he does not wish it; but there is another class of owners who are desirous of selling, and to them the Bill will be a benefit—and the more so, the more the tenants desire to buy. But the most important part of the matter is the question of public policy; and the mere fact that the tenants who buy under the Act will be envied by their neighbours, as my noble Friend says they will, is to my mind the surest guarantee that the Act will operate for the purpose for which it is framed—namely, that it will steadily create a class of peasant proprietors. I do not think that these advances involve any considerable risk, and for my part I should say, from the point of view of public policy, that even if some risk is involved it does not follow that that risk ought not to be run. It is surely worth while running some risk if we can secure the pacification, or even partial pacification, of Ireland thereby. But I believe the risks will be very small indeed, because the security is ample. It is objected that the advance of four-fifths of the purchase-money is too large a proportion; but it should be remembered that what is being paid for by the State is only the landlord's interest. Under the peculiar system of dual ownership in Ireland there are many cases where the tenant's interest is worth quite as much as the landlord's. If the tenant, therefore, fails to meet his liabilities he loses more than what the State has paid. In ordinary transactions it is generally considered that a mortgage is safe so long as it does not exceed one-half of the value of the property; and most of the loans under the Bill will be made practically upon this footing. If a landlord's interest in a farm be worth, say £1,000, the tenant's interest is probably worth £500 more. The State advances only £800, and has the security of the whole £1,500. Then, again, every year a part of the principal is paid off, and the tenant stands to lose more in a case of forfeiture, while the State diminishes its risk. Then it is said very often, suppose there should be a general refusal to pay the instalments on the part of the tenants? Such a remark would apply to the payment of taxes as well as to the instalments under this Bill. But I should not advise my friends who are in favour of Home Rule to rely upon an argument of this kind, because

if the whole mass of Irish tenants who, of their own free will, borrow under this Act, and make most advantageous bargains, are really likely to repudiate the bargains they have made, it would be a stronger argument against their fitness for self-government than any which has been hitherto used. But I do not believe that the tenants will repudiate the bargains which they make under this Bill. They will have less to pay to the State than they are paying to the landlords. They become virtually owners of the soil, and they must know that they will lose everything by refusing to pay the instalments. Under these circumstances, I think that a general refusal to pay is really not to be apprehended. Again, it is said if Home Rule were carried, there would be no security for the money advanced. But any system of Home Rule must involve the meeting of various engagements between the British Government and the new authority. If such engagements as these are not kept, what becomes of your policy of confidence in the Irish people; and if you expect good faith will be kept in other matters, in other bargains and arrangements, why do you suppose faith will not be kept in bargains made under this Bill? Then it is said that we are pledging ourselves to an indefinite outlay in the future. I do not think we are pledged either to continue or to discontinue these advances. We ought in this, as in other matters, to be guided by experience, to see how the experiment works; and no doubt we may carry it further if we find it to be successful and think it desirable. But it is not clear to me that there will be as great a demand for the help of the State to purchase farms in future years as there is now. We are going, as we all know, through a period of transition; we want to smooth away difficulties while that period of transition lasts; but it does not follow that the same assistance of the State will be asked for or needed hereafter. Besides, the operation will be spread over a long period of years. We are all agreed that it is desirable to create a peasant proprietary in Ireland, but it could hardly be expected that it could be created in two, three, or even half-a-dozen years. We may be content if it is done in half a century. And another point which has been referred to out of doors is this. It is said that when the State becomes the landlord all the evils of absenteeism will exist in an aggravated form; but that objection does not apply in what I believe to be the majority of cases where sales take place—cases in which the landlord is at present an absentee. In such cases matters would remain exactly as before. Again, the estates of many Irish landlords are incumbered, and in many cases the landlord is only the nominal owner. In those circumstances, where there is a sale, the purchase money will go to pay off the mortgages, and the mortgages, I suppose, are almost invariably held in England. My noble Friend has adverted to the danger lest the landowners should use the power which the existence of arrears of rent gives them to compel the tenant to buy at an unreasonable price. Well, if the landlord has a claim on the tenant which the tenant is not in a position to satisfy, that may give him a considerable influence over the tenant's action, and that would be so whether this Bill passed or not. But, as I understand, before there is a sale the Government agent must be satisfied as to the *bona-fides* of the transaction. He will be the party to judge whether the price agreed upon between the landlord and the tenant is a reasonable one. According to the hypothesis the tenant is supposed to be coerced into becoming a purchaser. If that is really the case, would it be very difficult for the tenant to convey a hint of that fact to the Government officer who comes to value the farm? In such circumstances, I am quite sure that the ingenuity which has never failed the Irish tenant in similar or analogous cases would not fail him here. I need hardly say anything about the point raised by my noble Friend as to this Act being a concession to the landlords. I think it will benefit the tenant much more than the landlord; but if it were an advantage to the landlord I would not grudge him it, because, whatever we may think of the Irish policy of the last 20 years, nobody will deny that the case of the Irish landlord has been in many respects a very hard one. The man who, under the Encumbered Estates Court Act, 30 years ago, bought an estate by the direct encouragement of Parliament to do so, and who finds the value of that estate very greatly diminished, partly, at least,

as the result of legislation, has assuredly something to complain of; and I do not think the fact that he may receive some incidental advantage from an act of public policy is any reason why objection should be taken to the measure. My Lords, in the absence of all serious opposition, I will not trouble you any further; but I did not like to allow the second reading of the Bill to pass without expressing, on behalf of the section of the House to which I have the honour to belong, my conviction that this is a sound and useful measure, and one that will do more to conciliate and pacify Ireland than anything that has been done for a long time past.

LORD ASHBOURNE said, with regard to the suggestion of the noble Earl (Earl Spencer) he did not think it could be in any case incorporated in this measure, but he would give the matter his careful consideration. With the permission of the House, he proposed to fix the Committee stage of the Bill for Thursday; and, if their Lordships would agree to suspend the Standing Orders, they would, perhaps, allow the third reading to be taken on the same occasion.

LORD FITZGERALD was understood to say that he had an Amendment to move in one clause of the Bill.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said, that the noble and learned Lord could move his Amendment on Thursday.

On Question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion, *resolved* in the *affirmative:* Bill read 2ª accordingly; and *committed* to a Committee of the whole House on *Thursday* next; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS) — HYDE PARK—THE PLANTATIONS BY THE SERPENTINE.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN asked Her Majesty's Government, When the First Commissioner of Works proposes to remove the unsightly rows of trees which have been recently planted on either bank of the Serpentine, in accordance with the assurance given by him last summer?

LORD HENNIKER said, that when he answered a similar Question in an earlier part of the Session he did not give his noble Friend any assurance, but he informed him that the trees were originally planted with the view to their being eventually removed into groups. On the north side of the Serpentine the removal of the trees would be carried out at once. The trees on the south side have not been planted quite so long; it was, therefore, thought it would be better not to remove them all this year, but at a later period. He could assure the noble Earl that the First Commissioner of Works had every intention of carrying out his original proposal with respect to these trees.

POOR LAW—THE LAMBETH BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF MEATH asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether their attention has been called to statements in the Press that the Lambeth Board of Guardians have reinstated as receiving wardsman at the Lambeth Workhouse a man who was sentenced in June last to a month's imprisonment for assaulting an inmate; and whether they approve the conduct of the Guardians in so soon reinstating in a position of authority a man found guilty of an offence against those placed under his charge?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD) said, the Local Government Board had been in communication with the Guardians and had learnt that this man, who was receiving wardsman, was convicted of an aggravated assault on another pauper, and committed to prison for a month with hard labour. The Guardians appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and they came to the conclusion that the assault was committed in self-defence and under great provocation, and if the facts had been fully and accurately placed before the magistrate, or, if the conviction had been appealed against, Payne would have been dealt with more leniently. It was further recommended that the man should be allowed, at the expiration of his imprisonment, to resume his duty, and the Guardians acquiesced. After full consideration, however, the Local

Government Board were of opinion that he ought not to be reinstated, that he could not properly retain the position he now held, and that he should be called upon to resign.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ACT, 1888, REPEAL BILL [H.L.].

A Bill intituled an Act for the repeal of the Local Government (England and Wales) Act, 1888—Was *presented* by The Lord Denman; *Moved* that the Bill be now read 1ª; objected to: and, on question, *resolved* in the *negative*.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 4th December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 36.

Resolutions [December 3] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILL—*Considered as amended*—*Third Reading*—County Court Appeals (Ireland) * [367], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—CONSTRUCTION OF LIGHT RAILWAYS.

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government will introduce a Bill early in the next Session to give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Irish Public Works, in regard to the construction of light railways, including the proposal made by the Commission, in Clause 49 of their Second Report, that the Government should guarantee 3 per cent on the cost and equipment of properly certified lines?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): In answer to my hon. Friend, I regret that it is not possible for me to state at what period of next Session the Government will introduce a Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission in regard to railways and harbours. This must necessarily wait until the proposals which the Government have already made, based on the Commissioners' early Report with respect to drainage, are dealt with by the House.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883, SECTION 122—AMENDED RULES.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley) asked the President of the Board of Trade, What progress has been made in regard to the amended Rules drafted by the Departmental Committee for the better working of Section 122 of "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883;" whether the observations of the County Court Judges to whom they were referred have been considered; and, whether there is any probability of the new Rules being shortly put in force?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, the Rules referred to would shortly be issued.

NAVY (CONTRACTS)—TOBACCO FOR THE NAVY.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is a fact that a considerable portion of a large contract for the supply of American tobacco for the Royal Navy has been recently concluded with a broker, acting on behalf of a Continental firm, after samples submitted by British importers had been certified as good and suitable for Her Majesty's Navy; and, in such case, why preference was shown to the foreign house?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (MR. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk) (who replied) said: The circumstances of the case as suggested in the Question of my hon. Friend are not correct. Tobacco is not bought by brokers on behalf of the Admiralty, but firms established in England connected with the importation of the article are invited to submit samples and quote prices on a given date, the lowest offers for suitable qualities being always accepted?

SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT, 1875—ADULTERATION OF LARD.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the hardship of the recent prosecutions of lard sellers under "The Food and Drugs Act, 1875," upon certificates of

local official analysts, whose Reports, when appealed against, have been reversed at Somerset House; and, whether, for the protection of those who are complying with the Act, the Government will give instructions for all samples of lard to be analysed also at Somerset House before any proceedings before the magistrates be instituted?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) (who replied) said: I am informed by the Board of Inland Revenue that Dr. Bell, the Principal of the Laboratory at Somerset House, is not aware that the conclusions of the local official analysts in respect of samples of lard upon which legal proceedings were taken have, in any instance, been contradicted by the results obtained in his Department, with the exception of one instance of an alleged adulteration with water. The Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875, provides that, if any person proceeded against for adulteration so request, the Justices may cause a sample of the article to be sent to the Board of Inland Revenue, with a view to its being analyzed by the chemical officers of that Department; and the necessary provision is, therefore, made for a person who is proceeded against for adulteration obtaining a further analysis when he questions the accuracy of the analysis made by the public analyst of the district. The Government clearly have no authority to give instructions for all samples of lard to be analyzed at Somerset House before any proceedings before the magistrates are instituted.

PRESS COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE (INDIA).

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Press Commissioner's Office is a department under the control of the Government of India; whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to a statement, published in *The Indian Mirror* and other Indian papers of the 6th of November, purporting to issue from the Press Commissioner's Office, and to be "an authoritative statement of facts relating to Sikkim affairs," in which reference is made to a serious divergence between the views of the Government of India and those of the Home authorities; whether there was any foundation for those statements; and, whether the Secretary of State will cause inquiry to be made as to the source from which these statements emanated, and on whose authority they were made?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The office of Press Commissioner was abolished in 1880, and the functions formerly discharged by that officer are now performed partly by the Local Government and partly by the Foreign Department. The Secretary of State, as I have twice informed the House, has no official information as to the Memorandum referred to by the hon. Member. The Secretary of State desires me to say that there has never, since he held office, been any divergence of opinion between the Government of India and the Home Authorities in reference to Sikkim affairs, and that he should not think it necessary to trouble the Government of India by inquiries into its reminiscences of events long passed.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE asked who was responsible at the present moment for the *communiqués* of the Press Commissioner that were inserted in all the papers in India?

SIR JOHN GORST: The hon. Member would gather from my answer that that responsibility is partly that of the Local Government and partly of the Foreign Department.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARREST OF MR. J. O'LEARY AND MR. MICHAEL HEALY.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has seen the report in the Cork and Kerry newspapers of the arrest of Mr. J. O'Leary and Mr. Michael Healy, town clerk, Killarney, on warrants under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, on Tuesday evening, November 27, and that District Inspector Rogers stated there were incriminating documents found upon them; whether he is aware that they stated that these documents referred to evidence they had been collecting for some Irish Members in connection with the case of *The Times* before the present Commission of Inquiry;

and, if he will order these documents to be returned to the defendants forthwith, if it is ascertained that they are of the nature described by the defendants?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Divisional Magistrate reports that Mr. Healy was arrested on a warrant charged with obstructing and assaulting the police, and Mr. O'Leary was charged with inciting to the same. Some documents were found on them. One was of an incriminating character, and cannot be returned. The others, if such as the hon. Member describes, will, of course, be returned.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—NEWCASTLE HARBOUR, COUNTY DOWN.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the pier at Newcastle Harbour, County Down, which is now in ruins, is a source of great danger to the poor fishermen who live there, and that the harbour affords no safety, but is in such a state that it is almost impossible for boats to enter it; whether he is aware that this harbour was constructed in 1854, and then handed over to the Grand Jury of County Down, notwithstanding their protests; whether, after injury had been done to the pier, the Board of Works received from the County Down Grand Jury, after the March Assizes of 1869, a sworn statement made by B. B. Murray, Esquire, county surveyor, in which he swore that the harbour was unsafe for vessels; that any temporary repair would be useless; and that the damage had been caused owing to the improper and imperfect construction of the harbour; whether he is aware that there is no harbour of safety on the coast from Dublin to Belfast, and that plans of such a harbour at the "Stag Rock," near Newcastle, were prepared by a Government engineer before the construction of the present harbour, and that it was then considered the safest place for a harbour; and, whether, considering the expenditure then imposed upon the cesspayers, and the necessity for a harbour of safety, and for the protection of the lives of the fishermen of that district, he will cause inquiry to be made as to the desirability of constructing a new harbour at or near the "Stag Rock," Newcastle.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) (who replied) said: The statements in paragraphs one and two are substantially correct. (3.) There is no record of the affidavit mentioned; but it is quite possible that its existence at presentments was for some years disputed by that Grand Jury. (4.) Between Belfast and Dublin there are the natural harbours of Carlingford and Strangford Loughs, and the artificial ones of Donaghadee and Ardglass, which are available, under certain conditions, for the refuge of fishing vessels. There is another small harbour of refuge now under construction at Clogher Head. There is no record of any plans such as those mentioned; but it is understood that Mr. Adams, who was the guard officer at Newcastle, recommended some such work. There was no funds available for the construction of a harbour at "Stag Rock."

IRISH LAND COMMISSION — FAIR RENTS — APPOINTMENT OF ADDITIONAL SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether considering that, even with the addition of the 10 Sub-Commissioners to be appointed, it will take some years to fix the fair rents in the cases where applications were made to the Land Commission before November, 1887, and where the tenants are entitled to the benefit of the fair rent from May, 1887, he will now appoint such an additional number as will be able to have the fair rents fixed promptly and without further delay?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): As the hon. Gentleman will readily understand, there are serious objections to any attempt to deal with the arrears of work by a mere augmentation without limit of the number of Sub-Commissioners. I have done my best to increase the efficiency of the Sub-Commissions by a somewhat different distribution of the work. As the House is aware, I attempted to deal with the question by legislation; but the Bill, through want of time, has been dropped.

In reply to further Questions,

MR. A. J. BALFOUR explained that under the old system the legal Sub-Commissioner had less to do than the lay Sub-Commissioners, and his time was not fully occupied by the work which one Sub-Commission could give him. Now, it had been arranged to have three pairs of lay Sub-Commissioners, working with one legal Sub-Commissioner, and this arrangement greatly increased the efficiency of the Sub-Commissions. Ten additional Sub-Commissioners had been appointed; but he did not give up the hope of being able to deal with the general question in a more satisfactory manner by legislation next Session.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that, while thousands of cases were waiting to be heard, the people were being evicted for the arrears of rent which were accumulating, although notices of application for the fixing of a fair rent were served as early as September, 1887?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he never liked to give an opinion off-hand; but he did not think there were any such cases.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — ALLOWANCES TO SORTERS IN TRAVELLING POST OFFICES.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has as yet arrived at a decision as to the claim of the sorters employed in travelling post offices in Ireland to be placed on an equal footing with the officers employed on similar duty in England, where an allowance of 6*d.* per trip, risk money, is made to sorters when dealing with registered letters?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University), in reply, said: There is still some doubt how far the regulations warrant this payment in respect of the sorting of Registered Letters. But pending a final decision on this point, I have decided to extend to Ireland the practice of giving to those sorters of the travelling Post Office who deal with Registered Letters an additional sixpence a trip.

EGYPT — SUAKIN — REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Military Authorities at the head quarters at home were consulted before it was decided by the Government to send a British battalion to Suakin; and, whether they approve of the policy of despatching so slender a reinforcement of British troops?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The decision to offer to the Egyptian Government the assistance of British troops at Suakin was taken by Her Majesty's Government on their own responsibility. The local military authorities originally intended to undertake these operations with their own troops only; but the amount of British force now sent is that asked for, in consequence of our offer, by those responsible for the operations at Suakin, and has been thought ample for the purpose. I have had a representation from my military advisers on the subject, and I have accordingly telegraphed again to Egypt; but the last message received from General Grenfell was that he was confident of success with his present force.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I shall think it my duty to draw attention to this subject by a specific Motion when the Questions are concluded.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—BLOCKADE OF THE ZANZIBAR COAST.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the Correspondence between the Foreign Office and the British Consul General at Zanzibar, as to the recent disturbances on the East Coast of Africa, and the Anglo-German blockade, will be laid upon the Table; and, if the Papers will include the Proclamation issued to British Indian traders by the Consul General when the German Company took over the collection of the Sultan's revenues, exhorting them to remain under German protection, and promising them that they should enjoy perfect freedom and security in the transaction of their business?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Papers are in preparation, but no day can be named.

The Proclamation to which the hon. Member refers will be included in the Papers. It informed British Indians of the establishment of the German Administration, and advised them as to their status and position; but gave no exhortations nor promise of the character mentioned.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN: Will those Papers be issued before the Vote comes on?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I cannot promise.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether any reply has been received to the Marquess of Salisbury's Despatch of October 29, in which the consent of the French Government is asked to an arrangement by which a mutual right of search and detention might be exercised by the two Powers over sailing vessels flying the flag of either country in the waters between the East Coast of Africa, the Comoros, and Madagascar; why it has not been included in Correspondence, Africa, No. 7, just issued; and, if no arrangement has been come to, what are the instructions under which the British Admiral is to act in dealing with suspected vessels flying the French flag?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: There has been no reply at present to the Despatch referred to. It will be seen, from the notice published to-day in *The London Gazette*, that an ordinary blockade has been proclaimed, which gives the right of search and detention of vessels violating it.

INDIA—THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—SPEECH OF THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) had the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been drawn to the speech of the Marquess of Dufferin, made at Calcutta on Saturday, when he said of the so-called National Congress—

"The members of the Congress are answerable for the distribution among thousands of ignorant and credulous men of publications animated by a very questionable spirit, and whose manifest intention is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the Crown in India. The principal secretary boasts that he and his friends hold in their hands the keys, not only of popular insurrection, but of military revolt;"

whether this principal secretary, called by the Native Press "The father of the Congress," and the author of its most seditious pamphlets, is an Englishman named Hume, who was formerly a member of the Bengal Civil Service; whether urgent representations have been made to the Government of India by most of the Native Princes, and by the leaders of the Indian Mahomedans, as to the widespread mischief caused by the revolutionary speeches of delegates to a Congress which aims at destroying the security of English rule in India; and, what steps, in these circumstances, the Indian Government intend to take with regard to further meetings of the Congress?

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton), before the Question was put asked the Speaker, whether the allegation in paragraph 2, that an Englishman named Hume was the author of "seditious pamphlets," and the reference in paragraph 3 to "revolutionary speeches of delegates to a Congress which aims at destroying the security of English rule in India," were not irregular as containing debatable matter?

MR. SPEAKER said, that the expresions were undoubtedly irregular, and appeared on the Paper through inadvertence. He had sent for the hon. Member who was to put the Question to point out to him the irregularities.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked, whether it would not be more suitable on an occasion of this kind, when objection was taken to a Question, that the Question should be deferred until the next day.

MR. SPEAKER: It was with that object that I sent for the hon. Member.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Do I understand that I am to defer answering the Question?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman has not asked it.

Subsequently,

MR. J. M. MACLEAN desired to make an explanation.

MR. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. Member could not make any statemen on the subject.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES REFUSED).

MR. CALEB WRIGHT (Lancashire, S.W., Leigh) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Return, promised in May last, in continuation of the Return of 1883, No. 338, may be expected to be in the hands of Members, showing the number of Victuallers', Beerhouse, and other Licences for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors, the renewal of which have been refused in the year 1886 and the four preceding years by Justices of the Peace in each licensing district, showing in each case the ground of refusal, especially upon the ground, in any instance, that the licence was not required?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) (who replied) said: The Return referred to by the hon. Member was never moved for, and has, therefore, never been ordered by the House. The Home Office has, however, taken steps to collect information for such a Return; which, if the hon. Member thinks fit to move for it, will be given in as complete a form as possible. Perhaps the hon. Member will communicate with me as to the wording of the Motion.

LONDON COAL AND WINE DUES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, on the expiration of the Metropolitan Coal Dues in July next, there will remain an unappropriated surplus of about £100,000; and, if so, whether the Government will consult the County Council for London before they make any proposals to Parliament as to the disposition of this surplus?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I understand that the sum payable in respect of the freeing of the bridges which will fall on the Coal and Wine Dues for the year ending the 5th of July, 1889, is about £350,000. I have no reason to doubt that the Coal and Wine Dues will exceed this sum by £100,000. The Government will be prepared to consider any representations on the subject which may be made to them by the County Council of London.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—CASE OF BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What is the decision of the Public Prosecutor as to the action of the police in the case of the men Brannaghan and Murphy, against whom a conviction was obtained for burglary and attempted murder?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) (who replied) said: The Director of Public Prosecutions has the case of the police still before him, and informs the Secretary of State that he is not yet in a position to state the result. The Secretary of State wishes this opportunity to be taken of bearing testimony to the zeal and intelligence which the Director of Public Prosecutions has displayed in conducting the inquiries with which he was intrusted in this case.

GRANTS OF RIGHTS OVER CROWN LANDS—THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, before Her Majesty's Government granted any user, permission to make use of, or any other privilege over or upon any Crown Lands, or lands over which Her Majesty's Government have any control, rights, or privileges, to any person, association of persons, or Company, they will lay upon the Table of the House of Commons the Papers giving full particulars and details of the terms on which Her Majesty's Government propose to grant such user, rights of user, or other privileges over or upon such lands?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I cannot give such an undertaking.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he was prepared to grant a day for discussing the question of granting national property to private Associations?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am not aware that that has happened; and, therefore, I am not in a position to grant a day.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY (IRELAND) — ROMAN CATHOLIC LADY STUDENTS.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) (for Mr. HOOPER) (Cork, S.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can inform the House why the Roman Catholic lady students of the Royal University of Ireland are debarred from the teaching of the Roman Catholic Fellows of the University?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Secretary of the Royal University reports that the matter referred to does not rest with the Senate, but with the Governing body of the particular College with which the Fellows are connected. A Memorial was received by the Senate, signed by 13 Roman Catholic lady graduates and undergraduates, stating that they had been refused permission to attend the lectures delivered in the University College, Stephen's Green, and asking that some steps should be taken to remove this prohibition. The Senate stated that they had no power to interfere with the arrangements of the Governing Body in question.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT—THE HAMILTON BURGESS FEE.

MR. PHILIPPS (Lanark, Mid) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the matter of the Hamilton burgess fee is now likely to be settled without recourse to legal proceedings; and, whether, if it be necessary, he will introduce a measure for its reduction or abolition?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I understand that nothing more has been done in the matter. If it were judicially ascertained that a ratepayer qualified under the Act 39 & 40 *Vict.* c. 12, is bound to pay the fee in question, I should then consider whether any steps ought to be taken to reduce or abolish it. At present I am not prepared to assume that this is the case.

MR. PHILIPPS said, that, in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the answer, he would call attention to the subject on the Vote for the salary of the Lord Advocate.

EAST INDIA—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES AND CANTONMENT ACTS.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can state to the House the steps which have been taken by the Government of India in accordance with the Resolution of this House of June 5 last?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Indian Contagious Diseases Acts have been repealed. A Bill has been introduced to repeal the Cantonment Acts; and, in the meanwhile, the compulsory examination of women, and all provisions for licensing or regulating prostitution, have been stopped.

COLONIAL GOVERNORS — THE CAPE COLONY—SIR HENRY BLAKE.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there is any truth in the statement that Sir Henry Blake is to succeed Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of the Cape?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): There is no intention of advising the Queen to appoint Sir Henry Blake to be Governor of the Cape Colony.

INSPECTORSHIP OF MINES (SCOTLAND).

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there will be a vacancy in the Inspectorship of Mines for the Eastern Division of Scotland at the end of the year; and, whether a Scotsman will be appointed to this post?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) (who replied) said: Yes, Sir; there will be a vacancy, and it has been filled by the appointment of the Senior Assistant Inspector. The Secretary of State will be happy to give full consideration to the claims of Scotch candidates for the Assistant Inspectorship which will thus be vacant.

SOUTH AFRICA — BECHUANALAND—KHAMA, CHIEF OF BAMANGWATO.

MR. HUBBARD (Bucks, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been directed to the letter, addressed to Sir Sidney Shippard, K.C.M.G., Administrator of British Bechuanaland, by Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato; whether Her Majesty's Government can do anything to give Khama the help he begs for in his concluding sentence—

"I dread the white man's drink more than all the assegais of the Matabele which kill men's bodies and it is quickly over, but drink puts devils into men and destroys both their souls and bodies for ever. Its wounds never heal. I pray your honour never to ask me to open even a little door to the drink, and Francis desires that, and has always desired it;"

and, who are the firm of Wood, Chapman, Francis, and Clark, so much dreaded by Khama?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Sir Sidney Shippard has been instructed to assure Khama that Her Majesty's Government will give him all support that is possible in his efforts to put down the liquour trade in his territories. Wood, Chapman, Francis, and Clark were traders in Khama's and the adjacent countries. Francis and Clark had been expelled by Khama from his territory for violation of his Rules against the introduction and sale of intoxicating liquors, and afterwards, in company with Chapman, endeavoured to bring about a filibustering raid against Khama.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked, whether it was not the case that other Bechuana Chiefs had not protested against the British traders bringing liquor into the country; and, whether the Government were doing anything to stop the trade?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: The Government are doing all in their power to check the extension of the liquor traffic throughout all the British Possessions and Protectorates in South Africa?

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

MR. J. C. STEVENSON (South Shields) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now prepared to name a suitable day for the second reading of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I hope it will be in my power to ask the House to place Friday, the 14th instant, at the disposal of the hon. Gentleman; but perhaps the hon. Gentleman would be so good as to repeat his Question on a later day.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman recollected the arrangements he had made in his favour for the same day?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have borne that question in mind; and I will endeavour to give an opportunity for the Motion in the hon. Gentleman's name.

MR. J. C. STEVENSON said, the arrangement was hardly suitable; but, at all events, he could not accept any later date than the 14th instant.

BANK HOLIDAYS ACT, SEC. 5—THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY.

MR. W. BECKETT (Notts, Basset-law) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, as Christmas day falls on a Tuesday this year, he will see fit to procure an alteration of the Bank Holiday from Wednesday, the 26th, to Monday, the 24th instant, by an Order in Council, as provided by the 5th section of the Bank Holidays Act?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): My hon. Friend only called the attention of the Government to this Question within the past 24 hours. The Government will endeavour to put itself into communication with those who are most interested in the matter, and will see if it is the general desire that the change suggested should be made.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1882—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE).

EGYPT — DESPATCH OF A BRITISH BATTALION TO SUAKIN.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Member for South Paddington, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House, for the pur-

pose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the Despatch of a British Battalion to Suakin; and the pleasure of the House having been signified:—

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The House may well imagine that nothing but the very gravest imaginable reasons would have induced me to take so serious a step as moving the Adjournment of the House and interrupting Business. Nothing, I say, but the gravest reasons would have induced me, who have, at any rate, for a short time been responsible for the conduct of the Business of the House, to make such a Motion. No one is better aware than I am how exceedingly precious the time of the House of Commons is, at all times, and especially at the present moment. I know that the loss of a night is a loss of the most material and important character, and I have well weighed the nature of that loss and of the interruption to Business for which I am responsible. But I have come to the conclusion that there are reasone which must be weighed against the loss of a night for the despatch of ordinary Business, and those reasons raise the great issue of human life—they raise the issue of the lives of British soldiers; and if by the action of the House to-night the danger to the lives of British soldiers be averted, I think that the loss of a night for the despatch of Business may turn out for the advantage and interest of the country. No hon. Member will, I think, deny that there is every probability, if the course adopted by the Government be carried out, that, within the next few days, a battle will be fought at Suakin between British troops and Egyptian troops on the one hand, and Arab tribes on the other, and that there is a probability, amounting almost to certainty, that the battle will be distinguished for heavy and possibly desperate fighting. The House of Commons has to decide whether they will allow that battle to take place or not. It is to be regretted, indeed, that the House of Commons in matters of this kind is usually prevented from taking what I may call anticipatory action. As a general rule, the Executive Government present the House of Commons with a *fait accompli*, and the House has no other function to perform than to act as a Court of Review in pronouncing whether the action taken by the Executive is right or wrong. Its powers are seriously hampered by the fact that such action has been taken and cannot be undone. The House on this occasion is placed on a different footing. Before it has generally happened that action has been taken by the Executive Government, which action would not have been taken had the full circumstances been laid before the House of Commons, and had the House of Commons full opportunity of considering the circumstances. I adduce in support of that statement the remarkable instance of the bombardment of Alexandria. From information now in our possession, in all human probability, if the facts connected with the bombardment of Alexandria had been laid before the House of Commons, that bombardment would never have taken place, and the innumerable evils which have followed would have been prevented. In this case the House of Commons is situated in a more fortunate position; but the very good fortune of that position is accompanied with a disadvantage, because it imposes a heavy responsibility which the House of Commons does not ordinarily incur. There can be no doubt that every Member of Parliament who votes against this Motion to-night must take upon his own shoulders a large and heavy share of the responsibility for the action which is about to take place at Suakin, and a large share of the responsibility for the results which must follow. The object of this Motion is to ask the House of Commons to prevent, at any rate for the present, that battle from being fought, to prevent, in fact, any serious hostilities in which British troops may be engaged until much more serious consideration has been given to the question by the Executive Government of the day and much more ample information is in the possession of the House of Commons. It will be doubtless said by the Members of the Government that this Motion can have no effect; that is an argument which is sure to be brought forward to-night, but it is utterly valueless. There is not the slightest doubt whatever of the matter, and no Member of the House need have the slightest fear that, if the House of Commons determines this evening that it does not approve, or

that it disapproves, the policy of sending a British battalion to Suakin, any Government would dare to fly in the face of that expression of opinion. No Government can neglect an expression of opinion of that kind. If the Government say that the Motion is inconclusive and inconvenient, I say that it is the recognized method in the House of treating matters of urgent public importance. I daresay Her Majesty's Government will bring pressure to bear upon those who support them—an urgent pressure, a pressure in the nature of hints, and possibly more than hints, of the gravest consequences which may follow the adoption of the course I recommend. I do not blame the Government for adducing arguments of that kind to the House, but I can assure the House that there is not the slightest danger of the risk of a resignation of the Ministry or a Dissolution of Parliament. It will be obvious, not only to hon. Members opposite, but to those who sit on this side of the House, that there is not a possibility of the existence of a Government which should appeal to the country on the question whether a British expedition should go to Suakin; and if that be a conclusive answer in the one case it equally applies to the other alternative. Therefore not only is the House of Commons, as I have pointed out, in the fortunate position of being able to take anticipatory action which will be effective in preventing the event which I dread, but more than that, the House of Commons is singularly fortunate in being able to act with unusual freedom and without that undue pressure which the Government as a rule can apply. Now, what is the end of the action which the Government propose to take, and which I ask the House of Commons to use its great power to modify? The nature of the action is this—it was well expressed by the Secretary of State for War on Saturday—that a British battalion was sent to Suakin, that it was necessary to raise the siege of Suakin, and that the force intended for that purpose was composed of 4,000 Egyptian troops and one battalion of British Infantry. Now, I will not discuss to-night, and I hope the House of Commons will not discuss, the general question of the Soudan, or any other general question, or the advantages or disadvantages of our retaining our hold on the Soudan, or whether the advantages or disadvantages are mainly Egyptian or British, or whether our operations on the Red Sea are for good or not for good. I further venture to hope that the House will not to-night discuss the matter of the Slave Trade, all these matters not being pertinent to my Motion. I will not discuss, and I hope the House will refuse to discuss, any alternative action to that of the Government. I submit without fear of contradiction, confident of the approval of the highest Parliamentary authority, that it is not the business of the House of Commons, when it differs from the Government of the day, to suggest alternative action. I protest against such a proceeding as utterly destructive of the independence of the House of Commons. Circumstances arise with which the Government of the day propose to deal by certain specific methods, and all the House of Commons has to do is to pronounce whether those plans are good or bad, safe or unsafe, defensible or the reverse. The plan adopted by the Government of sending an expedition to Suakin composed of 4,000 Egyptian troops and one battalion of British Infantry is a plan which is not safe, is not sensible, and which in no sense of the word can, in the light of the experience of the past, be considered by the House of Commons as a good plan. The ground upon which I venture to press this Motion upon the House is that the British Contingent is wholly inadequate to the work which it is expected to perform. Sir, we have no business in employing British soldiers in any part of the world, but more especially in such parts as the Soudan, to run any unnecessary risks. Unnecessary risks are at all times to be deprecated and condemned; and that we are running an unnecessary risk there can be no doubt whatever in sending this small battalion of British Infantry overwhelmed among a mass of 4,000 utterly unreliable Egyptian troops. I should like to recall the recollection of the House to what have been the difficulties and disasters which have arisen from the employment of inadequate forces—of British forces too small for the work they had to do—in meeting savage and warlike tribes, and other enemies of a stubborn character. The Zulu War was a case in point. That war was commenced with inadequate British forces; defeat

and disaster followed, and immense expenditure and immense efforts were required to make up for the primary and cardinal error of sending out inadequate forces. Nothing contributed so much to the fall of the Government of that day as the conduct of the Zulu War. The Boer War of 1881 was another instance of attempting to do work admitted to be difficult with inadequate British forces. Again immense expenditure and grave loss of life followed that cardinal error. Those two instances alone would give great point and force to the contention I lay before the House, that one battalion of British Infantry with a mass of Egyptian troops is an inadequate force for the task set before it. Not only do those and other examples which I might quote point to the danger of attempting considerable operations with inadequate forces, but if we should want an illustration of employing inadequate forces we find it in past events at Suakin itself. No doubt the Government of that day were singularly unfortunate in their treatment of the Soudan, but it is a matter that is now hardly denied that many blunders must be laid to their charge. One blunder, however, they did not make; they did not attempt to encounter the Soudanese warriors with inadequate forces. The first expedition of General Graham was essentially a strong force. Yet we know that very heavy fighting attended that expedition. The second expedition to Suakin, also, I think, under the command of General Graham, was nearly double in size and accompanied by Indian troops; and, moreover, the House must bear this in mind, because it brings out the fighting qualities of those Arab troops—that expedition was at one time in danger of total overthrow when under the command of Sir J. M'Neill, and, but for the desperate gallantry of an Indian regiment, inevitable and overwhelming disaster must have followed. That incident is of great importance in considering the sort of expedition we have to contemplate, and it has a force which the House of Commons will admit as an argument against sending any such expedition without a strong and adequate force of British troops. Why do I urge these points upon the House? Because I hold that in sending one battalion of British Infantry to Suakin you are flying in the face of all our experience. But I would not dare to interrupt the Business of the House on that plea alone; I would not dare to set up my opinion against that of the Executive Government, if it were not for this very, very grave fact—I state it as a positive fact, and I implore the House to give that fact the weight which I think it deserves—that in deciding to send one British battalion to Suakin, Her Majesty's Government have acted against the advice of responsible and high military authorities here. That would appear to be perfectly clear from the cautious answer—of which I do not in the least complain—which the Secretary for War gave to my Question this afternoon. But if it did not appear from that, I state it as a positive fact, and I defy contradiction, that high military authorities at home have disapproved of this sending of one battalion of British Infantry to Suakin. Can anything better illustrate the curiosity of our military organization—that a Military Expedition can take place against the advice and be composed in a manner disapproved of by high military authority in command of the Army? That is undoubtedly the fact. And, Sir, this is also the case, which the House of Commons will also bear in mind—that if by any chance these operations are not attended with success, no responsibility whatever can fall upon high military authorities at home. That is a very serious matter, but it does not stand alone. I should have thought that it must be to many hon. Gentlemen in this House a matter of notoriety that military opinion is universal in deprecating and condemning the fact of this single battalion of British Infantry being sent to Suakin. I do not know if the Secretary for War finds time to read the military papers. *The Army and Navy Gazette*, which I think may be taken as carrying some weight as the expression of military opinion, contained an article on Saturday last strongly condemning the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government with regard to that matter. I am quite aware that the Secretary of State for War bases his decision upon the opinion of the Egyptian authorities. These Egyptian authorities I take to be mainly three—Sir Evelyn Baring, General Dormer, and General Grenfell. I put aside Sir Evelyn Baring, because he is not more

qualified to give an opinion than anyone else upon an exclusively military matter. I say in the mildest manner possible that I do not think Sir Evelyn Baring has been altogether fortunate in the advice he has given to successive Governments. So I take General Dormer and General Grenfell. I have heard on all sides that they are two most excellent officers in every way, and advice given by them, if corroborated by the military authorities at home, would undoubtedly be of great weight; but when I find their advice not carrying weight with military authorities at home, not carrying the weight so high an authority ought to carry, I am obliged to consider that their opinion is influenced by considerations—considerations of a natural and praiseworthy character, but which do not tend to an impartial judgment of the case. General Dormer is in command of the British Forces in Egypt. He is a gallant officer, and naturally the officer in command of the British Forces at Cairo, surrounded by many gallant officers of a similar character to himself, would be desirous, and rightly desirous, that the forces under his command should not miss an opportunity of brilliantly maintaining British interests and gaining distinction and renown. That is a matter which must be borne in mind in estimating the weight to be attached to the advice given by General Dormer. General Grenfell is placed in a still more peculiar position, for he is in command of the Egyptian Army, and he and other officers under his command have, in a most indefatigable manner, devoted much time and skill in its organization and training, and I can understand that they would be by no means loath to show that the Egyptian Army had, under their training, become an efficient implement of war. Those are considerations which would not have been of any value but for the fact that the opinions of those officers were disapproved of by the military authorities at home. In addition to those considerations, it must be borne in mind that the opinion of the military authorities at home has been sought, has been given, and has been overruled. Why has that advice been overruled? The reason, I think, is obvious, and the House should lay it to heart. This expedition, if the Government determined upon it, was obliged to be an expedition that would not cost a large sum of money. It was an expedition which had to be done, if done at all, on the cheap. Neither this nor any other Government would now venture, under present circumstances, to ask the House of Commons to vote a large sum of money to defray the cost of a great expedition to the Soudan. Then, under those circumstances, if an expedition had been sent to Egypt, Egypt would have to pay, but the resources of the country are slender and limited, and if a large British force had been sent, such as might have been considered adequate by prudent men, the charge on the Egyptian Revenue would have been greater than the Egyptian Government could have afforded. It is for that reason, and I expect for that reason alone, the military authorities resolved to run the great risk of sending one British battalion. The fact of the matter is that this expedition to Suakin has not been sufficiently considered by the Government. Of course, information has been laid before the Cabinet, but for a matter so grave, involving such immense issues, I hold it has not been sufficiently considered. I am certain of that, because the First Lord of the Treasury, in response to the right hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), who made a demand for Papers, said that the communications which had passed between the British and Egyptian Governments were so very few that he did not think it would be easy to find records of them. That I think is a most significant announcement. The Government have decided to recommence operations in the Soudan, and have taken that decision upon communications with the Egyptian Government so scanty and so slight, that there are practically none to lay before the House. Now, I do submit that a decision such as that should not have been taken except on communications with the Egyptian Government most copious and frequent, and innumerable questions of every sort and kind as regards the operations contemplated should have been addressed to the authorities in Egypt, Native and English, and should have been fully and satisfactorily answered. It is obvious from the reply of the First Lord of the Treasury that that cannot have been done. Now, the two grounds on which I ask the

House to interfere are—first, the inadequacy of the British force for the operations which have to be performed, an inadequacy borne witness to, practically, by the great military authorities; and, secondly, the obvious insufficiency of the consideration which Her Majesty's Government have been able to give, up to the present, to this most important matter. There is another point which I must simply mention. If the House of Commons does not interfere, a battle will be fought within a very few days, and we have no intimation that any serious or earnest attempt has been recently made at negotiations with the foe. Let hon. Members on this side recall the events of 1881 connected with General Graham's first expedition to the Soudan. Hon. Members at that time on the Opposition Benches pressed upon the Government of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), and forced on his Government that they should make an earnest and serious effort at negotiation with the Arab tribes before General Graham was allowed to advance. We pressed our demand unanimously, and we were successful, for the Government undertook to make efforts in that direction. That was what the Tory Party did in those days, and I merely recall that to show what view the Tories of those days took of such expeditions to the Soudan. I know it is stated now by competent authorities that negotiations with these tribes are not altogether impossible, nor altogether hopeless; that there are negotiations which might be considered and might be undertaken. Sir, I do think the House of Commons ought to be very careful, before authorizing what amounts to slaughter and bloodshed, to see that the Government of the day exhaust every means by which that slaughter and bloodshed may be averted. But for the purposes of my present argument, it does not matter whether the Government show that negotiations are hopeless or whether they admit that negotiations are possible. What I point out is this—that on military grounds, and on high military authority, the operations contemplated by the Government are unsound and unsafe operations. They are going to risk a battalion of British Infantry in another battle in the Soudan. It is one of the very finest battalions in the British Army, numbering some 600 or 700 men. Have we so many of those fine regiments that we ought to fritter them away unnecessarily in the desert round Suakin? It is recorded that Prince Bismarck once said that he would not risk the bones of a single Pomeranian Grenadier in connection with the Eastern Question. I wish that that idea of Prince Bismarck could permeate the minds of our Ministers from time to time, and that they would be a little more careful—I would almost say a little more avaricious—of the bones of British soldiers. I do not hesitate to say that I hate the Soudan. The idea to me of risking the life of a single British soldier in that part of the world is inexpressibly repugnant. I do not believe that any gain can accrue to this country, no matter how great may be the military success, and I am certain that great loss and danger may come if those military expeditions are not successful. The risk which we run is not only unnecessary, but, in the event of success, the result is altogether incommensurate with the risk. I cannot help pointing out to hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, so vivid is the impression made on my mind by past events, that not only is the Government going to risk the lives of British soldiers in circumstances disapproved of by high military authorities, but Her Majesty's Government is risking more; it is risking its own life. It is risking the life of the Party which supports it, and the strength of all the interests which that Party represents, because hon. Members on this side can imagine, possibly with greater accuracy than Members on that, what would be the fate of any Government which had to ask the country to approve of large and expensive operations in the Soudan, for as prudent men you are bound to calculate on the possibility of those operations being of a large and expensive character. I do most earnestly ask the House—in view of the very great risk which is going to be run, in view of the military opinion to which the House must attach weight, in view of the utterly incommensurate result which can follow even from success—I ask the House to take action to-night which at any rate may persuade the Government to reconsider this whole matter before entering upon a course which must involve great bloodshed and great slaughter. I have

shown that the House of Commons, I think, has complete power to act, and that, having complete power to act, if it does not act, the whole responsibility for any battle which may happen within a few days, any loss of life and any other results that may follow the battle, rests on the House of Commons and every Member of it. I have shown the House that it is free to act, that it is free from all pressure, owing to the circumstances of the moment—Pressure usually brought to bear on a Party in a majority. I have also shown the House that its action must be effective—that if the House did decide to accede to this Motion, the battle which otherwise would be fought must be averted, and possibly indefinitely postponed. I have shown the House that in that battle there will be fighting a battalion of British Infantry among a mass of unreliable Native allies in circumstances which high and responsible Military Authorities disapprove and condemn. I do ask the House most earnestly to exert its authority. I ask it to stretch out its arms, reaching out as it were many thousands of miles away, right down on that African coast, interposing and arresting slaughter and bloodshed. I think I have adduced weighty ground for that request. But there is another point which occurs to me, which I also adduce with great hope, but, certainly, with some hesitation. There is a great Englishman, I can call him by no other name, a Member of this House, who is now lying on a bed of severe affliction, to the immense and profound grief of all of us. I cannot help recalling that on one great occasion that great man made an earnest and eloquent appeal to the House of Commons to avert and arrest the slaughter of British soldiers who had been sent to a distant shore, and in a passage of singular eloquence, so beautiful and so widely known that while it has ascended to the dignity of a classic it has almost descended to the level of a commonplace, he implored the House to exert its authority to save the lives of British soldiers who were, in his opinion, likely to be unnecessarily sacrificed. Who is there, I should like to know, in this House, who, looking back to those days, would not regret that the voice of that right hon. Gentleman had not greater influence and power with the Government of that day? Sir, we of the Unionist Party, and I believe the entire House, attach great value to the opinion of that great man. We cannot doubt what advice he would give us with regard to this new comtemplated sacrifice of British soldiers had he been among us this afternoon and his health and strength permitted. I do submit no better recognition could be offered by the House, no more brilliant tribute could be rendered to the regard in which his name is held in the hearts of the people, than if we were to reflect that he would tell us to pause before we entered rashly on a career of warlike operations in the Soudan. Sir, I feel I must apologize to the House for having spoken at some length, but I hope the House will feel that the lives of British soldiers are in their hands and under their direction—that the British soldiers at Suakin are going to be placed in a position in which no prudent military man would place them. I implore the House to exercise its authority, and to save, if possible, the lives of British soldiers threatened with useless sacrifice. I implore the House to act so as to prevent so great a catastrophe. The noble Lord then moved the Adjournment of the House.

Sir LEWIS PELLY (Hackney, N.): Sir, in rising to second the Motion, I cannot tell the House how deeply I regret that, on almost the first occasion on which I have broken silence during the three years that I have had the honour of sitting in this House, I may possibly interfere with the progress of Business. I would not do so if I were not deeply impressed with my duty on this occasion. I will limit my remarks to the simple question of a military advance, or otherwise, towards Suakin. One asks one's self what is the object of that movement, which, I understand, the highest Military Authorities of this country disapprove? Supposing you have got your 3,000 or 4,000 Egyptian troops at Suakin, with a handful of English, and with the enemy in front of you; of two things one will result. Either when you leave Suakin and proceed to their forts they will retire to the jungle, or they will oppose you. If they retire to the jungle you may destroy their forts and injure their wells, and then you will return to Suakin. I know the Arabs very well. I have punished them over a

dozen times, and always with very small means. I know they are very unpleasant men to meet when they think they have right on their side. If they think you are exercising against them the brute force of civilization, without its justice, sometimes they are almost as good men as we are. The first thing you ought to do is to be sure of the justice of your cause, and the second is to make the tribes feel that your cause is just, and to carry their opinion with you. When you have done this you will have very little trouble. I know not whether negotiations have been carried on with these tribes or not, but I have always found that the best way to deal with them is to talk to them, to explain to them, to lead them in the right way, like children as they are, and then, if they persist in the wrong, to take measures that will be effectual and lasting. I do not see what good will result from going to Suakin. We have tried that sort of Wheel Tax policy over and over again. What is the use, from a statesmanlike point of view, of going up to a certain point, knocking a few men over, and then having to go over the work again? If you go to Suakin, go with a policy. Decide whether it is your intention to hold Egypt against all comers, or to take the alternative and clear out. I do not fear putting English troops before these Soudanese if they are alone; but I am not quite so sure what the result would be if you had 2,000 or 3,000 Egyptians hanging on the skirts of your Englishmen and ready to fly at any moment. I would certainly rather not put our men in that position, unless the Government are able to explain to us what is to be their policy when the battle has been fought and the troops have returned to Suakin. Ascertain your policy first, and stick to it, and feel that a great Empire cannot go back. If you intend to stay at Suakin and in Egypt, do it like statesmen, and on statesmanlike grounds. I fear that Party Government has done us much harm in regard to Egypt. If we had always stuck to the broad road of statesmanship, and had avoided the inextricable jungle of Party manœuvres, we should never have got into the present difficulty. I beg to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I do not desire to dispute the proposition which the noble Lord put forward, that in bringing this Motion forward he has been actuated solely by motives of humanity. He said that his great desire was to save the lives of British soldiers in a battle which may take place at Suakin at no distant day; and I have no doubt that since the debate which took place on Saturday last the noble Lord has had this matter in his mind, and that he has held consultation with other persons, but the one person to whom he has not given Notice is myself. Although the noble Lord is so anxious to avert the battle, and to save human life, at least he might have had the courtesy—the ordinary courtesy which is shown even by a political opponent—to privately communicate with me beforehand that he intended to move the Adjournment of the House. But, Sir, I am quite prepared, though I speak absolutely without Notice, to meet all the points brought forward by the noble Lord, and I must ask the House to bear with me a little time while I go over the wide ground which the noble Lord covered. As I understand the noble Lord, his view is that it is not safe to go to Suakin. It is not safe, he says, to send these troops there. How does he know anything about it? I listened in vain for any observation from the noble Lord tending to show us that he knew anything about the conditions now existing at Suakin—that he examined or asked anyone to tell him the force opposed to us. With the exception of the alleged opinion of Military Authorities, to which I shall refer later, the noble Lord has absolutely given nothing to the House—he has not produced a single fact to the House—to induce it to believe that this policy is not a safe one. Although the noble Lord is unable to give the House any information, I may say that the Government is in full possession of information on this point, and it is on that they have acted. The steps which have been taken, and the steps we propose to take, are based upon information which has been sent home as to the exact condition of affairs at Suakin at the present moment. The noble Lord urged, among other things, that negotiations should be carried on with the tribes instead of

fighting them. Is he not aware that, according to all our information, negotiations are forbidden by the Mahdi, that the tribes which fight in his name are not allowed to enter into negotiations with us, and that he has declared his determination to drive the Egyptians into the sea? As to the local tribes, it is clear they are not taking part in these operations. They stand aloof, and from them, at least, we have no cause to fear. Let us examine the ground upon which the noble Lord says that this expedition is not safe. The noble Lord absolutely commits himself to this statement—that there is at Suakin an utterly unreliable Egyptian Army. I utterly deny that statement, and I do so on the authority of those most competent to speak—I mean the authority of the English officers in Egypt. The Egyptian Army—and I speak particularly of the black battalions—[*Derisive Laughter*]—are thoroughly loyal. These black battalions—[*Interruption on the Opposition side*]——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. E. STANHOPE: These black battalions have proved in previous contests that they are a force upon which you can rely, and I think that the account of the march that they executed, which is reported in the papers this morning, proves that they are men possessing much more than ordinary stamina, and I believe also much more than ordinary courage. This was the verdict of English officers. Then the noble Lord says the British Contingent is inadequate, which, he says, is amply proved by the fact that on previous expeditions we sent a very large force. Surely the noble Lord cannot venture to suggest that there is any parallel between these previous expeditions and this expedition. These expeditions were undertaken for an object of a wide and very extensive character. In one case the expedition was nothing less than a part of a scheme for the re-conquest of the Soudan, and, among other things, for making a railway from Suakin to Berber and protecting the railway in the land of a hostile people. Compare that with the present operation, which is undertaken for the sole purpose of raising the siege of Suakin, which is practically to be carried out under the cover of British guns. "Oh," says the noble Lord, "I understand the policy of the Government; they want to do this matter on the cheap." I do think the noble Lord might have given a little more credit to his political friends than that. The responsibility of the Government, my own responsibility, is far too great for any such consideration as that, and I am perfectly certain we should every one of us be determined, whatever consideration actuated us, that the fear of being turned out of Office ought not to weigh with us in comparison with this circumstance, that we are responsible to the country for the steps we are now taking, and that those steps must be adequate for the purpose for which they are undertaken. The noble Lord then turns to the high Military Authorities. He seems, according to his view, to be very well informed with regard to the communications which have passed between my Military Advisers and myself. But the noble Lord knows he takes me at a very great disadvantage, because if I would, it is utterly impossible for me to lay before the House confidential communications which have passed between my Military Advisers and myself; and he knows that if any Minister were to do anything of the kind the action of Governments at the most critical moments might be paralyzed and rendered inoperative. The House, therefore, cannot expect me to give information.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I never asked for any confidential information. I merely stated it as a fact that the Military Authorities at home did not approve of the despatch of a single battalion. That is a fact which can be asserted or denied. It does not require any confidential information.

MR. E. STANHOPE: That is an evasion of the point I have just been stating to the House. It is all very well for the noble Lord to make certain definite statements, but he knows well that I cannot meet him on equal terms, because it is not in my power to give him definite and distinct information, and if I gave partial information it might mislead the House. I am, therefore, not prepared to take the responsibility of departing from the course which all my Predecessors have followed. I have received representations from my military advisers. As a matter of course, no one can doubt that I should in the most frank and confidential manner have

entered into communication with those who advise me at the War Office. Those who advise me at the War Office are not, of course, so cognizant of the state of things actually existing at Suakin as certain other military authorities whom I have also had to consult. The noble Lord has mentioned those authorities. He has alluded in particular to General Dormer and General Grenfell, and he spoke in terms of high praise of those officers, who likewise enjoy the confidence of Her Majesty's Government. It is plainly our duty to press them to give us full information in order that we might exercise our responsibility with a full knowledge of the circumstances. What is the fact? This state of things, which I described on Saturday as a siege of Suakin, has been going on for some little time. It is not a very large matter altogether, because the number of troops engaged in the siege is exceedingly limited, but they have had the advantage of intrenching themselves in a position too close to the town to be pleasant, and there they are able effectually to shelter. The Egyptian authorities have made various attempts which have almost been successful, even with the limited forces at Suakin, to dislodge them; and the time came at last when, in the opinion of the Ministers of the Khedive, it was absolutely necessary to take further steps for the purpose of driving the enemy out of those positions of advantage. They proposed, in the first place, to send some extra black battalions in Egypt, and they were confident that with the addition of these battalions they could easily and without doubt accomplish the object intended. Accordingly steps were taken for sending those black battalions from Cairo to Suakin, and we were ready to assist in that object by allowing a certain number of English troops to go up the Nile to defend the frontier during the temporary absence of these black troops. But when they came face to face with the operations they thought that, on the whole, they had an insufficient force of Cavalry, and if their operations were to be completely successful, some additional Cavalry would be required for the purpose of getting round the main body of the enemy. The first thing we heard on the matter from those on the spot was when they suggested that a very small body—indeed, to show the House the magnitude of the operation as it appeared to the Egyptian Government, I may say, I believe, the number was about 70—of Cavalry from Aden should be sent to assist in the operations about to be commenced. Her Majesty's Government considered this application with very great care. When my noble Friend talks about insufficient consideration, I think he might have given us credit for acting after full consideration and with a desire to know all the circumstances. We decided to make an offer to the Egyptian Government of an additional white force, if they wanted it, to make the operations more successful. Accordingly careful consultations took place at Cairo, and the Egyptian Government eventually replied that they would like to be allowed to move a battalion of white troops from Cairo, and also to take a certain number of Mounted Infantry from there. Those operations have been sanctioned by the British Government, and there have been no other suggestions of any further force being required coming from the Military Authorities in Egypt to Her Majesty's Government. I have frankly told the House the whole state of the case. The force now proceeding to Suakin is, in the opinion of the Military Authorities in Egypt, perfectly adequate for the purpose, and no doubt is entertained as to its success. In common with the noble Lord, I felt, when a representation was addressed to me by my military advisers in this country, that some further steps might be taken, and accordingly I telegraphed to Egypt stating in the plainest possible words that the Military Authorities here had made certain communications to me upon the subject, and asking them to tell me whether General Grenfell is at the present time absolutely satisfied that he, as the officer who was going to command the expedition, had enough force successfully to accomplish his object. I may say, with the facts fully before us, and with the deliberate opinion of those on the spot who are best able to judge, we are prepared deliberately to accept the responsibility for what has been done, because we are sure that we have taken every reasonable step in the matter. What is the alternative? The noble Lord asks that the House will adjourn for the purpose of stopping this expedition altogether. Let the House

consider what that means. Here is Suakin in a state of siege, that has in the last month or two become very much more serious than it was before. It is a state that the Egyptian authorities say cannot be allowed to continue. If we were to allow this expedition to stop while our various advisers in the House of Commons made up their minds to an alternative policy, such a step might be described as the noble Lord described it on Saturday—a slovenly policy, and one which the House ought not for a moment to sanction. We cannot allow the state of things at Suakin to continue; we are taking all reasonable steps to put an end to it; and we have no reason to doubt that the prognostications we have formed will fall short of realization. We believe it to be an operation of a most limited and comparatively easy character, and our duty seems to us to be perfectly plain and direct, and we should shrink in our duty to the country if we failed to recognize the facts before us. The noble Lord concluded his speech by a very eloquent reference to a statesman whose illness we all deplore. I have the greatest respect for the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). He, at any rate, has been what other politicians have not always been—perfectly consistent in his advocacy of peace. However much we may agree with the right hon. Gentleman on many matters, there is no doubt that in this matter of peace and war he has necessarily fallen into conflict on more than one occasion with the public opinion of this country; and, however much it may be deprecated, war is sometimes necessary. We should not be engaged in this operation had we not known it was necessary, and it is in that spirit we have undertaken it, and it is in that spirit we shall, as soon as honour allows us, bring it to a successful completion.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) has made a very important statement on which I wish to ask the Government a question. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) put it very strongly that the opinion of the Military Advisers of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was against the course of action which the Government are taking. Well, the right hon. Gentleman practically declined the challenge of the noble Lord, but everybody can see from his language that he did implicitly admit that the opinion of the Military Authorities was adverse to that course. But the statement to which I call attention is this. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War said—

> "We have sent a telegram to the Military Authorities in Egypt in consequence of communications made to us by the Military Authorities here in England, to ask for the reconsideration of the question by the Military Authorities in Egypt."

That telegram is obviously founded, one sees, upon remonstrance of the Military Authorities in England, and that, I imagine, is now the situation. Now, the question I ask is this—when was that telegram sent? If it were sent some days ago—at which time the Government must have been acquainted with the opinions of the Military Authorities here—why have we not an answer to the telegram? Or has it been sent to-day—sent, it may be, under pressure of the Motion of the noble Lord? If so, why did not the Government at once communicate to the Military Authorities in Egypt the opinion of the Military Authorities in London?

MR. E. STANHOPE: A communication reached us only last night from the English Military Authorities which induced me to send a telegram to the Military Authorities in Egypt, and it was sent to-day.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope the Secretary for War will not think I am unduly catechizing him, but this is a matter of great public importance. A communication reached him from the Military Authorities last night, but how long have the Military Authorities in London been aware of the course which Her Majesty's Government intended to take? When was the decision arrived at to send this force? This is a matter which the Government say has been fully and adequately considered. When was it first laid by the Secretary of State before his Military Advisers, and why did the communication from those advisers regarding it only reach him last night, when the Government having taken their decision had announced it, not only to the English public, but what is more important, to the public of Egypt and the Egyptian Government? We ask when did the Government de-

cide to send the force to Suakin? They say they did it after full inquiry. When they came to that decision what were their relations with their Military Advisers? I am told that the Government have stated in this House that they came to this decision a week ago. We all know that the Cabinet sat upon the question some days ago. Then how comes it that a communication upon this subject only reached the Secretary of State last night? Is it possible more completely to justify the action of the noble Lord? Is not the Adjournment of the House which he demands justified up to the hilt? Is the House to express an opinion without knowing what is the answer to their telegram sent last night? Those are all matters upon which we ought to have full information, and what the noble Lord desires is not only that we should have time to consider, but that the Government should have to consider the answer to that telegram, and should not pass unnoticed the unsatisfactory condition of things which have been revealed.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) said, he had always considered the course pursued by this country in Egypt a most unfortunate one. The late Government had no policy whatever in regard to Egypt, and left that country in a most lamentable state. The present Government, without having at first, perhaps he might say, the courage to alter the then existing state of things, had at last determined that we should remain in Egypt. So he understood from the speech of his right hon. Friend, and he felt the gravity of the responsibility placed upon them of dealing in a practical manner with the grave questions now under discussion. He would like to ask how it had happened that, knowing what the requirements of Egypt had been and were likely to be, the forces in Egypt had been reduced so greatly? The number of British troops in Egypt had been reduced from 6,000 to 3,000. Was it possible, he would ask hon. Gentlemen in all parts of the House, to effect all that was required to be effected in Egypt with so small a force? We had half a battalion only in Cairo; we had half a battalion at Wady Halfa and one battalion at Alexandria, and we had now sent the other battalion to Suakin. He thought that proved, and proved most decidedly, that our forces in Egypt had been reduced to such a point that it was impossible properly to carry on the multifarious duties which might be imposed upon them. The Government—and he laid stress upon this circumstance, because it was an important point in the case—at one time wished to detain in Egypt a regiment that was coming home from India, but the pertinacity of the questions put by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) and others upon the other side had, he believed, stopped what would, in his humble judgment, have been a right and sound policy. With regard to the reduction of the troops at Cairo, those who had studied the question as he had ventured to study it would know that the danger to be apprehended was that if any reverse to the British arms took place at Suakin or elsewhere there might very probably also be a rising in Cairo, which might have a most dangerous effect. The Government, having followed the advice so unwisely given by those on the other side, had thought it absolutely necessary to reduce the force in Cairo to the small number, because if they were to help Suakin they were bound to send an efficient and effective battalion. No doubt it was a most admirable regiment, and he had no doubt that the battalion and the two black battalions would be able to accomplish the work they had to do with the troops at Suakin. But the whole of the circumstances conveyed a warning to the Government to be prepared in future. Let them not be urged to say one thing and mean another. We meant, as he understood the Government statement, to hold Egypt. We were not going to allow any other Power to occupy Egypt or Suakin. We had laid down, indeed, the principle that we were to remain in Egypt as long as there was a necessity for our remaining, and he thought he might recall the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) who stated, from the beginning to the end, that we were not to leave Egypt till Egypt could take care of herself. That position the Government had taken up, but to carry it into effect there must be enough English troops to maintain the objects for which

we first went to that country—the maintenance of peace and order, and the prevention of attempts by any other Power to invade her shores. That being so, he approved of the present action of the Government with regard to Suakin. If a rush were made by the Arabs upon Suakin and they happened to take it, how would the country feel? Should we not say that such an event ought never to have been allowed to take place, and that we must, at all hazards and at all costs, retake the place and guard against such a calamity in the future? He thought the Government had acted with doubtful discretion in not having a stronger force upon the spot, but he approved their action in sending as strong a force as was at their disposal to see that Suakin did not fall into any other hands than ours and those of the Egyptian Government.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLAN (Durham, S.E.) said, that there was not the least necessity for this Motion of Adjournment. He was of opinion that to provide for any contingency which might arise at Suakin, Her Majesty's Government had done their best. If the proposal spoken of some time ago of detaining in Egypt a battalion on its way home from India in order to place it at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for raising the so-called siege of Suakin had been in danger of being carried out he would have protested against it, since, from a military point of view, nothing could have been more likely to lead to disaster than so to detain a battalion which must necessarily be incomplete in its organization. He deprecated doing anything in a weak and inefficient manner; but at the present moment there was a fully efficient English battalion being sent to the place, and there were besides two Egyptian or black battalions there. [Mr. E. STANHOPE: Three.] That should be enough; and if in any extremity General Grenfell should think it desirable to have reinforcements, there was another wing of a British regiment which could be added to the Suakin force at a few hours' notice. It was not for him to attribute any motive as to why the Motion had been made. He trusted the House would repose sufficient confidence in Her Majesty's present Government and the Secretary of State for War, and meet the Motion for Adjournment with a direct negative.

SIR EDWARD HAMLEY (Birkenhead) said, he concurred in wishing that the Government had a definite policy in Egypt; because in order to have a definite policy one must know what was meant to be done and how it was meant to be done. This condition would lead to success, just as the contrary would lead to failure. But if the Government had not a definite policy in Egypt just now, was that their fault? They had inherited their policy from the Government of the right hon. Gentleman opposite—a maze of perplexity. All the operations carried on by the late Government in the Soudan had been marked with futility and failure. It was not necessary to enter into the question of general policy in Egypt at this time, because there was a distinct and definite proposition before the House—namely, whether the Government should or should not reinforce the garrison of Suakin? The garrison had been established at the instance of an English Government; it had been maintained at the instance of an English Government; an English General had been in command there for a long time; and he should say, therefore, that the credit of England was bound up with the maintenance of that garrison, if it were necessary to maintain it. What were the Government expected to do in such a matter? He should imagine that an assembly of Quakers would shrink from the responsibility of abandoning Suakin at the present time, held as it was by an English General, and threatened by a formidable enemy, who was doing his best to enter. What would be the condition of the credit of England if she were seen to be withdrawing from the place, our rearguard pressed by the pursuing Arabs, and the retreat resulting in one of those massacres which, in that quarter of the world, had horrified everyone, and for which this country had not been without its share of opprobrium? There were Generals on the spot in whom the Government had rightly the most complete confidence, and if these Generals demanded reinforcements what were the Government to do? Were they to allow the different stages of the war to be conducted from the House of Commons? He begged the House not to fall into

that error. If there were men on the spot worthy of confidence, the House should give them its confidence; and if they asked for reinforcements they should have them. He had been going to say that no English Government would hesitate in such a matter; but he remembered that English Governments had sometimes failed to maintain the honour of England, That was all the more reason why the present Government should act promptly and decisively. He would beg the House not to listen to any proposal to withdraw. [*Cheers.*] And when they considered from what quarters of the House the cheers had come when such proposals were suggested, they must remember that from that quarter no sentiments were cheered except those which would affect injuriously the honour of England.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, that the hon. and gallant Member who had just sat down had spoken as though there were only two alternatives before the Government—that of withdrawing, and that of pursuing an aggressive policy. But there was a third choice—namely, to do nothing at all. That was a sensible and prudent policy, though the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) said that it was a slovenly policy, for it had been officially stated that there was not the slightest chance of the so-called rebels taking Suakin. Why should not that sort of thing be allowed to go on? Accounts were seen in the papers from time to time of the shelling of Suakin by the Arabs. Anybody would think, from what some people said, that the world was coming to an end; but although shells fell in Suakin they did no harm, and people got accustomed to them, as they did at the sieges of Lucknow and Paris, where a lady said—"Oh, there's one of those nasty shells bursting again." The rebels, moreover, would only defeat themselves. They would hammer away at the place, without doing much harm, until they had fired all their shells.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, he was afraid that he could not follow his hon. Friend into a discussion as to the effect of the shells or the incidents of the siege, but to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to reply to the questions raised by his right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt). His right hon. Friend asked for certain dates, when certain decisions were taken, and when the communication was made by the Military Advisers which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War felt it his duty to forward to the Authorities in Egypt?

MR. E. STANHOPE: The House is well aware that I can only speak again with the indulgence of the House; but as I am speaking I hope I may be allowed to make some reference to other speeches besides that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt). My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) took a totally different view from the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill), but raised a question of very great importance. My hon. and gallant Friend alluded to the reduction of the British force in Egypt. No Government would be justified in keeping a larger force in that country and compelling the Egyptian Government to pay for a larger force than the circumstances of the case required. We have reduced the force in Egypt to a strength deemed necessary for the objects we have in view and sufficient for that purpose, and the best proof that it is sufficient is that, although we are called upon to send troops to Suakin, and also a certain amount of force to assist the Egyptian Government in defending the frontier at Assouan, in the opinion of the Military Authorities in Egypt the force left in that country is sufficient to maintain order, and with this we have been content. My hon. and gallant Friend says that there was an intention on the part of the Government to stop a regiment coming home from India, and that policy was abandoned in consequence of questions put by hon. Members opposite. Well, if it is any comfort to the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I may tell him that the stopping of the regiment was my own doing before any question was put by right hon. Gentlemen on the subject. I had a communication which led me to think that it was very much more desirable that a battalion should proceed from Egypt. My hon. and gallant Friend also said that he should like us to show that we have a definite policy with regard to Egypt. We have stated over and over again that we have such

a policy. My right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) stated on Saturday in the plainest terms that our policy was, as soon as our obligations of honour were fulfilled, to leave Egypt; that that policy was clearly set out in the Turkish Convention, from it we have not receded, and it is not our policy; it is a solemn obligation which we have inherited. There was a Despatch sent by Lord Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring in 1883, and this is the distinct assurance which he gave with respect to the affairs in the Red Sea—

"Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to assist in maintaining order in Egypt proper, and in defending it as well as the ports on the Red Sea."

There was a further assurance given by Lord Granville on the 4th of January, 1884, which is contained in these words—

"Her Majesty's Government will, therefore, be prepared to assist in maintaining order in Egypt proper, and in defending, as well as continuing to protect, the ports on the Red Sea."

Therefore, we are not initiating a new policy, but carrying out the policy we have inherited. There have been, undoubtedly, various private conversations and communications which passed between me and my Military Advisers on this subject, and among other things as to the question of the military value and importance to be attached to the British Force which might be sent to reinforce Suakin. Communications have passed for some time between us, and we arrived deliberately at the conclusion that the force we should send to reinforce Suakin should be the force asked for by the Egyptian Government and our own Military Advisers in Egypt, and that force has been sent.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I asked the date of that decision.

MR. E. STANHOPE: I cannot answer that question without Notice, but I believe the telegram which authorizes the sending of this battalion to Suakin from Cairo was sent last Tuesday. Since that time the last communication I have received from my Military Advisers was received last night. I entertain no doubt whatever of General Grenfell's ability to give the best advice in this matter.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman has just said that this resolve to send a British Force was arrived at in compliance with a request made by the Egyptian Government?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I beg pardon. It is perfectly true that we offered a British Force, and on Tuesday a telegram was sent giving them the exact number of troops required.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I think that this is a question on which the debate has exhibited a tendency, not unnatural under the circumstances, to pass beyond the narrow and well-defined points assigned to it by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). We are not now discussing a Motion which expresses the views of the Mover in the terms in which it is conceived. The Motion for the Adjournment of the House is moved by the noble Lord upon certain definite and specific grounds which he states in his speech, and to his views on which he desires to give effect by his Motion. It is necessarily an informal proceeding, but it is one with which the House is intimate and one to which we have to accommodate ourselves as the only means under the circumstances of expressing our views of the matter raised, if its importance justifies the intervention of the House, by voting in its favour. It may be that there are many persons on that side of the House, and some on this, who will vote against this Motion in order to deliver Her Majesty's Government from embarrassment. It may be that there are others who, feeling a great aversion to the military operations in Egypt, feel a still greater aversion to any extension of those operations, and will take this opportunity, by voting in favour of the Motion, to express their aversion. Neither of these considerations I take to be within the purpose of the noble Lord. The noble Lord has not raised the question of our policy in Egypt. The hon. and gallant Member for Birkenhead (Sir Edward Hamley) and others have gone back upon the want of policy of the late Government with respect to Egypt, and if they choose to discuss that subject, far be it from me to say that it is an illegitimate discussion. But it has nothing whatever to do with the present issue. We are not now discussing the policy to be pursued for Egypt at large, nor the policy to be pursued, as I understand it,

with respect to the defence of Suakin and the measures to be taken on the Red Sea. The noble Lord, if I understand him aright, has distinctly refused to enter upon that subject, and in my opinion it was necessary, to be consistent with the general purport of his speech, that he should so refuse. Whether anything is to be done at Suakin or not, whether we are bound in honour to support the Egyptian Government in all reasonable and proper methods of defence, is a matter upon which there may be large difference of opinion, but it is not the matter before us. The issue which I understand the noble Lord to have raised is the question of the sufficiency of the British Forces, for the sending of which we were directly concerned. That has been recognized by an hon. and gallant Member behind me, and he has given us his military opinion that the force is sufficient. That is all very well for the giving of the vote of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, but it is not quite sufficient advice to sustain the conclusion of this House. The question raised by the noble Lord is one of a most serious character, and, so far as I know, entirely new in the experience of this House. The noble Lord has stated as a fact that the Military Authorities, upon whom, as to military purposes, strictly so-called, the Secretary of State has to rely, are distinctly of opinion that the force ordered to be sent does not suffice for the purpose in view. I draw a distinction, so far as I am concerned, between questions of policy and the military means by which they are carried into execution. So far as policy is concerned, the Secretary of State cannot shelter himself by reference to the opinions of Military Authorities. In regard to this the jurisdiction of the Cabinet is exclusive, and the noble Lord does not interfere with that exclusive jurisdiction. What he has said is, if we send a force it ought to be sufficient; that this is a purely military question upon which the House has been accustomed to be sustained by the assurance of the Government that the Military Authorities affirm the sufficiency of the means to be employed. The noble Lord has stated, upon his own authority, but as a matter of fact known to him, that the Military Authorities in this case affirm the direct contrary. Now, that is a most grave state of affairs. British life, British honour, and not British life only, but the life of the British soldier, the life of Her Majesty's subjects in the form in which we are most specially concerned to protect it, and concerned to consider all that we do which may involve it, is placed before us. The noble Lord assures us that those Military Authorities have declared the insufficiency of those means, and, if those means be insufficient, I remember the responsibility that the House is incurring in giving its sanction to the adoption of a measure which is a matter for professional consideration, and in which those professional judges who must be the best, as well as the fully responsible, authorities declare that the instruments proposed to be employed are not adequate to the end which is in view. I must say that, after that declaration of the noble Lord, I was disappointed by the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, and I am compelled to take that statement as an admission, and, therefore, in the nature of an affirmation, of the statatement of the noble Lord. That raises a most grave state of things, and I am not prepared to take the responsibility under those circumstances of voting against the Motion of the noble Lord, and exposing the force which it is proposed to send to Suakin without the assurance that we have sufficient grounds for believing that that force is adequate. Another question is raised as to the position of Her Majesty's Government, and that is without example. Let me observe that the point at which the noble Lord leaves the question is this—that we cannot undertake in the present state of our information—it is not for us to determine what steps ought to be taken at Suakin. It is for the Government to determine that question, but it is also their duty to see that if they do take steps, their steps are adequate to the purpose, and that a reasonable assurance to that effect should be supplied to the House. Her Majesty's Government informs us that the decision to send a force to Suakin was taken on Tuesday last, and therefore at a time when a certain relative attitude subsisted between Her Majesty's Government and the Military Authorities. Upon that decision the orders were given for the despatch of this force, which I presume is now upon its way. But since that

time a change has taken place in the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, and having taken that decision and allowed time to elapse during which the force may be on its way, they have sent a telegram of the purport of which we are not informed, but which appears to raise the whole question whether the force is to be sent or not, or whether it is a sufficient force. It is impossible, therefore, not to feel that we are in an extraordinary position. The force was sent on the advice of the Military Authorities. Have the Military Authorities changed their views or not? We are left to believe, and I am obliged to believe from facts as they are before me, that the attitude of the Military Authorities is precisely the same as it was at the time the Government came to the decision to send the force. Secondly, I am compelled to believe that since that decision the Government has changed its views, and has again been obliged to bring under consideration the question which they told us last week had been definitely considered and settled. I am not prepared on the state of facts which the noble Lord has laid before us, either to acquit or to condemn. I have no desire to condemn or to prematurely pronounce an opinion upon the subject, but I am not prepared to give a sanction by voting against the noble Lord to the proposition that the House will calmly look on and see a force sent for a definite purpose to Egypt with respect to which the whole evidence practically compels us to believe that competent authorities declare to be insufficient for the end in view. I am not satisfied with the action of Her Majesty's Government, who decided last week with the whole of the facts before them, and now, without any new facts whatever in the possession of the Military Authorities, turn their back upon their own position, and thus leave it in a state of absolute fluctuation and indecision. I cannot, therefore, do otherwise than give my vote for the Motion of the noble Lord.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): I did not, unfortunately, hear the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, and I therefore take the account of the issue which he has placed before the House from the speech which has just been made by my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian. The House is asked to take an unusual, and, I believe, an unprecedented step, and a step which, in my opinion, would be a very grave mistake. As I understand the question of the policy of continuing or extending the military operations is not in any degree raised by this Motion. The issue is simply one of the sufficiency of the force that is about to embark upon certain operations. Now, it seems to me that it would be a most dangerous and inconvenient precedent if the House were to take upon itself the responsibility of interfering directly with the conduct of military operations. I have always understood that the Government, and especially the Secretary of State for War, was responsible to this House, and alone responsible, for the conduct of military operations. It is they who receive the advice of the professional and Military Advisers of the War Department; that advice is not given to the House of Commons, but to the Government, and it is for the Government to act upon that advice in accordance with the best judgment they can form, and upon their own responsibility alone. I understand the effect of this Vote, if it were agreed to by the House, would either be to stop the despatch of the troops or to suspend any active operations in Suakin until a much larger force is sent there. That, Sir, appears to me to be a direct interference with the conduct of military operations by the Government of the day, and to be a step which would entirely and absolutely relieve the Government from the responsibility that properly devolves upon them. I think nothing could be more prejudicial to the public interest, nothing would more tend to lessen the responsibility which I think the House has always been jealous to uphold, the responsibility, pure and entire, of the Government of the day for decisions which it takes upon all military matters, than such an interference as that which, according to my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), the House is now invited to enter upon between the Government and the decisions of its Military Advisers. That being the issue which is presented to the House, I can have no hesitation in the vote I shall give.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, he admitted that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had

made a very good defence out of very bad materials. He believed the whole state of the case was this—that the Egyptian Government, knowing they were not able to get a large force, had asked for a small force in order to commit her Majesty's Government. Possibly the force intended to be sent would be sufficiently strong to encounter the number of Arabs that were estimated to be round Suakin, but it might be that a much larger number than was expected would have to be met, for, as to the strength of the enemy, there was no reliable information.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith) said, he could not support the Motion for Adjournment, for he did not think this was the time to attack the Government with reference to their action in Egypt, though the time might come when it would be. He desired to express the hope that Her Majesty's Government would err, if at all, rather by sending too many than by sending too few British troops.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I must say two or three words in reply. I should not have done so were it not for the speech of the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington). It seems to me that he has misapprehended the nature of the Motion I have made. What I have put before the House is the fact that a decision to send a certain number of British troops to Suakin was disapproved by the Military Authorities at home, and that in the event of any ill-success attending those operations, or in the event of these operations not securing the result which it is hoped they will attain, not a shred of responsibility can fall on the Military Authorities. That has practically been admitted by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) in the startling announcement that a formal communication was addressed to him on Monday by the Military Authorities in command of the Army at home, the nature of the communication being so remarkable that the right hon. Gentleman thought it his duty to forward it for the information of the Military Authorities in Egypt. I ask the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington), who has been Secretary of State for War, who has had great experience of the House of Commons, whether he recollects any occasion on which the Government have taken a decision upon a purely Military question which was at variance with the known and expressed views of their Military advisers? I should not have ventured to move the Adjournment of the House if it was not that I wish to bring before the House the extraordinary fact that no responsibility can rest on the Military Authorities in this matter. I must point out that, if in these purely military and technical questions, involving, however, grave interests, the Government are not to pay attention to the advice of high Military Authorities, if they are not to place responsibility for military action upon the Military Authorities, then I want to know, not only whether there can be any sense in our policy, but whether there can be any efficiency. The object of my Motion is to gain time, so that the difference of opinion between the Government and the Military Authorities may be set at rest. I consider that I should have failed in my duty as a Member of this House if, knowing there was this difference of opinion, I had not brought the matter before the House.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, he wished to make it clear that he and others on the Opposition side would vote for the noble Lords' Motion, not on the somewhat low ground that the force about to be despatched to Suakin was too small, but upon the higher ground of principle; for, in their opinion, no force ought to be sent there at all, because they were opposed to our interference in Egypt altogether.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 189; Noes 231: Majority 42.

AYES.

Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)	Buxton, S. C.
Acland, A. H. D.	Campbell, Sir G.
Acland, C. T. D.	Campbell, H.
Allison, R. A.	Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Anderson, C. H.	Carew, J. L.
Asquith, H. H.	Causton, R. K.
Balfour, Sir G.	Chance, P. A.
Barbour, W. B.	Channing, F. A.
Barran, J.	Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Biggar, J. G.	Clancy, J. J.
Blane, A.	Clark, Dr. G. B.
Bolton, J. C.	Cobb, H. P.
Bright, Jacob	Conway, M.
Bright, W. L.	Conybeare, C. A. V.
Broadhurst, H.	Corbet, W. J.
Brown, A. L.	Cossham, H.
Buchanan, T. R.	

Cox, J. R.
Cozens-Hardy, H. H.
Crawford, D.
Crawford, W.
Cremer, W. R.
Crilly, D.
Curzon, Viscount
Deasy, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dillon, J.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Ellis, J. E.
Ellis, T. E.
Esslemont, P.
Evershed, S.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro-
Finucane, J.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzgerald, J. G.
Flower, C.
Flynn, J. C.
Foley, P. J.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Fox, Dr. J. F.
Fry, T.
Fuller, G. P.
Gardner, H.
Gaskell, C. G. Milnes-
Gladstone, right hon. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Grey, Sir E.
Haldane, R. B.
Hanbury, R. W.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Harrington, E.
Harrington, T. C.
Harris, M.
Hayden, L. P.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Healy, M.
Healy, T. M.
Heathcote, Capt. J. H. Edwards-
Howell, G.
Hunter, W. A.
Jacoby, J. A.
Jennings, L. J.
Joicey, J.
Kay-Shuttleworth, rt. hon. Sir U. J.
Kenny, J. E.
Kilbride, D.
Labouchere, H.
Lalor, R.
Lane, W. J.
Lawson, H. L. W.
Leahy, J.
Leamy, E.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lockwood, F.
Macdonald, W. A.
Mac Neill, J. G. S.
M'Arthur, W. A.
M'Cartan, M.
M'Carthy, J. H.
M'Donald, Dr. R.
M'Ewan, W.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Laren, W. S. B.
Mahony, P.
Mappin, Sir F. T.
Marjoribanks, rt. hon. E.
Marum, E. M.
Menzies, R. S.
Molloy, B. C.
Montagu, S.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morgan, W. P.
Morley, rt. hon. J.
Morley, A.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Murphy, W. M.
Neville, R.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Nolan, J.
O'Brien, J. F. X.
O'Brien, P.
O'Brien, P. J.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Gorman Mahon, The
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Paulton, J. M.
Pease, A. E.
Pease, H. F.
Philipps, J. W.
Pickard, B.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Picton, J. A.
Pinkerton, J.
Playfair, right hon. Sir L.
Potter, T. B.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Price, T. P.
Priestley, B.
Redmond, J. E.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Reynolds, W. J.
Roberts, J. B.
Robertson, E.
Roscoe, Sir H. E.
Rowlands, J.
Rowlands, W. B.
Rowntree, J.
Russell, Sir C.
Schwann, C. E.
Sexton, T.
Sheehy, D.
Sheil, E.
Sinclair, J.
Smith, S.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stack, J.
Stanhope, hon. P. J.
Stansfeld, right hon J.
Stevenson, F. S.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, H.
Sullivan, D.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Tanner, C. K.
Trevelyan, right hon. Sir G. O.
Tuite, J.
Waddy, S. D.
Wallace, R.
Warmington, C. M.
Watt, H.
Wayman, T.
Whitbread, S.
Will, J. S.
Williams, A. J.
Williamson, J.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, H. J.
Winterbotham, A. B.
Woodall, W.
Wright, C.

TELLERS

Churchill, rt. hn. Lord R. H. S.
Pelly, Sir L.

NOES.

Ainslie, W. G.
Aird, J.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, Colonel R. H. L.
Anstruther, H. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Atkinson, H. J.
Baird, J. G. A.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Balfour, G. W.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, T. C.
Barry, A. H. S.
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Bazley-White, J.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Beckett, W.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Bentinck, Lord H. C.
Bigwood, J.
Blundell, Colonel H. B. H.
Bond, G. H.
Boord, T. W.
Borthwick, Sir A.
Bristowe, T. L.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brookfield, A. M.
Bruce, Lord H.
Bruce, G.
Burdett-Coutts, W. L Ash.-B.
Burghley, Lord
Caldwell, J.
Campbell, Sir A.
Campbell, J. A.
Carmarthen, Marq. of
Chamberlain, R.
Chaplin, right hon. H.
Clarke, Sir E. G.
Cochrane-Baillie, hon. C. W. A. N.
Coddington, W.
Coghill, D. H.
Colomb, Sir J. C. R.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, A. C.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cotton, Capt. E. T. D.
Courtney, L. H.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, W. H.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, hon. G. N.
Dalrymple, Sir C.
Darling, C. J.
Darling, M. T. S.
Davenport, W. B.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Dugdale, J. S.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, right hon. Sir W. H.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Elliot, Sir G.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Ewart, Sir W.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Feilden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, A. E
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Field, Admiral E.
Fielden, T.
Finch, G. H.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitz-Wygram, General Sir F. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Fraser, General C. C.
Fulton, J. F.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gedge, S.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gray, C. W.
Hall, A. W.
Hall, C.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hankey, F. A.
Hardcastle, E.
Hartington, Marq. of

Havelock-Allan, Sir H. M.
Heath, A. R.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hill, right hon. Lord A. W.
Hoare, E. B.
Hoare, S.
Houldsworth, Sir W. H.
Howorth, H. H.
Hozier, J. H. C.
Hubbard, hon. E.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hulse, E. H.
Hunt, F. S.
Isaacs, L. H.
Isaacson, F. W.
Jackson, W. L.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
Jeffreys, A. F.
Kelly, J. R.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Kerans, F. H.
Kimber, H.
King, H. S.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, H. T.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, L.
Lambert, C.
Laurie, Colonel R. P.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir J. J. T.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, T. W.
Leighton, S.
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewis, Sir C. E.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Long, W. H.
Lowther, right hon. J.
Macartney, W. G. E.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, J. M.
Maclure, J. W.
M'Calmont, Captain J.
Madden, D. H.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Malcolm, Col. J. W.
Mallock, R.
Maple, J. B.
Matthews, right hon. H.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, Admiral R. C.
Mills, hon. C. W.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morrison, W.
Moss, R.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Mulholland, H. L.
Muncaster, Lord
Murdoch, C. T.
Noble, W.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. Sir H. S.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Paget, Sir R. H.
Parker, hon. F.
Plunket, right hon. D. R.
Plunkett, hon. J. W.
Powell, F. S.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, Sir J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Reed, H. B.
Richardson, T.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, rt. hn. C. T.
Robertson, rt. hon. J. P. B.
Robertson, Sir W. T.
Robinson, B.
Rollit, Sir A. K.
Round, J.
Russell, Sir G.
Russell, T. W.
Selwyn, Capt. C. W.
Seton-Karr, H.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
Sidebottom, T. H.
Sidebottom, W.
Sinclair, W. P.
Smith, right hon. W H.
Smith, A.
Spencer, J. E.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Stokes, G. G.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, F.
Temple, Sir R.
Theobald, J.
Thorburn, W.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Townsend, F.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Vincent, C. E. H.
Walsh, hon. A. H. J.
Waring, Colonel T.
Watson, J.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Webster, R. G.
West, Colonel W. C.
Whitley, E.
Whitmore, C. A.
Williams, J. Powell-
Wilson, Sir S.
Wolmer, Viscount
Wood, N.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wright, H. S.
Wroughton, P.

TELLERS.

Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II. — SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £12,707, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item A, Salaries, Household, part of the Salary of the Chief Secretary, be reduced by the sum of £425."—(*Mr. John Ellis.*)

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork, N.E.) said, that during the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) last night, he noticed that some hon. Members opposite appeared to murmur that they had to hear more of the case of Mr. Mandeville He regretted that they would have to listen to a great deal more on that subject. He honestly regretted to be obliged to immerse the Committee in what was unquestionably, from his point of view, a most scandalous case. But after the speech which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had delivered last night, and the unblushing view of the case which he put forward in Glasgow and in this country, he was left no alternative. After several months retreat in Scotland, the right hon. Gentleman had made a speech at Glasgow in which he spoke of nothing but the Mandeville case, and launched into accusations the most horrible, that he believed, had ever fallen from the lips of a Minister — accusations of a deliberate conspiracy to manufacture untruth and support it by perjury—loathsome charges which, if they were true, would unfit Irish Members to sit in that House, or to be in the society of men. And he levelled those accusations, not only against himself, but connected them by the most brutal language with a man whom few, except himself, would dispute to be the greatest and most venerable

Englishman in that House or out of it. If one of the most unstable persons in the House believed Irish Members to be such demons as the right hon. Gentleman had indicated, at all events the House of Commons was the place where they could not be condemned unheard; and he ventured to say that if the Committee would bear with them for a short time, they would make it plain that if there was anything to blush for it was not on their side. The right hon. Gentleman made a speech last night which almost took away one's breath. He assumed that it was now established that Mr. Mandeville's prison treatment had no more to do with his death than the infantile ailments which he experienced in his cradle. It would be for the Committee to judge between the right hon. Gentleman and Irish Members; but to him it seemed that the evidence was very plain, and so irresistible that he could hardly imagine any man, with an honest mind, taking the trouble to master the details of this case without being driven to the conclusion that John Mandeville was treated in prison in a way which ought to cover every Englishman's face with shame. It was in prison that he was broken down and contracted the disease of which he died, and the shame of that should rest on the men who did it. He should state the facts and leave the Committee to judge between him and the right hon. Gentleman, who had nothing to say but what was jocose and offensive on the subject. The Blue Book furnished to the House as the Report of the Mandeville inquest was, from beginning to end, a mass of glaring falsification and suppression. He did not hesitate to say that it was one of the most shameful and untrustworthy books ever submitted under official authority to the House. But he took the evidence, even as it stood in that mutilated Blue Book, and he should not say too much in stating that he could convince the Committee that instead of there being any crime on the part of Irish Members in having brought the facts of the case to issue at a public sworn investigation, the crime on their part would have been to smother up, as the right hon. Gentleman's police attempted to do, this story of John Mandeville. It was one of the admitted facts in this case that John Mandeville was termed amiable by every single prison official who came across him, except the right hon. Gentleman and Dr. Barr. "Truthful, gentlemanly, and inoffensive"— that was the description given of him by the Governor of the prison. On the morning he and Mr. Mandeville met in Tullamore Gaol, the Chief Police Officer of the district shook hands with him, warmly recognizing him as an old acquaintance, and one of the magistrates swore at the inquest that he had accepted an invitation to breakfast with him after his release. That was the criminal which the right hon. Gentleman got a laugh about from his Glasgow audience by describing him as having taken part in a drunken row in a public house, and whom, after death, he had described as a scoundrel who did not get half what he deserved —the scoundrel which every person who had not had his eyes blinded described as an honourable gentleman. When he entered Tullamore Gaol he was the picture of athletic health and strength, and the chief warder described him as "a fine, healthy and powerful man." Mrs. Mandeville said she did not remember his being in bed even for one day from illness; Dr. MacCraith, whose evidence at Mitchelstown the right hon. Gentleman himself had accepted as invaluable, said, until he went into prison he was a strong, healthy man—a man of joyous temperament, with a strong nervous system, and who up to the time he went to prison never consulted him beyond asking for a few pills. That was the man the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland now asked the Committee to believe died because he took a few long country drives and attended a few open-air meetings. He (Mr. W. O'Brien) ventured to say that Mr. Mandeville had been treated in prison in a manner better calculated to break him down and kill him than those drives along country roads. Let the Committee remember that these statements were not made on their side of the House, but that they were the statements of the right hon. Gentleman's own officials and could be tested by the right hon. Gentleman's own records. On the 2nd of November Mr. Mandeville entered Tullamore Gaol, and three days afterwards he received his first sentence of bread and water—16 ounces of bread in 24 hours, no drink but water, and not one moment for exercising outside his miser-

able, stuffy cell. The reason for the infliction of this punishment was that he objected to wear the prison clothes. On the seventh day he was subject to diarrhœa. On the 10th of November there was an entry made in the prison book that "Mr. Mandeville complained of sore throat and that his breathing was bad;" that was to say, that he was already betraying symptons of the disease of which he died. He ventured to tell the right hon. Gentleman that the character of Dr. Moorhead, who made this statement, stood as high as the reputation of the right hon. Gentleman himself in his own class of society. But they were not dependent on Dr. Moorhead. On the 12th of November they had the prison doctor, Dr. Ridley, prescribing for a sore throat, and yet on the 14th, instead of being removed to the hospital, this man, who was suffering from sore throat and diarrhœa, was sentenced to another term of three days' bread and water punishment. It was while he was undergoing that second term of semi-starvation that the incident occurred which his poor wife told at the inquest was communicated to her in the confidence which existed between husband and wife. She said—

"He told me the whole of his prison life. . . . . He told me more than he told any person in the whole world. . . . . He told me that while his throat was sore he was three days on punishment diet. . . . . He told me that his throat was so sore during that time that he could not eat the punishment diet, brown bread, and could not drink the cold water. . . . . He told me that one of the Tang prisoners in the gaol had given him a rope, and that he tied it round his waist, and as he suffered more and more from hunger he tightened the rope. . . . He told me that from hunger his mind wandered, and that he prayed to God that he might die rather than go mad!"

In answer to the question—

"Did he say anything to you about a scrap of food he got in prison?"

she said—

"He told me that there was a warder one day outside his cell door—one of the ordinary warders, not a friendly warder—and he said he opened the door and 'he threw me in a scrap of meat, as I would throw it to Rover'—that is our dog, and he said he had never in his life enjoyed anything so much—it was a mere tiny scrap."

The right hon. Gentleman had not ventured to repeat the term "perjury" in connection with this statement, although he might say that last night he had done so in effect, by stating that Mrs. Mandeville spoke under the influence of strong excitement, and did not know what she said; and never had one word of sympathy or human feeling dropped from the right hon. Gentleman for the unfortunate lady whom he had left alone in the world. She was not a Norah Fitzmaurice, or a land-grabber's daughter, and there was nothing for her except wounding accusations against the memory of her husband from Tory Gentlemen with all the blood of the Cecils in their veins. They had it on official authority that on the third day of his sentence, on November 14, the prison doctor had to interfere and order the punishment to go no further. Why did the prison doctor cut short that punishment if he did not see that at that period this strong man was beginning to be broken down? On the 14th Dr. Moorhead entered on the prison book that he found Mr. Mandeville suffering from sore throat again; as long ago as the 14th of November, the disease, which afterwards proved fatal, had manifested itself, and he had nothing to moisten his throat except bread and water, and yet it was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary last night that the diarrhœa was not only of no consequence, but was absolutely beneficial. Dr. Ridley did not take that view of the sufferings of his prisoner; he was obliged to cut short his punishment, because he found him suffering from sore throat, the effect of bread and water and imprisonment in that miserable and stuffy cell without exercise; and though they had the prison doctor recognizing the man's break-down and illness, was he sent to hospital even then? Did he receive an ounce of arrowroot or port wine or of brandy? Not a scrap. Dr. Barr swore at the inquest that a bread and water diet was excellent treatment for diarrhœa, and the right hon. Gentleman plainly adopted that statement in his speech last night, when he said that Dr. Barr had stated diarrhœa was of no consequence to Mr. Mandeville, and might even have been beneficial. It was entered in the Visitors' book that he was suffering from sore throat, failing sight, and diarrhœa; and three nights after he was attacked in his sleep, and his clothes were torn off his back by six

jailors—six men against one. That was on November 22. The right hon. Gentleman in a public letter had denied that attack. He asked him if he denied it now? His own official, the Governor, swore that he thought Mr. Mandeville was asleep when they entered; the Chief Warder swore that he appeared to have been asleep. Did the right hon. Gentleman deny that Mr. Mandeville was assaulted? If he did, he (Mr. W. O'Brien) would go into the evidence of every official to show that they admitted that his garments were torn off his back one by one, and that he was left stark naked, only a sheet being thrown over his loins to cover his nakedness. It was said that this was done without violence. What was the evidence on that point by the Governor of the prison? He said there was slight resistance, and to the question whether he twisted about, he replied, "No, but he twisted his arms." The Chief Warder said that they pinioned his arms, and that there was slight resistance. The man was assaulted, the stool which he used to prop up his head was taken away from him, his arms were pinioned, his garments torn from him one by one, and, because this poor man, stricken by illness, stupefied by sleep, was no match for six men in that gaol, the English people were asked to believe that Irish Members were perjurers when they said his prison treatment had more to do with Mr. Mandeville's death than the few open-air meetings he attended. From 8 o'clock that night until 5 o'clock the following evening he was left in his cell without any covering whatever or any clothing of his own, not even his shirt, in bitter November weather. The Governor of the Prison, the Chief Warder, and Dr. Moorhead found him at 5 o'clock next evening walking about the cell with a sheet over him, his legs, chest, and arms bare, and even after that horrible treatment they actually removed the bed-clothes from the cell. The Chief Warder said they would have taken away the last rag if he had not submitted, and he had told him (Mr. W. O'Brien) that they would have done so if he had not submitted and satisfied the Chief Secretary's soul by acknowledging himself a convicted criminal. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had been pleased to be facetious about this. One of his most brilliant sallies in Scotland was that he could not see how the independence of Ireland was to be won by a man sitting in his shirt in prison. It was very easy for the right hon. Gentleman to taunt Irishmen, who had to meet him with different weapons—they who were an unarmed people and he with his 40,000 bayonets, his magistrates, and his juries. It was brave sport, as Lord Rosebery had said, poking his poisoned arrows through his prison bars, and when one of his prisoners died from the treatment to provoke peals of laughter over his grave. Although he did not mean to say that Irishmen advanced the cause of Ireland by such poor fight as they were able to make in that prison, he would tell the right hon. Gentleman that he did not tend to advance the cause of order in Ireland by such practices as he had described. They were told that the warders were mustered for the attack, that they were drawn up as for some desperate deed of valour, and the Governor wound up by saying—"Lead on, men; England expects that every man will do his duty." Was the name of England ever so prostituted as by this ignoble attack upon one defenceless, sleeping man by seven armed warders? He left history to record this exploit of the right hon. Gentleman as his contribution to the glory of England, and he did not think that Irish Members or Ireland would have to blush at the record. Up to the 22nd of November all the punishments had been inflicted upon Mr. Mandeville for the one offence of refusing to wear prison clothes. Then when he put on the prison clothes they found a new cause of quarrel with him, because he refused to clean out his cell and remove slops. Then they discovered a new mode of warfare; they actually left utensils of offensive matter in the cell out of which he was not allowed to move from one day to another. That was the ignoble method of warfare adopted by the right hon. Gentleman. Three days after the attack on the 22nd November he was on bread and water again for this new offence, and on the 26th November Dr. Moorhead entered in the Visitors' book that he found Mr. Mandeville suffering from diarrhœa in a cell close and offensively smelling, and he added that "If this is allowed to continue it must eventuate in malignant disease." Again, it

was not on Dr. Moorhead alone that they depended, for on the 19th November Dr. MacCabe, of the Prison Board, was sent down at the special command of the Chief Secretary, and he found Mr. Mandeville complaining of failing sight and of sore throat. He said that Mr. Mandeville asked him to put his finger in his mouth and directed his attention to a hardness in the gland on the right hand side of the throat, — the very region of the throat in which finally the fatal attack occurred. He actually directed Dr. MacCabe's finger to the very spot, but of course Dr. MacCabe could see nothing amiss. There was still some little strength in his magnificent frame, and instead of being then sent to hospital and put under medical treatment for sore throat, failing sight, and diarrhœa, he was three days afterwards stripped in his cell and left shivering in the winter cold. He (Mr. W. O'Brien) had told the Committee that the second series of punishments began about the refusal to cleanse his cell, and it was at this secondary stage that Dr. Barr made his appearance on the scene, as he (Mr. W. O'Brien) maintained, to flog Dr. Ridley up to his work. The right hon. Gentleman had shifted his ground very considerably last night. His charge in Glasgow was that Irish Members had tried to blacken Dr. Ridley's reputation, whereas his statement last night was that no man on those Benches had attempted to blacken his character. He denied the right hon. Gentleman's right to pose as the champion of Dr. Ridley. Dr. Ridley would not be in his grave to-day had he not been compelled, against his better feelings, to carry out this revolting torture. Not only did the right hon. Gentleman send Dr. Barr to him when he was alive, but he did him a very bad turn by constituting himself his defender after death. He (Mr. W. O'Brien) had not the smallest doubt in his mind that if they could have published in their entirety the secret reports of Dr. Ridley, and, if they could have the communications which he was seen writing upon the morning of his suicide, and of which no explanation had been given, they would find that if Dr. Ridley wanted protection from slander he would have gravitated in the direction of Irish Members rather than in that of the right hon. Gentleman—just as it was to the criminal, and not to the right hon. Gentleman, did he send in his card when he visited the House of Commons. It was one of the curious facts in the case that every visit of Dr. Barr to the prison was followed by a new spell of punishment for the unfortunate man. This Orange doctor, the chairman of an electioneering caucus in Liverpool, the man who in cold blood, when John Mandeville was in his grave, repeated that he was a scoundrel who did not get half enough punishment, had never to that hour expressed a word of apology for his brutal insult. Dr. Barr came on the 28th of November, and this "scoundrel" was again punished; he came on the 5th December, and he was punished again; he came on the 18th December, and on the 20th John Mandeville was thrown into the prison black cell, and it was there he spent the last days of his imprisonment. And this was the Mandeville legend which the right hon. Gentleman pretended had been blown to atoms! The man, instead of receiving medical treatment, was subjected, over and over again, to punishment to the very last day of his imprisonment, and Dr. Barr was not satisfied with all this bread and water, and the forcible stripping, and the hunger and the indignities which the unfortunate man went through, but he swore at the inquest deliberately that two years instead of two months of such treatment would have been a very good thing for John Mandeville. The case of the Government, as he understood it, was that John Mandeville was powerful enough to have gone through two years of this treatment, and yet that he was so frail a creature that, when he regained the air of liberty, a few drives to open-air meetings killed him. He (Mr. W. O'Brien) had never heard anything so detestable. On the 8th December he was on bread and water again, although he was every day complaining of one thing or another—sore throat, rheumatism, and failing sight—he was still kept in this poisonous atmosphere, and was cast into this black cell on the very last day of his imprisonment, and he was released on the morning before his sentence expired in order to prevent the people giving him a cheer. He was forced into a train; the prison officials would not allow him to breakfast with his friends in the town, or to receive the warm clothing that

had been sent to him. They despatched him by train, on one of the coldest mornings, for a long journey without an overcoat. They had the story of his wife as to how he returned—so bluish and shrunken that she scarcely knew him; his hands shaking, and, so feeble, that he complained of the weight of his coat; that on Christmas Day he went to dinner at his father-in-law's house, and immediately after dinner asked his wife to take him home—sick and weary; a man who never had a day's illness in his life. That was the story, and Irish Members were to be called miscreants because they said that the case was a subject for examination in public Court, and because they said that, wherever he died, John Mandeville received his death-blow in Tullamore Prison. The right hon. Gentleman was not satisfied with putting forward his own theory and view of John Mandeville's case; he was not satisfied with sneering at the verdict of the jurors that his death was due to brutal and inhuman treatment; but his position was that the family of this man had been threatened with ugly disclosures in order to intimidate them from going on, and Irish Members were denounced, with every word in the language, because they were not intimidated from bringing the case into a Court of Justice. He would ask the Committee whether, if the most abandoned convict in England had been subjected to such treatment as he had described, and with such results, it would not have been a scandal if it had been allowed to pass without a Coroner's inquest. He owed something to the memory of John Mandeville as a friend and comrade. What was the Governor's reply? What was their theory of John Mandeville's death? In the first place, they handed in a public speech on his release, in which he said that imprisonment had not knocked a feather out of him. What a brave and generous use of a brave man's words! If he had said the opposite, if he had complained that his imprisonment had injured him, or broken his magnificent constitution, what taunts would they not have had, and what crowing would there not have been over the success of coercion! He would read a word or two of what John Mandeville said, almost prophetically to himself—it was taken from his (Mr. W. O'Brien's) evidence at the inquest—

> "Mr. Mandeville never spoke of what he suffered in prison, chiefly because of the base use which might be made by his adversaries of all reference to the subject. He 50 times referred, in the most indignant manner, to the use made by Mr. Balfour of replies of this kind, and told him distinctly, over and over again, that one of his troubles in prison was what reply to make to the Visiting Justices as to whether he had complaints, inasmuch as every word of ours might be tortured by the scoundrels into a whine."

That was strong language, but he knew the generous adversaries with whom he had to deal. The right hon. Gentleman knew in his heart that John Mandeville had never whined, and that Irish Members had never whined or complained of his sentences. Better than any man he knew that they fought him and beat him alone in the depths of that hell with all his aids, and all his tremendous might against them. If the right hon. Gentleman was not satisfied, let him not taunt them in Glasgow, but let him try it again in Ireland, and it would then be seen whether he had the courage to put them to death in the face of the Irish people for refusing to acknowledge themselves miscreants; and if he had not that courage, then let him not allege that matters of this sort were to be disposed of by his sarcasms. John Mandeville never gave up, he kept his principles fast to the last; but his wife told them that day by day he was suffering from one thing or another, although previously he had never had a day's illness in his life, and in the interval between his release and his death, while being examined by a doctor, this giant fainted in his chair. This was the sort of capital which the right hon. Gentleman tried to make out of John Mandeville's avoidance of his suffering. What was the Government case as to John Mandeville's death? They had it announced, in every horrible word in the language, that because he had died outside the prison, his prison treatment had nothing to do with his death, but that he died six months afterwards because he took a few country drives and attended a few open-air meetings. The Government took right good care that he did not drop dead the moment he got outside the prison gates. It would take more than two months of treatment, even such as he got in Tullamore, to shatter a magnificent frame like his. But the right hon. Gentleman, in Glasgow, had given a diary of what he

facetiously calls Mr. John Mandeville's engagements, and his movements night and day, as recorded by the police. That diary he thought deserved to live as an infamous monument as to what police espionage meant for them in Ireland. It showed that he was on six nights out late, and made about a dozen public speeches in the course of six months. He (Mr. W. O'Brien) would like to know what possible bearing that could have on Mr. Mandeville's death. He contrasted that diary with the prison diary he had recited of his continuous round of punishment, and the most brutal and destructive attempt on his health, and he would ask whether the two were to be compared for an instant. He could understand one explanation. The one thing which would give any importance to the right hon. Gentleman's diary would be some foundation for the atrocious charges of intemperance which were hinted at by the Crown counsel at the inquest, and also by the right hon. Gentleman in his speech at Glasgow—accusations which the Crown counsel afterwards slunk out of, and which the right hon. Gentleman did not dare to re-assert last night. On the charge of intemperance he would like to point out to the Committee that the very completeness of the police diary of John Mandeville's movements was a complete and triumphant answer to any possible charge of intemperance, and he said that because the eyes of the police were upon him day and night—and he asked the Committee to believe that the police spies, who noted so exultingly every time they saw him enter a public-house, would have been only too eager to note every time they saw him under the influence of drink, only that they knew that the accusation was a wicked lie in order to intimidate the family from going on with the inquest. When the right hon. Gentleman threw out some dubious hints at Glasgow that John Mandeville had been engaged in a public-house row, he thought he might have recollected that this would have inflicted pain on the widow of that gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had never explained to that hour that if John Mandeville had to be out late at night, and that if he had to make public speeches, it was because the right hon. Gentleman, instead of bringing the Mitchelstown murderers to justice, screened them first, and then actually obliged the people who were fired upon to pay compensation to the extent of £1,000 to the very policeman they had injured, and it was to resist this by his protests that John Mandeville was obliged to be out late at night. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman tell his giggling audience that Irish Members had to be out late at night, and meet in private houses, because he had himself prevented them from meeting in open day? If it were his (Mr. W. O'Brien's) case he was appalled to think what a diary the right hon. Gentleman would construct of his proceedings at night and his presence on licensed premises. He did not know what a Glasgow audience might not have to consider, but intemperance would no doubt have entered into his diary to a very large extent. But if these statements were false and base, as they were, why did the Government tell them that they accounted for John Mandeville's death? Let the Committee remember that he had done the same thing for 12 months previously, only with tenfold energy, in the Plan of Campaign, and that he never had a day's illness or a day with sore throat. Was it the case for the Government that Mr. Mandeville succumbed, when he came out shattered in constitution, to things which he had been able to do with complete immunity 12 months previously? He (Mr. W. O'Brien) said that they held the Government in this dilemma as in a vice: either John Mandeville came out of Tullamore so weak that a few nights' exposure to summer air were enough to kill him—and in that case they had broken him down—or else, if, as they said, he came out of Tullamore as healthy a man as he entered, then he (Mr. W. O'Brien) said, it was preposterous and grotesque to tell men of common sense that this giant in the prime of life was broken down by a few drives to country meetings, and by undertaking duties not half so laborious which had been gone through in the black country with impunity and glory by the oldest man in that House with 79 winters upon his head. He was unwilling to trespass further on the time of the Committee, but would ask the Government to tell them plainly what it was that killed John Mandeville, if it were not that he was broken down in prison. From the highest to the lowest prison officials the right hon. Gentleman could

not get one, except Dr. Barr, to carry out in strictness his unnatural and revolting instructions. He held that this was not a question for medical experts. They had on their side overwhelming testimony of medical experts—the evidence of five doctors, one of them the most eminent physician in the South of Ireland, Dr. P. J. Cremen. Another medical man from Mitchelstown, whose word was accepted as gospel in the Mitchelstown case, was also on their side, and these five doctors, who saw John Mandeville in prison, they had to set against the tremendous array of two doctors. These gentlemen said that John Mandeville's constitution was shattered and broken in prison. and against their evidence the Government had two doctors only—one of them a mere theoretical doctor from Dublin, who never laid his eyes upon John Mandeville, and who was not the most distinguished specialist on the subject; the other was the amiable and infallible Dr. Barr, who swore that his professional brethren were perjurers. Notwithstanding that, he held that this was no question for medical experts, but one for the exercise of common sense and judgment on the facts of the case. Here was a strong man broken down and killed, and the Government told them that he was broken down and killed because he attended some open-air meetings. On the other hand, Irish Members showed that this man had been subject for two months to an unrelenting system of most shameful punishment, and sentenced while suffering day by day from diarrhœa, sore throat, and failure of sight. He had shown that the symptoms of the disease of which he died began to develop themselves after he had been a week in Tullamore prison; that they steadily continued to develop; that on the 12th November Dr. Ridley had to prescribe for his sore throat; that on the 19th a Member of the Prisons Board had his attention directed to the very spot where the hardness was found to exist on the day of his death. He held that that was brutal and inhuman treatment, and that they would have been unworthy of the name of men if they had let the story be buried in John Mandeville's coffin. The right hon. Gentleman had his majority behind him, and he would have it a little longer. Still they submitted to the judgment of Englishmen, that a man who could make sport of such a story as that was not a man fit to be entrusted, as the right hon. Gentleman was, with the lives and the liberties of thousands of John Mandevilles. They held that the hour would come when the condemnation the right hon. Gentleman invoked upon them would fall upon his own levity and his own unmanly and cowardly and cruel treatment.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down began his speech by objecting to what he described as the grossly coarse language in which I adverted to this question in the speech I made at Glasgow. It is certainly singular that the hon. Gentleman who made that criticism at the beginning of his speech should not only be the editor of *United Ireland*, but should adorn his peroration by adjectives such as unmanly, cowardly, and cruel. [An hon. MEMBER: It is true.] It may be true, but what I was going to indicate was that it is hardly polite, and it hardly rests with the hon. Gentleman from whose mouth these flowers of rhetoric spring so freely, to accuse anyone, even the humble individual who is now addressing the Committee, of using coarse and violent language. The hon. Gentleman is apparently under the impression, judging from something he dropped in the course of his speech, that I mean to evade the real issue put before the Committee. The Committee has had several opportunities of judging whether I evade real issues. I do not think my severest critics will say I am in the habit of evading the point. Before I sit down I will give the hon. Gentleman ample proof, at all events, that that is not my intention on this occasion. The hon. Gentleman has not merely adverted to one principal point on which he desires information from me—namely, what is the Government theory as to the death of Mr. Mandeville, but he has indulged in a considerable amount of miscellaneous invective at my expense. Some of his statements I had perhaps better dispose of before I call the attention of the Committee to what I regard as the kernel of the subject. The hon. Gentleman said for example, amongst other things, that I had uttered calumnies on the late Mr. Mandeville, and I am not

sure that he did not make out that I had accused Mr. Mandeville of intemperance.

MR. W. O'BRIEN: I am referring to the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman in Glasgow, amidst the cheers of his Tory audience, that Mr. Mandeville was engaged in a drunken row in a public house shortly before his death.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is not my business to interpret the cheers of my audience; but, if I may interpret the feeling of my audience, it was that they they considered — as I considered — that by the time I had reached that point in my references to Mr. Mandeville it was proved and demonstrated that no man in a delicate state of health could do what Mr. Mandeville did for several months before his death. But, passing from what my audience did, I absolutely deny that I made any insinuation against Mr. Mandeville of the kind indicated; and I go further, and say that if the hon. Gentleman will look at the part of my speech to which he refers he will see that I carefully guarded myself against any inference being drawn of a character unfavourable to Mr. Mandeville from the catalogue of Mr. Mandeville's doings during the few months before his death, which the character of my argument rendered it absolutely necessary I should give. If I had to mention, as I was bound to do, the incidents of this drunken row, do not let any hon. Gentleman think I obtained the information from what are called "police spies." The matter came before a public tribunal, and a report appeared in the journals of the country. Why I am not allowed to quote anything so relevant to the argument I was then addressing to the people of Glasgow, I am unable to understand. I repeat that it is wholly false to allege that I made the slightest insinuation against the private character of Mr. Mandeville, either as regards habits of intemperance or his occupations. But, then, the hon. Member attacked my reference to Mrs. Mandeville. So far as I recollect, I, for obvious reasons and on account of the delicacy of the subject, did not refer to that question at Glasgow at all. I was forced by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian to refer to it last night; and I ask any man who heard the terms in which I made that reference whether I did not take every pains that it was possible to take, that no wound should be inflicted upon Mrs. Mandeville, by what I said; and whether I did not make every excuse in my power for the statement which fell from her, I believe in a moment of excitement, but the accuracy of which it was absolutely impossible for me, in view of the whole circumstances of the case, to accept or to pretend to this House that I did accept. The hon. Gentleman says that no words of sympathy ever fell from me with reference to Mrs. Mandeville; but he has only to look at my speech last night and he will see that in the very passage to which he refers I did point out that Mrs. Mandeville's position was naturally and necessarily one with which every humane man must sympathize. Now, the hon. Member went on to state that his Party had never blackened Dr. Ridley's character, and he seemed to think that he had obtained some support for that doctrine of his from the fact that I said last night that hon. Members below the Gangway opposite had themselves admitted that Dr. Ridley was a humane man in the conduct of prisons. Yes; hon. Members below the Gangway opposite have publicly stated that Dr. Ridley was a humane man, and they did him no more than justice; but that did not prevent them or their friends bringing forward at the Ridley inquest most mendacious and calumnious accusations against the unhappy man, threatening to blacken his character—[MR. W. O'BRIEN: Certainly not!]—when there was no man left to defend him. There was actually an attempt made to induce the jury to bring in a verdict of *felo de se*, and then to brand the unhappy man with the character of a felon. What Dr. Ridley thought of the hon. Gentleman himself and his friends was evident, not from evidence got up afterwards, but from contemporary letters which have been produced since. For instance, it was Dr. Ridley who talked of the far-fetched blackguardism of the proceedings by which his character had been attacked. The hon. Gentleman then went on to discuss the whole question of Mr. Mandeville's treatment in prison. I

suppose most hon. Members who are now listening to me heard the account of Mr. Mandeville's treatment given by the hon. Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane). Would it not be supposed from that account that this unhappy man was in a constant state of illness, and that while he was suffering from severe diarrhœa, from a severe affection of the eyes, and from severe sore throat—that while he was suffering from this accumulation of ailments he was subjected day after day to a succession of brutal punishments for not wearing the prison clothes? Will it be believed that the total number of days' punishment which Mr. Mandeville was subjected to during the whole course of his imprisonment was six? ["No!"] Six days' punishment Mr. Mandeville was subjected to during the whole course of his imprisonment; and the chief hardship—if hardship it could be called—to which he was subjected during those six days' punishment was the diet of bread and water, and on the subject of the diet of bread and water Mr. Mandeville himself said, in a speech reported in *The Freeman's Journal* on the 27th of December—

> "As to the mere bread and water, I did not care a snap of my finger about it."

That was Mr. Mandeville's own statement, and his own view of what I regard as the chief incident of the punishment inflicted upon him throughout the whole of the two months during which he was subjected to imprisonment. Then the hon. Gentleman has brought up the question of diarrhœa. Let me point out to the Committee that the whole medical case of the hon. Gentleman and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and of those persons who have dealt with the prison treatment of Mr. Mandeville, rests, not upon the testimony of doctors who examined him, but upon the testimony of doctors who did not examine him. [*Cries of* "Who are they?"] It rests entirely—I do not count the Report of the Medical Gentleman who sent in a Report without seeing Mr. Mandeville at all; I leave that on one side—it rests entirely upon the allegation made by Dr. Moorhead. Now, Dr. Moorhead never examined the prisoner medically. He was a Visiting Justice, and in the interests, I presume, of the National Leage, he abused his position of Visiting Justice in order to send inflammatory and mendacious reports to the newspapers of what went on, and his conduct, which, in my opinion, would have been disgraceful in any circumstances, was rendered doubly disgraceful by the fact that the man whose character he was taking away was his professional rival. It is on the testimony of that gentleman, and on the testimony of that gentleman alone, that assertions with regard to the health of Mr. Mandeville are made. We have to put against them the actual testimony of the three doctors who did examine Mr Mandeville—namely, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Barr—[*Ironical Cheers*]—I have not done with Dr. Barr—and Dr. MacCabe. Well, these doctors all agreed in saying that the attacks of diarrhœa were trifling. [*Cries of* "Quote the evidence!"] There is no evidence that the diarrhœa was otherwise than trifling, and there is this positive evidence that it was trifling.

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): Where is the evidence of that?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin must restrain his impatience. I am sorry to have to appeal to him personally. I have had to do so before. He must not interrupt the speaker.

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON: I merely asked——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And there is this positive evidence that the ailment was trifling—namely, that the prisoner himself refused treatment for it, certainly on one occasion. Very well. Then there is the question of rheumatism. Is it conceivable that a man suffering from rheumatism should refuse, as Mr. Mandeville did refuse, to use the flannel garments which were offered to him? Then, Sir, there is the question of the sore throat. The hon. Member who has just sat down has had the hardihood to declare that the disease from which Mr. Mandeville ultimately died was one that had already manifested itself when he was in prison. Mr. Mandeville was examined not merely by Dr. Ridley, not merely by Dr. Barr — but by Dr. MacCabe, and Dr. MacCabe could not find any evidence of ailment of the throat. Under these circumstances what is the value of the accusation made by

the hon. Member that this man was not admitted to hospital? Has there ever been shown the slightest reluctance on the part of any doctor in Ireland to put any prisoner in hospital, be he one of that Party opposite, or be he a member of any other Party, who ought properly to be in hospital? The hon. Member himself was in hospital most of the time he was imprisoned. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) was in hospital, I believe, the whole time of his imprisonment; and Dr. Ridley himself, if I am not mistaken, actually implored the Member for East Cork—if my recollection serves me, the fact came out at the Ridley inquest—to go into hospital, but he would not do so. We have this accumulation of testimony, that there has been no reluctance on the part of the Irish prison doctors to send any man to hospital.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): What about the young man——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And in the face of that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. O'Brien) actually comes down to this House with the amasing and absurd fiction that Mr. Mandeville was purposely kept out of hospital to prevent him getting hospital treatment, with the view of carrying out the amicable object the Chief Secretary had in view—namely, putting an untimely end to his existence.

MR. W. O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, is the right hon. Gentleman in Order in imputing that statement which I, as a Representative of the people, submitted very solemnly to the House is a fiction?

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not understand that. I was watching the right hon. Gentleman very carefully, and I did not understand that he imputed to the hon. Member that he intended to put forward a false statement.

MR. W. O'BRIEN: No; he never does things straightforwardly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Very well; so much for the hospital treatment, or the want of hospital treatment, of Mr. Mandeville. Now I come to the question of bread and water and semi-starvation and the rope. It is perfectly true that Mrs. Mandeville said that Mr. Mandeville had, upon one occasion, put a rope round his waist because he was suffering from hunger. I am sorry to say that it is absolutely impossible for me to attach any credence to that story; but I have no doubt Mrs. Mandeville, when she made it, made it in perfect good faith. My reasons are these: In the first place, the prison officials said that such an incident could not possibly take place in prison without the prison officials knowing it. No prisoner in England or Ireland, or anywhere else, could possibly put a rope round his waist, even if he could get a rope, which he could not, without its being known to the prison officials, and it never was known. My second reason is, that while every incident of the imprisonment of this gentleman was made the subject of comment—and not always of veracious comment—in the Nationalist journals at the time, while every incident was twisted in order to prove that prisoners were suffering from unusual and unheard-of treatment, we never heard a word of this incident of the rope round Mr. Mandeville's waist until Mr. Mandeville was no more. In the third place, the quantity of the diet of bread and water is perfectly well known. It is, I believe, the same in England as in Ireland; and there is no evidence whatever—what evidence there is is entirely the other way—that that diet, however disagreeable in other ways, was so limited in quantity that it would not satisfy the appetite of an ordinary man. There is one other argument I have to bring before the Committee on this subject. At the very time it was alleged that Mr. Mandeville was so far suffering from starvation that he had to tie a rope round his waist, we know from independent testimony—from hon. Members opposite—that two or three of the Members for Cork, who were at that time incarcerated, were at that moment receiving clandestinely food from outside. If they could receive food—if they could mitigate the horrors of the prison, under a Conservative Government, by getting food from outside—why could not Mr. Mandeville do the same? Let us have some explanations of this exceptional treatment of Mr. Mandeville. The hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) could get it; the hon. Member for South-East Cork (Mr. Hooper) could get it.

MR. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.): I beg to ask on what authority he makes that statement?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The facts came out at the time of the inquest.

MR. HOOPER: I regret to say the right hon. Gentleman cannot have read the evidence I gave at the inquest, or he would not have made that statement.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If Mr. Mandeville was suffering from exceptional starvation, I cannot understand why he or his friends could not find the means of obtaining food from outside, as the hon. Members for North-East and South-East Cork did. Now, we come to the question of prison clothes. The hon. Gentleman has given the Committee an account of what took place when Mr. Mandeville was compelled to put on his prison clothes, the accuracy of which I absolutely dispute. I have expressed before in the House my opinion that the officials of the prison would not only be justified, but would be obliged to use such amount of force as should, unhappily, be necessary to compel prisoners to obey the Prison Rules; but I am glad to think that in this case the amount of force used was so trifling as hardly to be perceptible. [An hon. MEMBER: He was awoke out of his sleep.] He was not. The incident occurred a little after 8 o'clock in the evening, and the gas was still burning. The warders came in, and Mr. Mandeville acting on the ludicrous policy—I never could regard it as otherwise than a comic policy—by which the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) attempted to vindicate the liberties of his country—declined to put on the prison clothes, and he gave just that amount of passive resistance which was necessary to afford adequate proof that he was carrying out that policy. But that this strong man offered any serious resistance to the warders there is no evidence to show; all the evidence absolutely contradicts it. Nor is it true, as the hon. Gentleman seems to believe, and attempted to make the Committee believe, that when Mr. Mandeville was deprived of his clothes he was left shivering in the cold without any means of covering. In the first place, the new clothes were left in the cell; and, in the second place, he was left with the ordinary bed-clothes. He went to bed in the ordinary way, and remained there until 5 o'clock the next morning. If he walked about, as the hon. Gentleman alleged, covered only by a sheet, it was entirely due to his own voluntary action—it had nothing to do with the action of the prison officials, and he had no one but himself to thank for the consequences. I am glad that, so far as any evidence we have can give any indication on the point, he suffered no inconvenience. Now, I have gone through in detail the particular allegations made by the hon. Gentleman with regard to the maladies from which the hon. Gentleman alleges Mr. Mandeville suffered during his imprisonment. Then the hon. Gentleman put before us two alternative theories as to Mr. Mandeville's death—his own theory and what he calls our theory, and he asked the Committee to decide which was most probable. His theory is that the seeds of the inflammation of the throat, of which Mr. Mandeville died, were sown in his constitution during the course of his imprisonment; that he practically left the prison a dying man; and that he took six months to die simply because he happened to be a man of exceptionally strong constitution. Now, before I come to our theory of Mr. Mandeville's death, let me point out the objections there are to the hon. Gentleman's theory. In the first place, we have the evidence of the doctors who examined the gentleman that he was not suffering from any serious malady of the throat at all. In the second place, Dr. Moore, who went from Dublin—and not he alone, but Dr. Barr also—swore that the malady of which Mr. Mandeville died could not have laid dormant in the constitution for more than a comparatively small number of days. We have, further, the fact that Mrs. Mandeville never advised her husband to go near a doctor during the whole of the six months which elapsed between his release from prison and his final illness. Now it will be observed that besides this we have the fact that Mr. Mandeville, who was a very heavy man—upwards of 17 stone in weight—only lost three pounds during the course of his imprisonment, the severity of which has been described by the hon. Gentleman. Then we find that Mr. Mandeville, in a speech he made at Cork, said he had not lost a feather by his imprisonment. We have the contemporaneous evidence of the reporter of *The Freeman's Journal* that Mr. Mandeville looked perfectly well at the time—that he was in excel-

lent spirits; we find, further, that it was proved on oath at the trial on the 1st of March that Mr. Mandeville said he had never in his life been in better health; and, lastly, we have the whole course of life which Mr. Mandeville pursued during the interval between his release from prison and his death. Anyone who examines the circumstances will say that none but a very strong man would venture to go through the continual excitement, exposure, and fatigue to which Mr. Mandeville voluntarily exposed himself after his release from gaol. These difficulties seem to me to be absolutely insuperable; and observe that they do not rest upon evidence got up after Mr. Mandeville died—they rest upon contemporary statement, largely, if not entirely; and I am bound to say, after looking through all the evidence presented at the inquest, that every statement that was not a contemporary statement appears to me as extremely suspicious. Then, what is our theory? It is simply this: Mr. Mandeville was a strong man; he was subjected to the ordinary treatment to which prisoners in Ireland are subjected—a milder treatment than that which ordinary English prisoners receive; he had not to undergo any very prolonged punishment; there is no contemporary evidence whatever that he suffered by his imprisonment; there is contemporary evidence that after his release he lived a life of extreme fatigue and excitement; there is evidence that the disease he died of—namely, an inflamamtory affection of the throat—was one he might easily have caught from the life of exposure which he did live; and I am utterly unable to understand how any human being who puts these two theories side by side and considers the evidence upon which they both rest, can hesitate for a moment as to which ought to be adopted. Now no one will accuse me of having shirked the real issue. I must protest—no, I will not protest, for it is too foolish to protest against—but I must call the attention of the Committee to the gross absurdity of the theory habitually put forward by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. O'Brien) that I have any design against his life or of that of any of his friends. That is a theory which seems to me to be the production of a diseased vanity. I assure the hon. Gentleman that if ever I entertained the design of committing murder, it is not upon him or his friends that I should commence operations. If he really supposes that I or any gentleman who has been a Member of the House—I will not say anyone who has ever occupied a responsible position—could ever entertain such a design, the absurdity of which almost exceeds its wickedness—if he really entertains such a theory, the sooner he purges his mind of it the sooner he may be able to apply his intellect impartially and clearly to the consideration of contemporary Irish Questions. Now I am reminded by my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland of a matter which I should have been very sorry to have forgotten. I promised the Committee just now that I would refer again to Dr. Barr. I have more than once had to bear testimony, and have gladly borne testimony to the merits of Dr. Barr; but I should like to call the attention of the Committee to testimony to Dr. Barr's merits which does not depend either upon the opinion of the Prisons Board of England, though I do not think that opinion is not likely to be attacked from the Front Bench opposite, nor upon my own, but upon the opinion of Dr. Barr's own professional brethren. Will the Committee allow me to read the testimony to Dr. Barr's merits, signed by 181 medical men of Liverpool of all shades of political opinion, initiated by Dr. William Carter, the President of the Medical Institution. It is as follows:—

"We, whose names are affixed hereto, knowing Dr. James Barr, and appreciating strongly his high and independent personal character and sound professional abilities, desire to express our sympathy with him in the recent attacks made upon him, and especially in the unfair attempt to depreciate him professionally, made by a Medical Member of the House of Commons on the 15th instant."

That is signed by Dr. William Carter and 181 medical gentlemen of all shades of political opinion.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): May I ask how the signatures were obtained?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not all. I am authorized to use publicly a letter from Dr. William Carter to Dr. Barr. It appears Dr. Barr offered to show Dr. William Carter, confidentially, the Report he made upon the Irish prisons. Dr. William Carter replied—

"78, Rodney Street, Nov. 27, 1888.

"My dear Dr. Barr,—Unless you particularly wish me to have a private inspection of your Reports, I will not avail myself of the offer, for the following reason—namely, that I have such absolute faith in the integrity and generosity of your disposition as to be fully persuaded, first that you would not turn to the right hand nor to the left from the plain path of duty to please anybody: and, secondly, that you would deal truly and generously with a political opponent as with a political friend; and that, if I inspected your Reports, it would seem almost like implying a doubt about your possession of the good qualities I have mentioned. If——

I beg the attention of the Committee to this fact—

"If I were a political prisoner—as, owing to my total dissent from the methods and principles of the present Government, I might possibly have been, if accident had not removed me many years ago from Ireland—there would be no man whose Report on my health I would more implicitly trust for soundness, and even for leaning towards generosity within the limits of truth and duty, than yours. I regret very much to see the attacks made upon you in the House of Commons."

And then follows a reference to a private individual. I have been favoured by other gentlemen high in the Medical Profession with the strongest testimonials to Dr. Barr's merits; but I have not been authorized to use them in particular. I have been authorized to use the letter of Dr. William Carter, and I do it with peculiar pleasure, because the man who wrote it is not merely a representative of the Medical Profession in Liverpool, but he is an advanced and ardent Home Ruler. He is an advanced and ardent supporter of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian; and testimony couched in such language, and coming from such a quarter, may, I think, impose some silence upon those who have thought fit to turn their political venom against Dr. Barr. In connection with these points, I might—had I not already kept the Committee much longer than I intended—have brought forward some satisfactory comparisons of the prison treatment in Ireland and in England; but I think what I have said is simply sufficient to show that, so far as anything has been brought forward against the Government with regard to the treatment of political prisoners in Ireland in general, and with regard to Mr. Mandeville in particular, the case absolutely breaks down, that it will not stand a moment's impartial investigation, and that we may safely leave it to the verdict of our countrymen.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he would deal first with the statement which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had made with regard to the weight of Mr. Mandeville. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman took the trouble to read the evidence at the Mandeville inquest or not; but, if so, he begged to call his attention to the evidence of Mr. William Webb. Mr. Mandeville was weighed in the Cork Gaol by Mr. William Webb, or on scales under the control of that gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that there was only a diminution of three pounds in the weight of Mr. Mandeville; but Mr. Webb, in his cross-examination by the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington), said he was present in February last when the weights were tested by the Constabulary, and found that they were not correct. It was upon the result of the weighing on these scales that the right hon. Gentleman founded his statement that Mr. Mandeville was only reduced three pounds in weight. He was afraid that that statement of the right hon. Gentleman was quite as untrustworthy as many others he had made. In the course of his speech, the right hon. Gentleman had also said that the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. W. O'Brien) and his Colleagues brought disgraceful charges against Dr. Ridley. They denied that statement. The right hon. Gentleman gave as an excuse for his own disgraceful and gross language in Glasgow, the language which he said that hon. Members employed towards Dr. Ridley, but that language, if employed at all towards Dr. Ridley, was employed towards him alive, while the gross insults of the right hon. Gentleman were directed against Mr. John Mandeville dead. The Chief Secretary had said that John Mandeville was only subjected to six day's punishment altogether. Had the right hon. Gentleman read the evidence given by his own official, the Governor of Tullamore Gaol, at the inquest on Mr. Mandeville's body? That gentleman stated that on November 5 he sentenced John Mandeville to one day's punish-

ment, on November 14 to three days' punishment, but one of which days was remitted. On November 28 to one day; on December 8 to two days'; and on December 20 to two days' solitary confinement in the punishment cell. They amounted to eight days' punishment altogether.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: He was condemned to eight days' punishment, but only suffered six days' punishment.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the testimony of the Governor of the Gaol, which he preferred to that of the right hon. Gentleman, was that only one day's punishment out of the nine was remitted, which made eight days' punishment in all. The right hon. Gentleman had also said that there was no contemporary evidence that Mr. John Mandeville suffered from throat disease. How could the right hon. Gentleman have arrived at that conclusion? Dr. Ridley was contemporary evidence that Mandeville suffered from throat disease, for Dr. Ridley himself gave Mandeville a gargle for his throat. Dr. Barr was evidence that Mandeville suffered from throat disease, because he acknowledged that he suggested to Dr. Ridley that a gargle should be given to Mandeville. Dr. M'Cabe was contemporary evidence that Mandeville suffered from throat disease. Dr. M'Cabe said he was unable to find symptoms of sore throat himself; but he did not deny that Mandeville complained of sore throat. All the time Mandeville was in gaol he complained of sore throat, and treatment for sore throat was frequent on the part of Dr. Ridley. Under such circumstances the right hon. Gentleman had the face to say that there was no contemporary evidence of the existence of sore throat. Again, would the Committee believe that the same records, upon which the right hon. Gentleman relied as to John Mandeville's weight, gave his age when first he was admitted to prison as 38; that subsequently they gave it at 34; and, by the time he went out, they gave it at 30? The right hon. Gentleman shortened the life of John Mandeville by his prison treatment; but, at least, he could not take eight years from the life he had already lived. Now, the Glasgow speech was slightly more vigorous than the poor, fumbling, and weak speech they had had from the right hon. Gentleman to-night. The right hon. Gentleman was not then confronted by his opponents, and he gave full play to that sinister wit which he possessed in association with the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), who insulted 250,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects by the odious title of "Black men." The right hon. Gentleman had dared to defend the taste of his Glasgow speech. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was in Glasgow two days after that speech was delivered, and it was his duty to reply to that speech. He had to read the reports of the speech carefully, but he could scarcely follow the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman, because of the fact that nearly every phrase was interrupted by the shouts of merriment which his coarse jokes over the grave of John Mandeville evoked. Scotchmen were generally supposed not to be more quickly alive to a joke than men of other Nationalities; but the jokes of the right hon. Gentleman, which he described as obscure, were so palpable that every man in that Scotch audience burst into shouts of laughter at every second sentence. The right hon. Gentleman meant to provoke laughter at the expense of a man who lay silent in his grave, and at the expense of some hon. Gentlemen here still happily alive to answer his taunts and his sneers. There was in Scotland no more unflinching supporter of the right hon. Gentleman's policy than the Unionist organ, *The Glasgow Herald*, but so disgusted was *The Glasgow Herald* with the tone and taste of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, that it publicly rebuked him on the day after his speech. What did the right hon. Gentleman say of Mr. Mandeville? He said that on May 21 Mr. Mandeville drove home late at night and took part in a drunken row, and that statement was followed by laughter. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"Ladies and gentlemen, do not misunderstand me. I have not the smallest idea in what capacity Mr. Mandeville appeared on the occasion."

His refutations of the charge of drunkenness in the case of Mr. Mandeville were quite as sincere as was the use of the phrase—"They are all honourable men," by which a great Roman once wished to describe and denounce his political opponents. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that—

"On June 4 Mandeville was in Fermoy, and remained in a public-house until 10 o'clock, and that on June 21 he was seen in a public-house in Fermoy at 11.30 o'clock—14 miles from home."

And again there was laughter. In the course of half-a-dozen lines the words public-house were mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman three times, plainly suggesting—though not openly and courageously avowing—that Mr. John Mandeville was what the right hon. Gentleman's tools in Ireland had endeavoured to paint him as being—namely, a man of intemperate habits. The right hon. Gentleman described John Mandeville's crime as that of urging tenants to resist eviction. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman have the honesty to say that in the affair with which John Mandeville was associated not a single blow was struck, and no harm done to anyone? Why did he not say, as he must know, that to-day and for all time to come, the tenants, and the children of the tenants, on the Mitchelstown estate would bless the name of John Mandeville for having secured them peace, happiness, and prosperity? The right hon. Gentleman disclaimed all responsibility for his audience; he was not at all surprised at that. "Was," he said, "his treatment harsh and unjustifiable?" and then there were cries of "No, no!" and cheers. That even shocked the right hon. Gentleman; for he went on to say—

"Well, I do not ask you to accept that conclusion until I have finished."

To-night the right hon. Gentleman denied that he had said anything injurious of Mrs. Mandeville. What did he mean by saying that he attached no weight to the evidence that was concocted after Mr. Mandeville's death? The evidence that was given after death was evidence given not only by medical men—but the most serious, most damaging, and most convincing evidence was given by the widow. Therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman spoke of concocted evidence, he must have meant the evidence given by Mrs. Mandeville as well as by the doctors. The right hon. Gentleman was guilty of the miserable expedient of throwing dirt at the widow of a man whom his officers had done to death. The Chief Secretary had said that the reporter of *The Freeman's Journal* had spoken of John Mandeville as being in the best health and spirits. His hon. Friend (Mr. W. O'Brien) had dealt with that statement; but he had dealt with it in a way that any honourable and high-minded man could understand. The hon. Gentleman had said that the Chief Secretary took advantage of the cheery words of a brave spirit as indicative of the man's health. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had read Mr. Mandeville's letters; he had read all the evidence concerning him; and the conviction in his mind—and, he thought, in the mind of every impartial man—was that, if there was one thing more conspicuous among the many noble qualities of John Mandeville than another, it was his noble fortitude and his reticence as to his own sufferings. That very reticence it was that the right hon. Gentleman turned against him. The right hon. Gentleman said that no doctor did anything for Mr. Mandeville; that the wife never called in a doctor. That was a most injurious statement to make in regard to the widow of John Mandeville. It was a statement amounting to a charge of gross neglect of her duty as a wife. But the statement was not true; it was utterly untrue. Dr. M'Craith prescribed for John Mandeville; but there was another doctor whose evidence he regretted was not taken. Dr. O'Hara actually was called in by John Mandeville to examine his eyes. What took place? While Dr. O'Hara was examining the eyes of John Mandeville, this powerful giant fainted. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) could not say how long it was after his imprisonment. His hon. Friend (Mr. W. O'Brien) now told him it was about a month before his death. It was, therefore, long before the final seizure which, according to the right hon. Gentleman, was a circumstance which arose suddenly and killed suddenly. Could proof be required more clear or convincing that the health of John Mandeville was broken down by prison treatment and prison doctors? There was a consensus of opinion among medical men, excepting, of course, Dr. Barr, and one or two other prison officials, that John Mandeville, when he came out of gaol, was remarkable for a blueness of the lips; and in this connection might he be permitted to allude to the lamentable death of a Colleague of his, the late Mr. Dwyer Gray? A few months before that gentleman died he remarked, in his

lips, that very same lividity which was described by a witness in regard to John Mandeville. Mr. Dwyer Gray died of syncope of the heart in connection with asthma. There was no symptom, he was informed by a medical man, which more clearly proved weakness of the heart than that very blueness of the lips. The lividity of Mr. Mandeville's lips, immediately after he came out of prison, proved conclusively to his mind, and he thought to every rational man, that at the very moment of his release he was already suffering from weakness of the action of the heart, which was one of the causes of his death. Dr. Barr was examined at the Ridley inquest in regard to this blueness of the lips. The resources of that medical gentleman did not fail him upon this occasion. In the first place, he denied that there was any blueness of the lips at all; and when that could no longer be denied, he advanced the theory that the blueness might be due to the use of a blue pocket-handkerchief. What were they to think of the capacity, or the honesty, or the impartiality, or the humanity of a doctor who, when he was brought face to face with this lividity of lips, which was one of the strongest signs of the weakness of the heart's action, found refuge in the statement that it was, perhaps, due to the use of a blue pocket-handkerchief? The statement was worthy of the Chief Secretary himself. He had shown how untrue the statement was that Mr. Mandeville did not go to a doctor in the interval between his release and his death. The Chief Secretary relied on Dr. Moore's evidence; but did Dr. Moore ever see Mr. Mandeville alive or dead? Dr. Barr never saw him when he was dying, and never saw him when he was dead. Dr. M'Cabe never saw him when he was dying, and never saw him when he was dead; and they were asked to disbelieve all the men who saw him dying and saw him dead, and to believe the evidence of men, some of whom never saw him alive, and none of whom saw him dying. He never heard a more extraordinary demand upon the credulity of mankind. Dr. Moore gave his account of the case from statements made to him; and the right hon. Gentleman, in face of that fact, which he took care not to tell to his Glasgow audience, made the audacious statement that the evidence of Dr. Moore alone was sufficient to prove the case of the Government that Mr. Mandeville did not die of the prison treatment. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not deny the evidence of Dr. Moore; he was not inclined even to throw doubt upon Dr. Moore's impartiality, especially as he saw the right hon. Gentleman made him declare that the prison treatment could have had nothing to do with the death of John Mandeville, a statement he was sorry to say Dr. Moore committed himself to. At the same time, Dr. Moore was obliged to confess that such treatment as John Mandeville received was treatment calculated to predispose a man for the disease of which John Mandeville died. The evidence of Dr. Moore, so far as it could be relied upon at all, was in favour of, and not against, the Nationalist case. His hon. Friend had called attention to the fact that Dr. M'Craith, another doctor who committed himself clearly and explicitly to the statement that the prison treatment contributed to the death of John Mandeville, was a Constabulary doctor, and therefore under the control of the right hon. Gentleman himself. Then the right hon. Gentleman said that the Irish Prison Rules were more lenient than the English Prison Rules. That was exactly on a par with the statement that the laws of England and Ireland were exactly the same. The statement, however, was absolutely untrue; but, supposing it was true, they all knew that two countries might have the same laws, but very different administration of those laws. Would anybody dare to treat English prisoners as Mr. Mandeville was treated? His hon. Friend said that Mr. Mandeville was not treated as well as ordinary prisoners in England who were willing to wear the garb of their profession. But his hon. Friend did not state the whole strength of his case. Even leaving out the question of the wearing of the prison garb altogether, John Mandeville was not treated as well as a burglar or a pickpocket would be in England. The first rule and maxim of prison treatment and of medical authorities in gaols in England was that a prisoner, if ill, should be sent to the hospital, and should not be tortured as John Mandeville was. What became of the statement that the Prison Rules in Ireland were more lenient than those in England? The meaning of the statement was that the poorest Irish patriots were tortured in the Irish prisons

in a way that the vilest cut-throat would not be tortured in England. Mandeville was suffering from diarrhœa; and if he had been in any English gaol he would have been in hospital. It was only because he was in an Irish gaol, under the more lenient rule of Irish prisons, that he was allowed to remain suffering in his cell. He would like now to deal with the question whether the evidence in regard to John Mandeville's suffering was contemporaneous or concocted *ex post facto* in order to make a case. And here let him recommend to the right hon. Gentleman's perusal the little penny pamphlet called *John Mandeville's Murder*, and written by Mr. Sidney Halifax. From that pamphlet it would be seen that Mrs. Mandeville's evidence in regard to the suffering of her husband was evidence which she gave months before the poor man's death. Mr. Mandeville died in June; but on the 7th of the preceding January Mrs. Mandeville wrote to Mrs. Halifax—

"You can well imagine my joy in having my husband home. He was very thin and weak; but, thank God, is daily pulling up. His eyes have become quite weak from the white prison walls, and I think it will be a long time before they will be as strong as they were before."

There was a second letter given in the pamphlet; it was not dated; but he understood it was written about the same time—namely, January 7. It was written to a lady at Cambridge, and in which Mrs. Mandeville said—

"My dear Jack being liberated on Christmas Eve was quite unexpected, and evidently done by the Government to avoid demonstrations at Tullamore and at stations along the line. His cell was flagged and bitterly cold. I wonder my husband did not go mad. He tied a rope round his waist, which he tightened as his hunger grew worse."

This was the story the right hon. Gentleman said he could not believe. Here, however, was astatement not only setting forth the same fact, but a statement in the very same words which were employed six months afterwards, a coincidence which was absolutely conclusive of the *bona-fides* of the statement. Now what had the right hon. Gentleman to say as to the assertion made by Mrs. Mandeville being made "in a state of great excitement"? But this was not the only testimony he had. He had also a letter written by John Mandeville himself, and dated January the 2nd, 1888, also six months before his death —more than six months. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would not go through the letter now. All he would say was that it corresponded in every particular in this statement as to the man's treatment with the statement made afterwards by his widow at the trial. How could these statements be accidental? If he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) made a statement now, and if six months hence he should die, and if that statement remained on record, supposing it were repeated after his death, surely the coincidence would not be accidental. Would it rather not be corroboration sufficient to bring conviction to any candid man? Therefore this *ex post facto* "evidence concocted after the man's death" was evidence that was given six months before there could have been any reason to quote such evidence. He left the right hon. Gentleman to reconcile this evidence on the part of Mrs. Mandeville with his pretended sympathy for her. And now he came to Dr. Barr. Dr. Barr did not seem to have understood in what capacity he went to the gaol. As he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) understood this gentleman's functions, they were to report upon the treatment of the prisoners, and to assure the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that they were being properly treated. Well, those were functions which were perfectly intelligible. He did not think the instrument chosen was very well adapted for the purpose of the right hon. Gentleman. What did Dr. Barr do? Why, he scarcely had arrived in the prison when, instead of simply confining himself to reporting upon the case, he interfered with the treatment of the prisoner by Dr. Ridley. He suggested a gargle, and made some other suggestions which he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) could not at the moment recollect. But that was not the only kind of interference he practised. This generous and humane man spent every moment of his time there in either insulting John Mandeville, or in trying to overcome the humanity of the poor weak creature, Dr. Ridley, whose untimely death was as much at the door of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as that of John Mandeville himself. Here, again, they had coincidents. The right hon. Gentleman smiled. There was a familiar quotation which he could

apply to the right hon. Gentleman, but he would not repeat it at that moment. His idea of the right hon. Gentleman was not that he was a villain; he had another very different impression of his character, which he would take the liberty of submitting to the Committee before he sat down. Here were some singular coincidents. Every time that Dr. Barr visited this gaol there was an increase of the punishment of poor John Mandeville. Was this accidental? What did Dr. Barr say in his evidence? Why, his hon. Friend the Member for South-East Cork (Mr. Hooper), who was at that time in Tullamore Gaol, and who had just passed him a slip of paper with a memorandum—threw very considerable light on the relations between Dr. Barr and Dr. Ridley. His hon. Friend said—"Dr. Barr asked me to go back from the hospital cell, because he was expecting the mysterious doctor to visit him." That was not the only testimony which could be given by people who were in the hands of Dr. Ridley in testimony of the state of trepidation this poor man was in if he followed the dictates of his own humanity, and dared to disobey the mercenary and tool of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—Dr. Barr. Every time Dr. Barr visited John Mandeville there came an increase of punishment. Dr. Barr had some explanation to give. He said the punishment could not have been the result of his visit, because his report had not reached Dublin Castle, and could not have been acted upon there until the punishment had been altered. Yes; but it was the influence of Dr. Barr upon Dr. Ridley, it was his prestige as the tool of the right hon. Gentleman, that gave him the power to force this poor, unfortunate, weak man into those acts of cruelty which his own humanity recoiled from. What was Dr. Barr's report?—

> "Everything satisfactory in gaol; nothing the matter with Mr. Mandeville; the cell was perfectly comfortable."

He further said that the fault of the prison authorities in regard to John Mandeville was not the torture he suffered in gaol, but the fact that he was not kept two years there instead of six months. Now, in this gaol described as "comfortable," John Mandeville was chilled up to the knees. It was admitted that a change had been made in the punishment cell.

An hon. MEMBER: It has been boarded since.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: An hon. Friend said the cell had since been boarded—then John Mandeville had not died in vain. That was true in more senses than one. There had been an aperture in the cell.

MR. HOOPER: It was at the door.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he did not know whether it was an ordinary cell, but there was an aperture which let in cold draughts to the bed on which John Mandeville had to lie. These were very small things, no doubt, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary could afford to loll and smile. If the right hon. Gentleman himself, however, were in gaol for three days, he would whine to the whole world. Why, only the other day, the whole world was taken into his confidence, and daily bulletins were published with regard to a slight cough and feverish cold with which the right hon. Gentleman was afflicted. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had not observed on that occasion that Dr. Barr was called in. There was another thing he wanted to ask about Dr. Barr. Did Dr. Barr ever examine John Mandeville properly? He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had stated earlier on that he would presently allude to John Mandeville's eyes. Well, he thought it was Dr. Evans who swore that John Mandeville was suffering from retinal congestion, which was one of the symptoms—one of the most lamentable symptoms—of renal complaint. It was proved that when John Mandeville was dying, his disease of the throat was complicated by renal disorder, and this weakness of the eyes of which he complained was not only weakness of the eyesight, but was one of the premonitory symptoms which ought to have made it plain to any ordinary man—[*Interruption.*]—he must ask to be protected from disorderly interruptions of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite. What he wished to point out was that the state of John Mandeville's eyes, as well as the colour of his lips, was an indication of renal complaint and disease of the kidneys. The eyes had been called the windows of the soul, but to a medical man they were

also the windows of the body. If a man was suffering from certain diseases the eyes would reveal those diseases to a medical man. Dr. Barr looked at the eyes of John Mandeville, but did not examine them. He was candid enough to admit that his examination of John Mandeville was a superficial examination. Here was a man whose eyesight was almost entirely destroyed, as was proved after he left the gaol, and yet a cursory official examination was all that this "generous and humane" medical man thought it necessary to make. Dr. Barr had received a testimonial from his friends in Liverpool. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not know any Profession which ought to stand higher in human esteem than the Profession of Medicine. He should be tempted to say that the avocation of a statesman was a little higher if he did not know the poor things and the creatures who now claimed the title of statesmen. But what were the canons of medical etiquette? His impartiality. They all knew that a fierce controversy had lately been raging over the death-bed of the late Emperor of Germany—and he only alluded to this for the purpose of illustrating his point. There was not a man connected with the Profession in the world, he would undertake to say, who would not declare that a medical man was untrue to the highest and the simplest obligations of his Profession, if he did not think of his patient and his patient alone. Gentleness and mercy were also the attributes of a medical man. They frequently noticed these attributes in the gentlemen of the Medical Profession, oftentimes, indeed, running to extreme. Often when a man was sentenced to death for murder they had an outcry from the Medical Profession that the man should not be hanged because he was suffering from mental disease, the whole bent of the medical man being towards leniency, mercy, and gentleness. Let them test Dr. Barr's conduct, however, by these professional canons. At the inquest at John Mandeville's death Dr. Barr sat beside the Crown Counsel, and, as he had himself confessed, had coached them, made suggestions to them, and even proposed the line their cross-examination should take, as though he were the junior counsel for the Crown. He made suggestions, not only with regard to the medical treatment portion of the case, but with regard to that portion of the case bearing on prison treatment. He was asked whether he had not devoted a good deal of his time to instructing counsel in this case, and in giving evidence on the medical portions of it, and Dr. Barr had replied in the affirmative. He said that he had acted in this way when members of his own Profession were under examination, and he was asked if he could mention a case in which a doctor had ever before adopted a similar course. In reply to this query he mentioned a railway case in which certain doctors had been called for the plaintiff, and others for the Railway Company. As a matter of fact, he had compared his position as an impartial official sent to the gaol to protect John Mandeville, to the position of paid professional men taking sides for the plaintiff and defendant in a Court of Law. This reminded him (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) of the story of the Judge who ought to be alive in these days, because if he were he would be described by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as "a most impartial Judge"—a Judge who, turning to one of the parties in the case, said—"What have the other side to say in this case?" thereby identifying himself with one of the parties to the dispute. Dr. Barr was asked—

"Did you ever say he (John Mandeville) did not get half enough punishment?—No.

"Did you convey as much?—I may have.

"Did you say to any gentleman in Liverpool that John Mandeville was a great scoundrel, and deserved what he got?—No; but I may have used words to that effect."

That was the kind of man that Dr. Barr was. He had violated every canon of the noble Profession to which he belonged, and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) denounced him as a disgrace to his high calling. So much for this case, which he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought appealed to the best instincts of every humane and honest man. He had a strong conviction that all prison treatment was too severe in all cases. He thought they required a great prison reform in these days, not merely in regard to prisoners such as those to whom reference was made in this debate, but to all prisoners. The treatment of political offenders by the Irish Government was described as "bravery." He regarded it as bravery to endure

tortures inflicted in prison, and to sit and laugh at the description of these tortures he looked upon as miserable cowardice. That, however, was the attitude of the Government in regard to the treatment of John Mandeville. He did not wish to use harsh words—he would not call such conduct womanish, because it would be a libel; he would call it unmanly. An unmanly and effeminate man was the man who inflicted tortures, from which a manly and brave nature would shrink, and to inflict tortures on such men as John Mandeville was no more bravery than he should regard the action of flogging the breath out of a dying horse. John Mandeville was dead, but he had not died in vain. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) appealed across the grave which separated life from death; and he and his Friends would never rest until the cause for which John Mandeville died triumphed, and they had punished the vile dastard who had brought him to his end.

MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth) said, he desired to bear personal testimony with reference to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the Mitchelstown affair.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. H. J. WILSON said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) on the 9th of May, at the Memorial Hall, in referring to what had taken place at Mitchelstown, made certain statements which were attempted to be answered by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland at Battersea on the 16th of May. The right hon. Gentleman went so far as to say of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian's account that he believed it to be "wholly and absolutely true in every particular," and he went on to say that "the police barracks were in the most imminent danger," although he did not say what that imminent danger was. It was quite true that the police retreated to the barracks and that a certain number of stones were thrown, but hon. Members knew something of election riots and of the occasional smashing of committee-room and hotel windows. In the front of the Mitchelstown police barracks there were 165 panes of glass, of which seven were broken, and of those four were proved to have been broken by the police putting their rifles through them, and there was some doubt whether a fifth was not broken in the same way. There was no direct evidence of more than two panes having been broken by the persons who threw stones. He pointed out that the lower windows of police barracks in Ireland were protected with bullet-proof iron shutters, and how a barrack of that kind, full of armed men, could be in any danger from an unarmed crowd he was at a loss to understand. No one, he thought, in that House, would undertake to say that an attack by such a crowd would justify the use of fire-arms and the slaughter of the three men who fell on the day in question. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland then went on to say that from all he could learn those killed could not have been killed from the barrack windows, and that one of them was killed by a ricochet shot which glanced from some obstacle or stone building. The right hon. Gentleman last night seemed to speak of the bullet glancing from the ground, but to speak of the open street as an obstacle in that way appeared to be a curious use of an ordinary word. But the right hon. Gentleman made this statement six months after the inquest had taken place, and he ought to have known that two constables had given evidence that they had fired out of the window. In reply to a Question of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian the right hon. Gentleman said, on the 7th of June, that he had been correctly reported in *The Times*, and referred to a Report of a Departmental Committee which hon. Members had never been able to obtain, saying that it was physically impossible to fire a rifle out of the window from which the shot was alleged to have come in the direction of the place where Lonergan was standing; and, further, that it was impossible to do that without leaning out of the window and taking up a position which there was no evidence to show was adopted by the police. The right hon. Gentleman was, with reference to the whole of this matter, under a misapprehension as to the point that some hon. Members

chiefly cared about. These poor men were killed; and it mattered not whether they were killed by a direct or by a ricochet shot. The police fired and they fired to kill, and they had instructions that when they fired they should fire with effect. The point he and his hon. Friends were chiefly interested in was as to whether the statements of the right hon. Gentleman in that House and at Battersea and elsewhere were or were not to be relied upon; and the facts in the case seemed to show conclusively that they could not be relied upon. He had said that the Report of the Departmental Committee had never been given to hon. Members. They had certain representations from Mr. Colomb, with regard to which he would say that they were not the Report they wanted, but he himself said that it was early in June that the ricochet shot was first suggested. Accompanying the observations of Mr. Colomb there were diagrams to illustrate what had taken place. Now, the right hon. Gentleman would not say last night whether the shot glanced from a wall or from the ground; but if there were any question as to that, why were they to be deluded by the plan which showed that it glanced from a building? If the shot glanced from the ground, they ought to have had a diagram constructed vertically; but all the facts showed that there was nothing in the mind of Mr. Colomb, but the idea that the bullet glanced from some stone building. It was now suggested that it was possible that the shot glanced from the ground. At Leeds the other day the right hon. Gentleman said he was perfectly convinced that the death of Lonergan was the result of a ricochet shot—but why could not he take up one ground or the other with regard to it? Before the Adjournment of Parliament he had addressed a letter to the right hon. Gentleman asking for the necessary authority to inspect the barracks at Mitchelstown, and in a short time he had received that authority from the Castle, and he desired to thank the right hon. Gentleman for permitting him to see the place for himself. He went and did exactly what the constable swore at the inquest he had done; he put his head out of the window—not his body; he had a rifle in his hand; the District Inspector sent a constable to stand on the spot where Lonergan fell, and with the rifle he took easy aim at the constable so standing. Further, he had with him a pocket camera with which he took a view of the square and the constable in it; he then went into the square, and from the spot in question photographed the barracks. He said that no one seeing the photographs would for one moment maintain the ridiculous statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that to have killed Lonergan from the window was physically impossible. He had had an interview with Mr. Colomb, who was a polite and courteous gentleman, and he wished that could be said of all the other officials. On the 4th of October he again went to Mitchelstown and satisfied himself in the same way as before; on the following day he was joined by his hon. Friend the Member for the Hoxton Division of Shoreditch (Mr. James Stuart), and they went together and repeated the experiment in each other's presence. He did not understand how any supporter of the right hon. Gentleman in that House, or anyone, could possibly pretend that there was any difficulty about the matter in question. The right hon. Gentleman had at Leeds thought fit to make fun of these photographs; he said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had sent his photographers to Mitchelstown. But that right hon. Gentleman did not, until a long time afterwards, know that they were sent, and it might perhaps more correctly be said that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had sent them. The right hon. Gentleman had used similar language at Battersea, and said that "as long as Mr. Gladstone spoke about Mitchelstown he should continue to do so. But with regard to the photographs he said they proved that if a man put himself in an extremely awkward position it would be possible to fire a bullet at the place where the man named Lonergan was alleged to have fallen. The right hon. Gentleman, being beaten out of the position of physical impossibility, now introduced the term "alleged to have fallen," in order to have something to fall back upon. Mr. Colomb had said that the crosses marked accurately the spot where the man fell, and yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was obliged to abandon the main position in order to bring in

these words. The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to say that he did not think it would be of any importance, even if it were proved that the policeman did what he was alleged to have done. Again they had the word "alleged"; the police swore that they aimed at the spot, and the right hon. Gentleman said—"I can assure you that the police did not do it." How could the right hon. Gentleman know that? He said he had proof; but why did he not produce it? The right hon. Gentleman then went on to sneer at those who had taken all the trouble to find out the truth of the matter, and finished by saying—

"I absolutely adhere to the opinion formerly expressed that Lonergan was killed by a ricochet shot."

He had omitted one point—namely, that the line from the police barracks being produced, 100 yards through the point where Lonergan fell would fall upon the exact place that was struck by buckshot on the occasion, and that was a proof that the constables did what they said they had done. He asked on whose authority did the right hon. Gentleman say this was impossible, and whether he would have to place the same reliance as before on those who said it? The right hon. Gentleman was far too ready with his denials and contradictions, which would not always bear to be tested. He and his hon. Friends had tested his denial in this instance and found that it was not to be trusted. The right hon. Gentleman said that his opponents would not charge him with being indefinite or trying to raise side issues, but he thought the right hon. Gentleman who did charge him with that had made out his position pretty plainly; at all events he (Mr. H. J. Wilson) charged the right hon. Gentleman with endeavouring to raise side issues in this matter, and should be glad if he could clear himself from that charge. As a matter of fact, the "ricochet shot" had been thrown in to contradict the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, who said that the police aimed, and he wanted to know why the right hon. Gentleman continued to hold that view in the face of the evidence of the constables? He wanted to know why he had used the word "alleged," and why, after saying that the thing charged was absolutely impossible, he afterwards said at Leeds that the facts were true? This was a test case. They had proved that the replies of the right hon. Gentleman were unreliable, and he would leave it to him and his subordinates to say which of them had made the mistake.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I should not have intervened in the debate, after the protracted discussion of last night, had not the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland thought it necessary to make an attack upon me in my absence, and say that I had led Lord Spencer, with whom I had the honour to serve, astray on the question of prison administration in England and Ireland. I, therefore, think it fit to take up the right hon. Gentleman's challenge, and the proposition I intend to lay before the Committee is that the statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary with reference to prison administration are unsound in doctrine and un-Constitutional in principle; and that all his statements of fact are as inaccurate in this case as he has been proved to be in almost all other points. The right hon. Gentleman has charged Lord Spencer with a great many things, all of which are contradictory, and absolutely unfounded. First, he says that Lord Spencer never made any distinction in the treatment of any of the Irish prisoners, and that he had made no such distinction in the case of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington). That statement had been proved to be entirely unfounded; but it still continued to be made with all the glibness and positiveness which is usual with the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman says that the conduct of Lord Spencer was illegal, and that also is as unfounded as the statement which it is intended to support. Now, with reference to prison administration in England and Ireland, the Executive Government, as represented in England by the Home Secretary, and in Ireland by the Lord Lieutenant, are absolutely and immediately responsible for every act done in those countries with regard to prison administration; they have the whole control of the Prison Commissioners, and to endeavour, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has done, to set up the Commissioners as an independent authority is un-Constitutional, and the idea is simply put forward for the purpose of

shirking his own responsibility. It is stated in the Act of 1877 that—

"The prison authority shall be transferred to, and vested in, and exercised by one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State."

What is the position of the Commissioners? The next clause of the Act says—

"For the purpose of aiding the Secretary of State in carrying into effect this Act he is authorized to dismiss the present Commissioners."

With regard to Ireland, the words are not the same, but the position is identical. The Prison Commissioners are subject to the orders given by the Lord Lieutenant; they are appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to hold office during his pleasure, and the Board are subject to such directions as they might from time to time receive from the Lord Lieutenant, and to the provisions of the Act for the control and management of all prisons and of all prisoners therein. To maintain a different doctrine from that would be to maintain the most un-Constitutional and mischievous doctrine conceivable. To set up a Body of Commissioners, not subject to the control of a responsible Minister, would be odious and intolerable, and Parliament never contemplated such a thing. To a certain extent the Visiting Justices were a protection to the prisoners, and I regarded the Act of 1877 at the time with some doubt; but it makes every act of the prison authorities the act of the Executive Government, and I came to look upon it as sound. I felt all the responsibility and difficulty of working the Act, and I used all my authority in diminishing the friction which was caused between the Prison Commissioners and the Visiting Justices, and in encouraging the latter to give security for prison administration. One of the things which I had observed with the greatest dislike and condemnation in Ireland was the attempt to defeat the protection given by the Visiting Justices. I had done all in my power to maintain that protection, because I felt how odious it would be to throw on the Government alone the responsibility for prison management. But, at the present time, whenever it is thought that the Visiting Justices are likely to interfere in favour of prisoners, the latter are removed to other prisons in order to deprive them of the protection which Parliament and the Constitution has given them. In my position with reference to the Prison Commissioners I have had the immense advantage of the assistance of Sir Edmund Ducane, one of the ablest public administrators with whom I am acquainted. I consulted that gentleman on all matters, but I held myself personally responsible for the conduct of the Commissioners, and responsible to Parliament and the country for the treatment of prisoners in gaol. That is the doctrine which I hold, and which I communicated to Lord Spencer. Now the right hon. Gentleman chooses to attack me and say that I had led Lord Spencer astray. I should like to know how many people the right hon. Gentleman had led astray by the doctrine he has initiated. When Lord Spencer wrote to me to ask what was the principle of English prison administration, especially referring to the case of the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin, I had no hesitation in replying at once; and Lord Spencer has read elsewhere an extract from the letter written to him in answer to that question. The letter is to this effect—

"In England I consider that the Secretary of State has absolute authority to deal with the treatment of particular prisoners as he thinks fit under the circumstances. Of course the regular rules are not departed from except for special and sufficient reason. I have so departed from the regular rule in Davitt's case. I think that in any case undue severity would do more harm than good. I do not make a formal or official order, but have given instructions through the Commissioners to the Governor of the gaol where special leniency and indulgence as to diet were to be exercised. Davitt's case was a difficult one, because he was under sentence of penal servitude. I took advantage of the delicacy of his health to relieve him as to labour, and give him good diet. I allowed him all the books he liked—even *Hansard*."

And I remember making the observation at the time that that was rather an aggravation of his punishment—

"And I made a special order that he should be visited by his female friends. I had some difficulty in giving an order with regard to his male political friends."

And I added—

"This has had a good effect. A good deal depends on the discretion of the Government, and I should advise you in the same way to mitigate the treatment of Mr. Harrington, assuming that you can trust the Governor."

I am certain that I was acting within

my legal authority in taking that course, and that the action was one which policy as well as humanity dictated. Now the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to my infinite amazement last night, shows how ignorant he is, not only of the principles of the Constitution, but of the law which he has to administer, for he says that if Lord Spencer had given directions officially to the Prison Commissioners they would have refused to obey them. The right hon. Gentleman said that he had made the statement about Lord Spencer in ignorance. I believe that invincible ignorance has to be pleaded as a defence against pains and penalties, and the right hon. Gentleman may, at all events, take the benefit of that belief. I, therefore, denounce the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland as absolutely inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution and the letter of the law. There is another aspect of this present case which bears on what my hon. Friend the Member for Holmfirth (Mr. H. J. Wilson) has said in reference to the extraordinary and glaring inaccuracy of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is always hurling charges of mendacity against other people; but I think it is quite time that in this House and outside this House we should test the accuracy of his own statements. Upon this very subject the right hon. Gentleman attacked Lord Spencer and myself at Leeds. His first statement was that there had been no difference of treatment, and then he said he had discovered that there had been a difference of treatment, but it was illegal. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

"It appears from inquiries I have myself made on the subject that Lord Spencer gave orders orally in this matter to the Governor and the officials of the prison where Mr. Harrington was confined."

I want to know whether he now adheres to the statement that Lord Spencer gave instructions orally to the Governor and the officials of a particular prison? This is not a statement rashly hazarded; but it is made after full inquiry. Then he goes on to say that Lord Spencer—

"Never consulted the Prisons' Board on the subject; that they"—

that is the Prisons Board—

"Gave no orders, and that he went behind their backs in order to make the alteration in the treatment of one of the prisoners committed to the charge of the Prisons Board."

Now, what is the meaning of that statement that Lord Spencer gave instructions to the Governor and the officials orally and directly, and that he went behind the back of the Prisons Board. It, of course, was not intended to convey to the world that the Prisons Board knew anything about his action. Then, I understand that last night the right hon. Gentleman stated that the orders were given by the Vice President of the Prisons Board. Now, if that is so, what are we to think of the accuracy of the statement made, after full inquiry, as to Lord Spencer's illegal conduct, when —so far as I can see from the report of the debate last night—it was stated, and not denied, that this order was given through the agent, who was a member of the Prisons Board, and that, therefore, the Prisons Board must have been perfectly acquainted with the subject. Before I leave this matter of the prison treatment I should like to say a word on the subject of the treatment of prisoners generally. It is a matter in which I have long taken a deep interest, and in which I have had some experience. It has been said, and argued very strongly, that under no circumstances will you make a difference in prison treatment in political cases from any other cases. I think the right hon. Gentleman has at various times thrown at my head sentiments to that effect. But I should like to know what he says to the fact that in both the Prison Acts there is a special provision that political offences are to be treated differently from any other? Both in the Irish and in the English Act there is a provision that a man guilty of a political offence shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. What is the meaning of it? I presume it is on account of the quality of the offence, that, although called a misdemeanant, he is not to be treated as an ordinary misdemeanant but as a first-class misdemeanant. A Divisional Magistrate of Dublin passed sentence upon a respected Member of this House (Mr. T. D. Sullivan). I cannot help saying that there must be something very wrong in a system which requires you, and makes it essential for your government of Ireland, to send to prison a man like the

Lord Mayor of Dublin. [*A Laugh.*] The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, as usual, laughs; the more Lord Mayors he can send to prison the more successful he thinks he is. Far from regretting and disavowing it, it is, of course, a feather in his cap; if he can only send a Lord Mayor to prison, he is, of course, twice as great a Secretary. I am speaking from memory again, but I think the Divisional Magistrate said, in sentencing the late Lord Mayor of Dublin, that it was quite true that the case he had to deal with did not come directly within the provisions of the Act, but looking at the intention of Parliament in their legislation, he considered that in dealing with the case he ought to pass a sentence upon the prisoner as a first-class misdemeanant. That, I think, was reasonably held by the Divisional Magistrate of Dublin, and I wish all the Resident Magistrates of Ireland had the same common sense and the same regard for the spirit in which the legislation in regard to prisons had been passed. Now I leave this question of prison treatment, having endeavoured to answer the charge made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that the conduct of Lord Spencer and myself in holding ourselves personally and directly responsible for the directions given for the treatment of prisoners was illegal. But there is one other matter I should like to touch upon —namely, the affair at Mitchelstown, which raises what I consider to be a most important Constitutional principle. The fact that cannot be denied is that by the firing of the police certain persons were killed. In my opinion that is a very grave circumstance, but the Government treat it in a very off-hand and airy manner. They think their *ipse dixit* is to determine whether these men were lawfully and justly killed or not, but I maintain that, whether it be in the case of an individual or of a body of police, the act of killing a man is *primâ facie* a thing which has to be justified: it is homicide. It may be justifiable homicide; it may be an accident; it may be manslaughter; it may be murder; but the law of this country has made provision that such a circumstance shall not pass; that a public inquiry shall be held in order to see the ground upon which that justification rests. What is the tribunal which the Constitution has provided in cases of this kind? We all know it is a Coroner and a Coroner's Jury. What is a Coroner? All other Judges are appointed by the Crown, but a Coroner is appointed by the people in order that he shall be a defence against the Crown, in order that he may see that persons shall not be made away with by violence on the part of the agents of the Crown. You cannot be surprised that the first object of the administration of the right hon. Gentleman has been to set at nought and get rid of Coroners and Coroners' Juries. The institution of the Coroner's Court is to secure a full, fair, and public inquiry into violent deaths. There was a Coroner's inquest at Mitchelstown, but the verdict of the jury was set aside. I will not enter into the matter now, because I am bound to assume, and I do assume, that having been set aside by the Superior Court it was properly set aside; but that does not end the question. If you set aside the Coroner's Jury, what have you to substitute for it? What we have demanded—what I say in every free country must be demanded—is that when such a circumstance occurs as that the police shoot down people and take their lives there shall be some public inquiry, and not only a mere statement of a sneering Minister as to the causes and the justification of that act of violence. Mr. Courtney, we derive great advantages from your presence in the Chair, but we also lose something by it. I should have been glad if you had not been in the Chair to-night, so that you might have made the statement, which I see you made to your constituents, and which would have carried much more weight than mine, that you consider it very deeply to be deplored that a public inquiry had not been made into the killing of these people at Mitchelstown. We may go on wrangling as long as we like; we may go on asserting on the one side that the police were justified, and on the other side that they were not justified, but we can never settle the matter satisfactorily until we have a public inquiry into the transaction. There has not been in my experience such a case in this country before, where men have been shot down either by the soldiery or the police, where there has not been an inquiry. I dare say, however, that the right hon. Gentleman may have got a whole book full of precedents; but whatever has been done, or

whatever has not been done, will not alter my opinion in the smallest degree. [*Ministerial Cheers.*] Well, I do not see the slightest justification for that cheer. Tory Members may laugh if they like, but I state a proposition which their constituents will accept—namely, that when the police shoot down people there ought to be a public inquiry. I venture to say to those Tory Members who laugh that they will laugh best who laugh last. Now, the question which ought to be the subject of public inquiry is this—was there that urgent, imminent, overwhelming necessity which alone can justify the police in firing on the people? The law in reference to the police is exactly the same as the law in reference to private individuals. There are circumstances which will justify a man in taking the life of another. He may take life in self-defence; he may take it in defence of life or property, at least of his house; but if he takes the life of another he is bound to prove the urgency of the necessity which led to so dire an act. That is equally true with reference to the police. It is disputed, and I have never seen any sort of evidence which satisfied me that there was that dire, imminent, and overwhelming necessity as would justify such an act as was committed at Mitchelstown. It may be that there was justification. Then hold a public inquiry and show it; that is what the people of Ireland are entitled to. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland says he has held a secret Departmental inquiry. What good is that? He also, with a cynicism almost surpassing himself, takes care to inform us that he held this inquiry, not for the purpose of knowing whether these people were legally killed or not—that he cares nothing about—but for the purpose of inquiring into matters affecting the police, and for the satisfaction of the police. That is incidentally what he states to be the only reason.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: We have heard the right hon. Gentleman say so on several occasions, and I read it in the report of his speech last night in this morning's papers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: But the right hon. Gentleman said he did not hold it for the purpose of seeing——

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I agree to that.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think I describe the argument of the right hon. Gentleman correctly when I say he did it for the purpose of inquiring how it was possible that such a police force could be overpowered. Well, I denounce that statement. I say the thing to be inquired into was the whole transaction as to whether a state of circumstances had arisen which justified the proceedings. But then the right hon. Gentleman says—

> "And as to shooting, of course they shot. That I do not care to inquire into, and of course they shot to kill."

Now, mark what this case is characterized by. There is one point which I think is not denied. It was not denied last night that the whole transaction originated in a very unusual circumstance—the forcing of a reporter to the platform without communicating with the holders of the meeting. The right hon. Gentleman did not deny last night that that was an unusual proceeding; he admitted it was. Why was it that the usual course was departed from on this occasion? That was the original provocation. I see the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) busy at *Hansard*. I hope he has found the passage he wants, and he has secured his daily pabulum of *tu quoque*. I sympathize with him, and if I were his gaoler I should not have the hard-heartedness to feed him on such skilly. But to turn to more serious matters than the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his quotations, I challenge the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the subject of the instructions given to the police and their duty in respect to firing upon the people. I say that no more vicious or unjustifiable language instigating the police to violent acts was ever uttered by a British Minister than that uttered by the right hon. Gentleman last night. I regard it as a disgrace to British administration. I have for some years myself been responsible for the conduct of the police, and to have encouraged the police to such acts of violence as the right hon. Gentleman encouraged them to last night, by his language, I should have regarded as a disgrace. What is it he said? He said it would have been

a great dereliction of duty if the police had fired not to kill. [Sir EDWARD HAMLEY: Hear, hear!] Yes; the hon. and gallant Gentleman cheers.

SIR EDWARD HAMLEY (Birkenhead): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland did not say "fire not to kill;" he said "fire in the air, or fire over the heads of the people."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is not what the right hon. Gentleman said last night. The very words used were—"Fire not to kill." I will read the words of the report, and they can be contradicted if they are not true. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "He did not know whether the policeman used those words; but he would have been guilty of a grave dereliction of duty if he had not fired to kill."

If the hon. and gallant Member (Sir Edward Hamley) is ever Chief Secretary for Ireland, he will, no doubt, be as ready to direct the police to fire to kill as the present Chief Secretary. This recalls a celebrated telegram—"Do not hesitate to fire." [An hon. MEMBER: To shoot.] I suppose we must take that advice as advice not to hesitate to kill; the police are learning lessons of ferocity which have not been taught them before. We all remember the nickname—I always regretted to hear it—which was applied to the late Mr. Forster. What was the meaning of the instructions which Mr. Forster gave to employ buckshot? It was that the police were to fire and not to kill. Mr. Forster's doctrine was the exact opposite of that laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary for Ireland. It was this—that you were to use means of deterring the people, but not to resort to the odious and dreadful alternative which may be forced upon the police in self-defence or in defence of life. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] Yes; but in the last resort, in the last extremity; and I have yet to know that any such extremity arose at Mitchelstown. As far as I can see, the fatal shots, or, at least, some of them, were fired after all danger had passed. If the danger or the pressure upon the police was gone, no antecedent pressure or danger could justify firing on the people to kill. That is the whole question at issue in the Mitchelstown case, and it is a question of which we have a right to know how the facts stand, and not to be simply told that in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary it is all right, and that the police were right in firing to kill. In leaving the case of Mitchelstown, I must again point out the extraordinary recklessness of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, because, as my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. H. J. Wilson) said, it is absolutely necessary to know how far in matters of this grave importance it is possible to place any reliance upon the official statement of the responsible Ministers. Now, what is the position of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to this? He says he has held a private inquiry. He has gone into this matter, and he comes before the English nation in a matter of this gravity and of this importance, and he makes a statement that the police could not have fired at this man Lonergan, because the place at which he fell could not be seen from the windows of the police barracks. That statement appears to be absolutely unfounded. How comes the Chief Secretary, having made a full inquiry, to stand before the country and make a statement of that character, which he is obliged to admit now is unfounded? That is the just value of the official statements made by an English Minister upon his responsibility. [*A Laugh.*] The right hon. Gentleman laughs; he thinks it extremely unimportant. If the statement were true, it disposed of the whole case; but if it were untrue, why did he make it? Then, driven out of the position which he solemnly and publicly assumed, he says, "Oh, yes, it was a ricochet shot." What grounds have we to believe in his statement that it was a ricochet shot any more than in his statement that the place could not be seen from the windows of the police barracks; what reliance can we put upon a statement of this kind? But then, driven from the statement that it was a ricochet shot, as well as from the statement that the place could not be seen from the windows of the barracks, he says, "Oh, the matter is not of the slightest importance; the man was rightly shot, and the police were right in shooting him." That is how the taking away of the lives of the subjects of the Queen is dealt with by a responsible Minister. I protest against it. Now, this is what I have to say about Mitchelstown. There is only one other case I will deal with, and this will

again afford a pretty good test of the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who is constantly, in language which no one would be allowed to repeat in this House, charging other people with inaccuracy. In the Killeagh case my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) attacked the conduct of the magistrates. The charge brought by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was that the Resident Magistrates who conducted the case were so incompetent for the discharge of their duties that they ought no longer to be trusted with the liberties of Her Majesty's subjects. What did these Magistrates do? Some men were charged under the Crimes Act with intimidating certain other persons. The Magistrates convicted the prisoners, and said the case was so clear that they would not state a case or allow an appeal. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary violently condemns my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian for speaking disrespectfully of these Resident Magistrates; but it was not my right hon. Friend who, for political and Party purposes, took away the character of these unfortunate Resident Magistrates. What was the opinion that the Judges before whom the case on appeal, in spite of the Resident Magistrates, and in spite of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and by the ingenuity of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), came? The Chief Baron said the Magistrates had committed the small mistake of "confounding the victim of the wrong with the man who had done it." To speak disrespectfully of these Resident Magistrates is a great crime in my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian, and it is destructive of law and order in Ireland. I will read what one of the Judges who heard the appeal in the Killeagh case said of these Resident Magistrates, who have the entire approval for their legal sagacity of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who threw his ægis over them last night. Mr. Baron Dowse said—

"There are several things I have never been able to understand in the course of my life, and one of them is the minds of local Justices, or how local Justices bring their minds to bear upon a case; and I am less able to understand very often the state of mind of the Justices of whose legal competence the Lord Lieutenant has been entirely satisfied. Now, how these Justices—I never saw either of them, or never heard of them before, except once I heard of one of them—have satisfied themselves that the point made here was a frivolous one, I cannot comprehend. My Lord Chief Baron, it appears to me conclusively that, so far from that being a frivolous point, it was a perfectly good one."

And then the Chief Baron, in language which I would commend to the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, quotes a passage from a well-known writer, who says—

"Where true liberty exists every agent of the administration, from the *gendarme* to the Finance Minister"—

and will, I suppose, include the Resident Magistrates of whose legal knowledge the Lord Lieutenant is satisfied—

"should be rendered personally responsible to the citizens whom his act affects, for the legality of every act. This is the real foundation of English liberty and the great legal principle which distinguishes the laws of England from the laws of the Continental nations of Europe, and from those of Rome from which they are derived. I wish, for myself, that these doctrines were a little better understood and practised in Ireland, and I think then we should not have the difficulties which exist in that country."

That is what the Judges say of these competent magistrates, and I suppose that these Irish Judges will be denounced by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for using that language about the magistrates which is fatal to the administration of justice. Now, last night the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary chose to say that these Resident Magistrates had been appointed by Lord Spencer, and, therefore, they must be competent. But what were they appointed to do? What was this case which he said was so difficult that they might very well go wrong in it? It was the case of the law of conspiracy. What did we tell you when we were discussing the Crimes Act? We told you that it was a law of so difficult and complicated a nature that it was not wise, or safe, or just, to leave it to the administration of inexperienced men. Well, here is a case in which the magistrates go so wrong that they mistake the victims of a wrong-doing for the wrong-doer himself, and they send them to prison and keep them there, as they had kept others with law just as bad as this; and then the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary turns round and denounces the right hon. Gentleman the

Member for Mid Lothian for calling attention to the case. I say it is a scandal that men so denounced by the Judges of the land should be allowed to go on administering the law in Ireland. At the end of this case I must point a moral by showing the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the statements he has made upon this subject. The right hon. Gentleman goes to Leeds to confute the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian upon this subject, and he says—"Oh, the Judges themselves confessed that though the magistrates convicted the men of an offence of which they were not charged, yet they were guilty of something else," and he said that the Superior Court gave this view—that the prisoners were guilty of a crime punishable by the Common Law of England and Ireland. That is an absolute misrepresentation of what the Judges said. The right hon. Gentleman stands up before a great audience in Leeds, and with full knowledge of the facts makes an absolute misstatement of what the Judges said. The Judges said an absolutely different thing. The Chief Baron said he thought there would have been evidence upon which a jury might have convicted. [Sir EDWARD CLARKE: Hear, hear!] Oh! So the hon. and learned Solicitor General maintains that when a Judge says there is evidence upon which a man might have been convicted by a jury for one offence it is the same thing as stating that a man should be found guilty of one crime when charged with another. That is about the worst law I ever heard from a Law Officer of the Crown. [Sir EDWARD CLARKE: I agree with the Judges.] How condescending! Because, on the Licensing Question, we all remember that the hon. and learned Gentleman did not agree with the Judges. I maintain that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary at Leeds was an absolute misleading of the public by an inaccurate statement coming from official sources. I object in all these cases to the un-Constitutional conduct of the Administration, as represented by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. I will not repeat the right hon. Gentleman's language as to the suppression of the truth, and, what is worse, perversion of the facts. I will not use such language as that which he applied to the greatest and most venerable statesman in the country—I will not imitate that language, but, looking at the circumstances of the statement on a most important subject, I will say that, in my recollection, no man has more than the right hon. Gentleman shaken the confidence which the public have a right to expect to be able to repose in public men.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman's speech might be divided into two parts of very unequal interest and value. The first part, which was of great interest and great value, I shall deal with at some length. The last part was a *réchauffé* of a *réchauffé* of a *réchauffé* of a *réchauffé*. It was a speech removed four removes at least from its original utterance, and I will venture to treat of it at this time of the evening, and, after having already made so many speeches on this subject, with comparative brevity. The right hon. Gentleman admits, with regard to these magistrates, of whose competence he spoke at this moment, that Lord Spencer was the person who certified as to their competence.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I beg pardon; I said he never certified their legal competence to try questions of conspiracy.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly aware that Lord Spencer certified their legal competency, and he had the testimony of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) last night, that Lord Spencer was in the habit of spending a quarter of an hour, at least, with new officials whom he was appointing to a new office. Therefore, I should imagine that Lord Spencer certified the competence of these magistrates to deal with questions of conspiracy, as he certified them competent to deal with other legal questions raised by the Act of 1882. The right hon. Gentleman says the Act of 1882 did not deal with conspiracy, as the Crimes Act deals with it. No; but it dealt with the law of "unlawful assembly," which involves more questions of legal difficulty, including questions of conspiracy, than almost any other question which can be brought before a Court of Law, and if these magistrates were capable of dealing with such questions of unlawful assem-

bly as Lord Spencer, when Lord Lieutenant, certified that they were, surely they are capable of dealing with these questions of conspiracy which are far less difficult, and which, in some cases, are subsidiary to these very questions of unlawful assembly. Very well. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to talk of the verdict in the Killeagh case. No one could read the declarations of the Judges, including the quotations given by the right hon. Gentleman, and including the quotation, which he did not give, from Baron Dowse—the Judge he quoted in another connection—which is even stronger than the utterances of the Chief Baron—no one, I say, could read these declarations without seeing that it was perfectly clear to the minds of these Judges that there was ample grounds for dealing with these men under the ordinary common law of conspiracy. I do not care to go farther into this matter at this moment.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman has suggested that I intentionally suppressed words uttered by Baron Dowse. I intended to read the passage he had referred to, but I overlooked it. He said—

"The evidence given of the refusal of variou parties to supply bread to the police, in my opinion, constitutes evidence on which a jury might convict."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman, who has now read the quotation under compulsion, will see that that quotation from Baron Dowse is far stronger than that from the Chief Baron, and fully bears out my contention. Then I turn to the observations the right hon. Gentleman has been good enough to make with regard to something I said yesterday in the debate, at which the right hon. Gentleman did not think worth while to be present, with regard to the action of the police at Mitchelstown. The right hon. Gentleman accuses me of having uttered a brutal and savage doctrine, or something to that effect, when I gave expression in this House to the perfectly well-recognized principle which governs, or ought to govern, the action of the forces of the Crown when they are dealing with riots—namely, that there is no more unmerciful course which the forces of the Crown can pursue than that of firing over the heads of the rioters, and thus leading them to believe that it is mere child's play, and that they may riot with impunity. The right hon. Gentleman, who has himself been Home Secretary, and who, if anybody, ought to be acquainted with this principle, actually attacks me for having explained it to the House, though he must know that this is not the principle which has guided one Chief Secretary, or one Home Secretary, but is the principle which has always regulated the policy of both those officials under successive Administions.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Never!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is the policy which has been universally adopted, and, until I heard the contradiction of the right hon. Gentleman, is the policy I should have believed he himself would have adopted. I now understand from the interruption of the right hon. Gentleman that his view is, that if ever it be necessary for the police or the military to fire—if ever the occasion arises when firing is justifiable—they must take pains to make it clear to the crowd that, though they fire, it is merely for show, and is not to be directed against the rioters—they must make it clear that it is a mere *feu de joie*, with the chance—nay, more than the chance—of killing some perfectly innocent person far in the rear of those who are actually guilty of the riot which justified the firing. I think that the Committee will feel that, having dealt at much length, as I did yesterday, with the questions of the Killeagh and Mitchelstown cases, I may be excused from going further into this question. I now go to the subject with which the right hon. Gentleman began. The right hon. Gentleman began his speech, when the House was a good deal less full than it is now, with that elaborate, I was going to say, defence of Lord Spencer, but in reality with a defence of himself. I directed, I admit, some remarks at the beginning of my speech yesterday evening, to the action of the right hon. Gentleman. Now, the right hon. Gentleman's connection with the treatment of political prisoners refers solely to Mr. Davitt. Mr. Davitt was arrested at the same time as the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell).

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): No, no!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, under the same Act.

MR. T. M. HEALY: No, no!

An hon. MEMBER: Try again.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Will hon. and learned Gentlemen allow me to say what I have got to say without interrupting me. The hon. Member for Cork, and certain other Members, were arrested under Mr. Forster's Peace Preservation Act. In the same connection the right hon. Gentleman took advantage of the fact that Mr. Davitt was a ticket of leave man and arrested him.

MR. T. M. HEALY: No, no!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Mr. Forster arrested him under his ticket of leave, and in my opinion that was not a very wise proceeding. I think that if Mr. Davitt was to be put in prison he should have been put in prison under Mr. Forster's Peace Preservation Act.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Mr. Davitt was arrested in January, and the Act was not passed until March.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: He was arrested before the hon. Member for Cork.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Quite so, but the right hon. Gentleman interrupts me in a manner in which I did not venture to interrupt him. I was not aware that this particular case was to be raised, and I did not furnish myself with precise information, but substantially I am correct. Mr. Forster thought that the proper way to deal with disorder then prevalent in Ireland was to arrest certain Gentlemen whom he regarded as the centres of the disorder. Of course he could not arrest the hon. Member for Cork until he passed his Peace Preservation Act, but he could arrest, and did arrest, through the instrumentality of a ticket of leave, Mr. Davitt. The hon. Member for Cork and the other suspects arrested under the Act were treated as first-class misdemeanants, and in my opinion it would have been most im proper to have dealt with Mr. Davitt in a different way, he being arrested under the same principle that governed the then policy of the Government. But how did the right hon. Gentleman carry out this legitimate object? He exceeded his powers, as I believe, as Home Secretary, and gave arbitrarily of his own motion to Mr. Davitt the same privileges that were given ultimately, under the Peace Preservation Act of Mr. Forster, to the suspects arrested under that Act. The right hon. Gentleman is of opinion that he was justified in that proceeding, but I think, on the contrary, he was absolutely unjustified, and that he not only committed an error in law, but led Lord Spencer into the same error. The right hon. Gentle man then quoted the Prisons Act under which he acted, and has laid down—the Gentleman who is always quoting the great lawyers of two centuries ago has actually laid it down in this House to-night as a principle which ought to govern the action of the Executive in dealing with prisons, that it rests with the Home Secretary in England and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to decide exactly under what regulation a prisoner who has been condemned by a Court of Law shall be subjected to the sentence of that Court in prison. If the Home Secretary thinks that a prisoner deserves consideration, or if he is a political friend of his own, or for any other reason, the Home Secretary may interfere and may mitigate his punishment or give him any privileges he likes. But if, on the other hand, the Home Secretary thinks the sentence not severe enough, then he may increase the severity of sentence or modify the rules laid down in the Act of Parliament for the regulation of prisons, and add, in what way he likes, to the sentence inflicted by Judge, Jury, and Magistrate. That is actually the doctrine laid down by an ex-Home Secretary to regulate the conduct of his Successors in Office with England and Ireland. Such a doctrine is monstrous. Such a doctrine is a gross violation of every principle which ought to regulate the action of the Executive in dealing with persons sentenced by Courts of Law to legitimate punishment, and I am amazed that the right hon. Gentleman should have had the hardihood to give utterance to it. I believe however that the right hon. Gentleman has misinterpreted the Statute he has described. If the right hon. Gentleman looks at the Statute which regulates the English practice he will find that the treatment of prisoners is minutely regulated by the schedule to that Statute, and that though it is in the power of the Executive to alter the general rules regulating the treatment of prisoners, I do not believe and will not believe, until it is demonstrated, that it is in the power or can be the duty of a Member of the

Executive Government to modify the treatment, not of classes of prisoners, but of individual prisoners whom he happens to make the objects of special favour or aversion. But I will go further, and repeat what the right hon. Gentleman might have heard last night if he had chosen to be present during the debate. If he will look at the Act regulating prisons in Ireland, he will see that it provides that the Prisons Board in Ireland—

"Shall, subject to such directions as may from time to time be received from the Lord Lieutenant and the provisions of this Act, have the control and management of all prisons and prisoners therein."

My accusation against Lord Spencer is that he did not conform to the provisions of this Act, and that the action he took was not action taken through the Prisons Board. That has not been denied by Lord Spencer, and cannot be denied by any mouthpiece of Lord Spencer. When the right hon. Gentleman comes forward as an advocate of the principle that in England the Executive has the absolute control of the destiny of every prisoner in the country, he does not take into account the speech delivered by his great Chief at Hawarden, on the 20th of August last, on which occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) said that, as far as he understood it, the Prisons Board in Dublin was the Executive Government, but he did not believe it was so in England. Yet here we have the right hon. Gentleman coming down to this House and explaining, as a Constitutional doctrine, that the Prisons Board in England are the Executive Government, whilst his Chief at Hawarden, only two months ago, said that was the pernicious practice in Ireland. He said it indirectly no doubt, but he did say it. I shall be glad to know from the right hon. Gentleman, or any hon. Gentleman sitting near him, how they are going to roconcile the view of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian with the un-Constitutional doctrine uttered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. The right hon. Gentleman discussed the question of having a public inquiry whenever the life of a citizen was sacrificed in conflict with the police, and he said it was all very well for a sneering Chief Secretary to refuse such an inquiry, but that such an inquiry was required by the conscience of the country, and would be demanded by the people of England. Well, Sir, that brings me conveniently to the subject that was dwelt on yesterday by the right hon. Gentleman tho Member for Mid Lothian, when, in the course of some observations which I made in answer to the right hon. Gentleman, I said that Mitchelstown was not the first occasion on which the life of an Irishman or an Irish woman had been sacrificed by the action of the police, and, in a state of great excitement, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian challenged me to produce an instance. Of course, I could not come down to the House provided with every fact that might be demanded at the moment, but, having great respect for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, I have taken care to supply myself with the particular instances in question. On the 4th of January, 1881, near Claremorris, County Mayo, a party of police, protecting a proces-sserver, were attacked. A man named Quinn received an injury that resulted in his death next day. The Coroner's Jury which, the right hon. Gentleman says, is to stand between the citizens and the Crown, returned a verdict of manslaughter. Sub-Constable George Stevens was committed for manslaughter, but the Grand Jury found no Bill against him, and there was no public inquiry. On the 2nd of April, 1881, four policemen, protecting a process-server, were attacked by a mob. The police fired and shot two men and wounded five others. Sergeant Armstrong was murdered by the mob. The Coroner's Jury found a verdict of wilful murder against the police, but the Crown ignored the Bill. There was no public inquiry in that case. On the 1st of June, 1881, a party of police, protecting a process-server, arrested a prisoner, and a man received a blow from which he died. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of wilful murder, and the constable was arrested. At the Assizes the Crown refused to prosecute; the Crown (pointing opposite) the right hon. Gentleman. Number four: On the night of the 1st of September, 1881, a police patrol, near Millstreet, fired on a party of Moonlighters and shot a man dead. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict

amounting to manslaughter, but no action was taken, and there was no inquiry, Departmental or otherwise. On the 9th of October, 1881, a detachment of Constabulary, returning from a Land League meeting at Ballyragget, attacked by a mob, charged with bayonets, and a man was wounded and subsequently died. A verdict of wilful murder was returned against two District Inspectors, but the warrants, although they were issued, were not executed, and there was no inquiry. Number six: On the 5th of May, 1882, a detachment of police were attacked by a mob at Ballina, and the police firing, a man named Melody was shot and afterwards died; but no steps were taken by the Government in pursuance of the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. Number seven: On the 27th October, 1884, the police, protecting a process-server near Belmullet, fired and wounded two women, both of whom died. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of "wilful murder," but the incriminated police officers were not arrested; an information was refused, and no inquiry, not even a Departmental inquiry, was held by the Government, of which the right hon. Gentleman was one of the principal Members. This is the right hon. Gentleman who has the audacity to get up and say that no precedent exists for not holding an inquiry in the present circumstances. A more amazing statement surely was never uttered, even by the right hon. Gentleman. Well, Sir, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will take to heart the facts I have been able to give him, and, in conclusion, I can only wish that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian were present to receive from my own lips, in the fullest manner that I can give it to him, that information for which he so anxiously thirsted yesterday evening.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I believe that the House on both sides is very anxious for a Division, and I will not interpose for more than a moment. I only want to put two questions to the right hon. Gentleman. Against me, at any rate, the right hon. Gentleman will bring no *tu quoque* arguments. I detested the system of coercion when my own friends supported it, and I detest it now. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland declares it to be a humane and merciful policy to fire into crowds with a view of killing. In my short official experience the necessity was laid upon me of considering that question upon a very important occasion and upon a very considerable scale. Now I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to read the Minutes of Instruction that were sent from the Castle at the time of the Belfast riots in 1886, and to read the evidence given before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into those riots. I say he will not find one single responsible officer who will maintain that doctrine he has so often set forth here. The right hon. Gentleman will find in every one of the instructions, and they were not instructions given especially in my time, nor in the case of the Belfast riots, for I dare say they were given in the case of other disturbances too, that the humane and merciful doctrine that you must fire into crowds with the view of killing was repudiated by every responsible person until the right hon. Gentleman attained to Office. I also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman if ever he becomes responsible for order in England, as he may some day be, whether he will maintain with reference to England the doctrine which he now expresses with respect to Ireland? Does he maintain that in England free men shall be shot down by the officers of the Executive Government and no inquiry be held? I defy him to utter such a doctrine with respect to England. Well, now I am going to come down to a very plain and a very civil question. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken of the impropriety, of the incredible impropriety, of the notion that the Chief Secretary should interfere with the discretion of the Prisons Board. Now I will ask just one question, and with that I will sit down. I want to know by whose authority it was, by whose instructions, by whose direction, by whose inspiration it was that priests have been treated differently from other persons condemned to imprisonment? Though we are all anxious for a Division, there is still time for the right hon. Gentleman to get up and answer that question. If it is by his own instructions and directions, I maintain that he has thrown away his position, and I defy him to say that it was not by his own instructions and directions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never shirk a question. I said at the time that different treatment was given to different prisoners. I said at the time that I had considerable doubt as to whether I should deal differently with priests and other people. The right hon. Gentleman appears to be under the impression that the fact that I, rightly or wrongly—for I regarded the question as a doubtful one—[*Laughter.*]—Yes, I said so at the time; I always thought it extremely doubtful—the right hon. Gentleman seems to think that because I laid it down that priests as a class should be treated differently to other people, that my action was similar to that of Lord Spencer. But what is the difference between the course I took and that adopted by Lord Spencer? I acted through the Prisons Board.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Did the Prisons Board refuse to act as you demanded?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Observe the distinction between my action and that of Lord Spencer.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What do we care about Lord Spencer?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: "What do we care about Lord Spencer?" says the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Well, what do we care about Lord Spencer; and what do we care about the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby? I really do not care about the one or the other.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton): Let us have an answer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I acted, as I was bound to act by the Statute, through the Prisons Board, and Lord Spencer did not act, as he was bound to act, through the Prisons Board. I dealt with a class, and with the view of equalizing the punishment between persons who formally received the same sentence. I acted on this principle, that a priest sentenced, let us say, to a month's imprisonment, suffered more than a layman sentenced by the same Court to the same term of imprisonment, from the fact that the priest had to be disfrocked. ["No, no!"] Well, he had to give up the dress he was canonically bound to wear, and that inflicted greater punishment on him than the punishment suffered by a layman convicted for the same offence and sentenced to the same punishment. That was the principle, good or bad, upon which I acted. It was a principle that had for its object the equalization of the incidence of the same punishment, and it dealt with a class as a whole, and it was carried into effect through the Prisons Board. Lord Spencer did not act in accordance with the rules of the Prisons Board. He did not try to equalize the punishments, and he did not deal with a class. These three considerations differentiate the conduct of Lord Spencer in connection with the hon. and learned Member for the Harbour Division of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington), and the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby in dealing with Davitt from the conduct which I pursued, rightly or wrongly, with regard to the priests. Of course, if the opinion of the Committee is that I ought not to have made this concession with regard to the priests, I might be willing to—[*Cries of* "Try it!" *from the Irish Members.*] I was doubtful about the matter from the first.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I want to know whether the right hon. Gentleman seriously lays it down that one of the great principles of his administration is that the canons of the Catholic Church are to over-ride Acts of Parliament?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No. I was desirous, however, not to make a sentence nominally equal press unequally on a particular class. I have been informed by those who know more of the matter than I do, and more, I might add, than the right hon. Gentleman opposite does, that the feelings of Roman Catholic priests and of the Roman Catholic community would be deeply hurt by a proceeding in the case of priests that would not touch their feelings if it were adopted in the case of laymen. If the Committee, however, takes a different view, I shall be perfectly ready to re-consider my decision.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): The spectacle that the right hon. Gentleman presents in search of a shred of consistency is a very pitiable one. He has invented a new principle on which to stand in the administration of his Crimes Act. He talks about endeavouring to make the incidence of sentences bear equally upon different classes. But has the right hon. Gentleman ever considered that a sentence of

stone-breaking and oakum-picking presses with infinitely greater pressure on a journalist, who has never broken stones or performed any manual labour, than it does on a person who is used to manual labour? If the right hon. Gentleman had been really anxious about this wonderful new principle he has discovered, he would have carried it a good deal further, not that we have ever asked for any difference on account of the qualities or the merits of the men who suffered imprisonment in Ireland. We have asked for the same treatment for the peasant as for the Member of Parliament; but what we have asked for and what we will insist on having before this Vote is concluded, is the difference which your Statute law enacts in the treatment of political offenders as compared with other offenders. But, Sir, I have not risen to continue this discussion, or to go further into this matter, but merely to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has heard that the Lord Chief Baron, at the Cork Winter Assizes, commenting to-day on the action of the Crown in the case of Police-constable Swindell, against whom a verdict was recently found by a Coroner's jury for murdering a peasant at Middleton, County Cork, said that the Irish Attorney General was plainly not going to proceed against Swindell; and he intimated that if an application were made to him by the next of kin he would consider it to the best of his judgment, and, if he deemed it proper, he would cause a Bill to be sent up. I desire to know whether the right hon. Gentleman will re-consider his policy in view of this serious and grave pronouncement, and will take care that a jury should decide whether he is guilty of murder or not?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have heard nothing of this matter; but I will make inquiries on the subject.

MR. PARNELL: I asked the right hon. Gentleman two questions. I think it unreasonable that he should have had no information with regard to the statement of the Chief Baron at Cork; but I also asked as to what the policy of the Crown was in Ireland with reference to this case of Swindell, and I submit that that policy should not have been formed without conference with the right hon. Gentleman and with the legal authorities who sit by his side.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: These matters rest with the Attorney General for Ireland. I can assure the hon. Member that we have not changed our policy, which is the policy that has been pursued by successive Irish Governments. It is impossible for me to give a specific answer to the particular question addressed to me by the hon. Member until I know the circumstances of the case.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.) said, he would not stand for more than a few minutes between the House and a Division, but he could not give a silent vote on the Division which was about to take place, and for this reason: Most of his hon. Friends had been acquainted with the late Mr. John Mandeville for the last two or three years, ever since he entered into political life, but he (Mr. P. J. Power) had had the honour of Mr. Mandeville's acquaintance for upwards of 20 years, and he felt he should be false to his friend, and to his poor, sorrowing widow, if he did not endeavour to shield his character from the insinuations which had been levelled at it by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman was dealing—as was usual with him—in sneers at Irish agitators, and twitted them with keeping on the present agitation for their own personal advancement. But what was the case so far as regarded John Mandeville? He was a gentleman—no doubt of small means as compared with county gentlemen in England—but he was a gentleman of competence, able to live comfortably in his own quiet way, and to enjoy the country sports of the district in which he lived. He was a gentleman possessed of a heart that hated oppression; and, when the law refused to protect the people amongst whom he lived, he determined, as far as he could, to stand between the oppressor and the oppressed. He endeavoured to do by agitation what the law refused to do for the people, and he (Mr. P. J. Power) ventured to say that the events which had occurred since his imprisonment had proved that the late John Mandeville was right in every step he took. The duly constituted Courts of the country had declared that the efforts he used for the poor struggling people amongst whom he lived were just

and equitable, and that his demands were such as should not have been refused. He (Mr. P. J. Power), as he had said, had known John Mandeville for many years. He had known him as a boy, he had known him as a youth, and he had known him as a man. He had met him at various houses; he had met him at his (Mr. Mandeville's) own house; he had met him at his (Mr. P. J. Power's) own house; he had met him at his (Mr. P. J. Power's) own father's house, and at various other houses, and he had never on one occasion seen the least sign of intemperance about him. So far from it, he was essentially abstinent—in fact, for a long time was a total abstainer. What, however, had the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary insinuated—not stated, but insinuated—in his speech at Glasgow? Why, that John Mandeville had taken part in a drunken row on the 21st of April. What did the right hon. Gentleman insinuate by that? Why, that John Mandeville was a drunkard—as if he had not his spies around the man dogging his footsteps night and day. Why had not the right hon. Gentleman come forward and proved the charges he so basely insinuated? He (Mr. P. J. Power) knew that right hon. Gentlemen opposite hated the Irish Members and the country for which they spoke, and hated the people who had elected them; still he ventured to say that, taking the men individually, there must be some Gentlemen opposite who must hate the existing relations between England and Ireland and the system under which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was not satisfied with killing a man, but endeavoured by base insinuations to destroy what was more valuable to a man than life—namely, his character, and to injure the reputation of those who belonged to him. He knew that hon. Gentlemen opposite hated the Irish Representatives and their country. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Yes, their deeds proved that they did, but yet he was perfectly confident that there must be men opposite who disapproved a system which not only killed men by cruel prison treatment but which slandered them when dead. That was a system of which every man, whatever his Nationality and whatever Party he belonged to, ought to disapprove of.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 181; Noes 233: Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 327.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

It being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 348.]
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)
CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 5 (S. 18, as to amended specifications).

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 5, to leave out the word "reconsideration," and insert the word "revocation."—(*The Attorney General.*)

MR. WARMINGTON (Monmouth, W.) objected to the Bill being proceeded with.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would allow the Bill to go through. The question the hon. and learned Gentleman desired to raise on a later clause could be discussed. There was a general desire that the Bill should go through; and it would have been taken on the previous night but that it was necessary to make inquiries as to two or three clauses.

Objection being maintained.

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday.*

LIABILITY OF TRUSTEES BILL [*Lords*].
(*Mr. Cozens-Hardy*)
[BILL 365.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. W. F. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby) said, he had to move the clause of which he had given Notice; it was of interest to the Corporation of Liverpool and of general importance. It was really a re-enactment verbatim of the clause which was contained in Lord Cranworth's Act, and omitted, apparently *per incuriam*, in the Settled Land Act of 1882. It was necessary to

make the Bil complete; there was no objection that he was aware of; and therefore, without more ado, he would move the clause.

New Clause, after Clause 12—

(Power to trustee to raise money to meet fines on renewal of lease.)

"In case any money shall be required for the purpose of paying for the renewal of any lease as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the trustee effecting such renewal to pay the same out of any money which may then be in his hands in trust for the persons beneficially interested in the lands to be comprised in the renewed lease, and if he shall not have in his hands as aforesaid sufficient money for the purpose, it shall be lawful for the trustee to raise the money required by mortgage of the hereditaments to be contained in the renewed lease, or of any other hereditaments for the time being subject to the subsisting uses or trusts to which the hereditaments comprised in the renewed lease shall be subject; and no mortgagee advancing money upon such mortgage, purporting to be made under this power, shall be bound to see that such money is wanted, or that no more is raised than is wanted for the purpose aforesaid,"—(*Mr. W. F. Lawrence,*)

—*brought up*, read the first and second time, and *added* to Bill.

On Motion of Mr. COZENS-HARDY (Norfolk, N.) (for Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.) the following Amendments made:—In Clause 1, page 1, line 12, after the word "shares," insert the words—

"And in the application of this enactment to Scotland the expressions 'trust' and 'trustee' shall have the meanings assigned to them by 'The Trusts (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1884,' 47 and 48 *Vic.* c. 63.

On Motion of Mr. COZENS-HARDY, the following Amendment made:—Page 1, line 16, leave out "and also," and insert "but not."

On Motion of Mr. COZENS-HARDY (for Mr. HALDANE) (Haddington) the following Amendment made:—In Clause 3, page 2, line 35, leave out "aforesaid," and insert—

"That any of the conditions subject to which the sale was made may have been unnecessarily depreciatory."

On Motion of Mr. COZENS-HARDY, the following Amendments made:—In Clause 6, page 4, line 6, after "consent" insert "in writing"; Clause 8, page 4, line 34, after "thereof," insert "still"; line 34, leave out "or," and insert "by the trustee or previously"; page 5, line 8, after "entitled," insert "in possession"; line 10, leave out "a," and insert "any"; line 11, leave out "his interest," and insert "the interest of such beneficiary"; line 18, leave out "passing of this Act," and insert "the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety."

On Motion of Mr. COZENS-HARDY (for Mr. HALDANE) the following Amendment made:—In Line 18, after "Act," insert—

"And shall not deprive any executor or administrator of any right or defence to which he is entitled under any existing statute of limitations."

Amendment proposed, In page 5, line 25, after the word "Parliament," to insert the words—

"Including stock, shares, or bonds, the dividends or interest on which are guaranteed under 'The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883.'"—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, he was afraid that Amendment could not be accepted by Her Majesty's Government. It raised an important and serious question, that would have to be fully discussed. It was not discussed before the Grand Committee, and he hoped the hon. Member would not insist upon it. If he did, it might possibly have the effect of defeating the Bill.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman would not maintain his opposition; perhaps a compromise might be suggested. The Amendment was thoroughly acceptable in Ireland; it had been discussed in all the financial organs there, and it had met with the approval, as he understood, of the Irish Solicitor General. So far as Ireland was concerned, there was no objection to it. He would suggest a compromise. Why not allow Irish Trustees to have this power? They would be glad to use it. Much had been heard about the necessity of developing Irish capital in Irelend. He did not ask this for English capital; but here was Stock upon which the Treasury guaranteed 2 per cent—an Imperial guarantee of 2 per cent—and yet it was said the Irish guarantee of 1 per cent on the Stock was good enough to allow trustees to invest in it. Take the case mentioned

lately by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), the direct Fermoy and Lismore Railway. That Stock paid 2 per cent and no guarantee. Thirteen years ago a connection was made to Waterford, and a charge of no less than £14,000 a-year the taxpayers had paid from that day to this, and although there was no guarantee whatever that Stock commanded a good price in the market. But here, on the other hand, was Stock with an Imperial guarantee of 2 per cent. in which it was proposed to allow trustees to invest their money, and the Government refused! Surely this was watering down Imperial credit and dangerously imperilling the security while they were seeking to put their money in these tramways. The Government said to the capitalist, "Put your money in these tramways, because you have an Imperial guarantee; and surely Irishmen are not afraid to back their opinion to the extent of 1 per cent;" and then, when they asked that Trustees should be allowed to invest on the faith of the guarantee, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "No; Ireland is not to be trusted to the extent of 1 per cent." Take the Chancellor of the Exchequer's own 2¾ Stock, standing at 96¾ in the market; investment was allowed in "Goschens," but not in Irish Tramway Stock, guaranteed and commanding very nearly the same price! He was sure they would have the support of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite. They did not seek English investments; all they asked was that the Imperial Parliament, so far as Ireland was concerned, should give Irish investors some of that care English investors would get from this Bill. Hang it! let the Irish do what they liked with their own money; let their Trustees have this liberty. Were they to be told that they did not know the value of a sovereign in Ireland? The hon. Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney) knew something of these matters. His respected father was Chairman of one of these Companies, and a sound financial judgment had the late Member for Tyrone. I say he should not be allowed to invest the money of wife or daughter in these securities—it was one of the greatest instances of English bumptiousness he knew. Let not Irish securities have this stamp of inferiority.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) said, he hoped on consideration the Government would accept the Amendment. He did not see why Irish Trustees should be excluded. He did not wish to add to the debate beyond expressing the hope the Government would see their way to accepting the Amendment to that extent.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, the view he took of the Amendment was, that if persisted in it might prevent the passing of a very useful Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman was quite correct in stating that when he was spoken to on the subject he did not express any personal opposition to it. But they could not shut their eyes to the fact that this was not an Irish Bill. It carried out the views of the Grand Committee and it was not an exclusively Irish Bill, and the hon. and learned Member would see the difficulty of distinguishing between English and Irish trusts as regards the powers of trustees in their dealings with money, nor was he aware of any Statute making such a distinction. But what he would press on hon. Members was that all were desirous of passing this Bill, a valuable one for the protection of trustees, and it would be most unfortunate if by insisting on the Amendment the Bill were imperilled.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, he thought the Government were a little unreasonable; surely if Irish Trustees were willing to take the risk of these investments they ought to be allowed to do so. He hoped the Government would not persist in opposing the Amendment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, they were not denying to Irish Trustees what was being given to English Trustees. The object of the Bill was to define certain classes of securities Trustees might invest in; the Bill did not allow Trustees to invest in any securities they pleased, or the Government would have opposed the Bill. No disqualification was being put npon Irish investments, no Stock of a similar character in England would be admitted for English Trustees.

An hon. MEMBER: There is no such Stock.

MR. GOSCHEN: No similar Stock would be admitted. The provisions of the Bill applied to Ireland as well as to England, placing the two countries on the same footing; neither more or less discretion was given to Trustees in either. He was not prepared to widen in England or in Ireland the facilities that were given to Trustees under the Bill as it stood. The Government would assist not only this Amendment, but the next Amendment standing on the Paper, which had relation to a more general matter. If the House consented to the Bill as it stood, the Bill would be passed; but any attempt to press Amendments widening the powers of Trustees would be resisted.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said no similar Stock in England was admitted, it was quite true, because no such Stock was in existence; but there were English Railway Stocks admitted that were not in a better position, and almost any Municipal Stock could be invested in. True, in such cases there was a Sinking Fund; but there was no Imperial guarantee such as was the case in the Stock referred to in the Amendment. There was the fullest security for the investments. As had been mentioned, there were many Baronial guarantees existing without any Treasury guarantee, and in no single instance had there been a failure to meet the interest. The Stock guaranteed by the Treasury had a peculiar position; he did not think there was anything like it in this country. In the general interest the Amendment ought to be accepted.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) found in the attitude of the Government another argument in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. The declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer amounted to this—that on no consideration, if a Bill related to Ireland, would the English Government have regard to the local circumstances of Ireland. That was the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that was the attitude of the Government.

MR. GOSCHEN, interrupting, said, the Dublin Corporation and every Municipal Body in Ireland had exactly the same privileges Municipal Bodies had here. No distinction was drawn, and there was no disqualification whatever of Ireland.

MR. MAURICE HEALY, continuing, said, he did not allege any disqualification put upon Ireland; but in this Bill, which related to Ireland, there was a refusal to recognize local circumstances peculiar to Ireland. It could not be alleged that the circumstances were different. The Amendment dealt with a class of Stock that did not exist in England—that only existed in Ireland. There could not be any question that the Stock was fit and proper for Trustees to invest in. It was guaranteed by the English Exchequer to the extent of 2 per cent, and by Irish Baronies to the extent of any margin that might exist over and above 2 per cent. Was it reasonable or not, when passing a Bill relating to Trustees—including Irish Trustees—to refuse to have regard to the fact that such a class of Stock existed in Ireland and not in England? This was a moderate proposal which, if Ireland had a National Parliament, would pass into law without a moment's doubt or hesitation. Hon. Gentlemen must know that in a general Bill of this kind was the only possible opportunity of passing such a clause. If they introduced an independent Bill exclusively for Ireland, it would not have the slightest chance of passing. Their only opportunity of amending the law was by taking advantage of a general Bill of this kind; and when they took this opportunity they were met with the declaration, forsooth, that because there was no such Stock in England, therefore the Government could not allow Irish Trustees to invest their trust funds in a class of security which it was undisputed was favoured by the whole financial opinion of Ireland.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.) said, the refusal of this Amendment did really put certain Irish Stock under a disability. At present nearly all Stock in which Trustees in Ireland could invest were really English securities; and here was a purely Irish Stock, with an Imperial guarantee of 2 per cent, with a supplementary Baronial guarantee of 1 per cent, perfectly secure, and producing as good or better interest than the converted Three-per-Cents of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the Amendment were not accepted, it would really be

putting a considerable disability on certain Irish Stock, and, as had just been pointed out, it afforded an admirable illustration of the necessity of Home Rule. Undoubtedly the matter would be dealt with in a very different way in an Irish Parliament.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) hoped the Government would re-consider their attitude. Irish Members were often told that if the different classes amongst them would only agree, they would not have the slightest difficulty in getting from the House such measures as they thought necessary. Now here was an absolute unanimity of opinion, a strong Tory representative taking part with the Nationalist Members, and the almost unprecedented fact of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, who usually disagreed with both Parties, now joining with them. Every Irish Member who had spoken from the three Parties had supported the Amendment, and, if the Amendment was not accepted by the Government, then he hoped they would hear less in future about Irish Members agreeing among themselves. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said Irish securities were not in any way branded with inferiority; but he thought they were, for if hon. Members would look at the previous part of the clause it would be found that Debentures and British Railway Stocks were made proper objects of investment, and this Stock in question was not Debenture or Preference Stock guaranteed by a Railway Company, or a single line's earnings. It was guaranteed by the British Parliament and taxpayers. Two per cent was guaranteed by the Exchequer and the remainder by the whole of the district through which the line passed. This last amount was levied by the Grand Jury, in whom Government usually professed so much confidence; and, as a matter of fact, there was not the slightest difficulty in collecting payment of the rate. In a great many cases the rate became less and less necessary, every day the line becoming self-supporting. It was only necessary to look at the prices at which these securities were quoted to see that they had all the advantages of English Railway Stock, with the addition of a public guarantee, and yet in the face of all this Trustees were to be forbidden to approach these investments. It was an unreasonable position, and he trusted the weight of opinion in the House would be brought to bear against it. After the example of absolute unanimity among Irish Members of all sections, the Division, if Division there was to be—[An hon. MEMBER: There cannot be.]—would not be of a Party character. He was sure if Government Whips did not bring in to vote Gentlemen who had not heard a word of the discussion, the Amendment would be carried.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne), as an English Trustee, thought the position the Government had taken up was most extraordinary, and he could only find a motive for it in the fear that money might be diverted from the pockets of the landlords. In England Trustees were permitted to invest in ordinary Railway Stocks, which had paid a dividend regularly for so many years. Surely what was good enough for English Trustees was good enough for Irish Trustees, and if all Irish Trustees were in favour of being permittted to make such investments, why in the name of common sense sheuld they not be allowed to exercise their judgment? If in England Trustees were permitted under the law to invest in Stock of Railways which had paid a dividend for ten years, why should not Trustees in Ireland be permitted to invest in Stock of Tramway Companies which had not only paid dividends for the same number of years, but had an Imperial guarantee to the extent of two per cent? He was in favour of extending the discretion of Trustees; it would be better for the trusts if they had more power in matters of investment. On broad, general principles he advocated the Amendment as a step in the right direction. To prevent its passing would be not only an injustice to Ireland but a retrograde step so far as the power of Trustees generally was concerned. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not see anything wrong in the principle.

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes!

MR. CONYBEARE, continuing, said, that no reason had been given for the assertion; it had not been explained how it was wrong in principle. The argument from the Treasury Bench was that it would be difficult and inconvenient to make the distinction between England and Ireland. But why? It was well known that in many general Acts

of Parliament distinctions were constantly made in the case of one or other of the three Kingdoms. There had not been one word of explanation why there should be any difficulty in making the Amendment applicable to Ireland only, and, in order to afford time for the Government to consider such an explanation, he moved the Adjournment of the debate.

MR. GOSCHEN: We do not object to it.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Conybeare.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Friday.*

COUNTY COURTS APPEALS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 166.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Chance, Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported* without Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he hoped the Bill would now be read a third time. It had the approval of judicial opinion, including that of the Lord Chancellor.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, he had no objection whatever; on the contrary, he thought it was very desirable.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 5th December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II. — SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 37 to 39.

Resolutions [December 4] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading*—Sand Grouse Protection * [391].

Mr. Conybeare

QUESTIONS.

GRANTS OF RIGHTS OVER CROWN LANDS—THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will undertake not to enter into any definite arrangement for granting any right of user over any Crown Lands for the purpose of the requirements of the National Rifle Association, or any other private Association, until an opportunity has been afforded for discussing the principle of such concessions; and, whether he will be prepared to state the views of Her Majesty's Government, when the subject is raised during the discussion on the Army Estimates?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): In answer to the first part of the Question, I cannot give the desired undertaking. In reply to the second part of the Question, the House will have a full opportunity of expressing its opinion on the Vote for the Army.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE asked, what difference the right hon. Gentleman made between granting user of Crown Land and granting money to a private Association?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I draw the greatest possible distinction, and am surprised that the hon. Gentleman does not see it himself.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that rights are to be granted over national property under the term of user to a private Association without Parliament having an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the subject?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I am at a loss to see why the War Office should not grant rights of shooting over Crown Lands at Aldershot, just as it does over Crown Lands in other parts of the country.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £553, to complete the sum for Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): said, he wished to ask whether the Commissioners had made any Report or suggestion to the Government, or whether the Government intended to take any action in regard to the better administration of the charities in Dublin, especially of the charities devoted to the maintenance of the hospitals in that city? The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) was no doubt aware that the condition of the administration of the charities, so far as it related to hospitals, was in an extremely unsatisfactory condition. The condition of things had been recently a matter of inquiry by Royal Commission, who took extensive evidence and made a very valuable and elaborate Report; the matter had also engaged the attention of the Municipality of Dublin. It was well known that in consequence of the great number and variety of hospitals in Dublin the funds administered by this Department, as well as other funds for similar purposes, were at present very much wasted. He believed that one of his Colleagues presented a Bill some time ago on the subject, which followed generally the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Those recommendations were the diminution of the number of hospitals and the establishment of a central board, having partly a representative character, for the purpose of administering the funds. He should be glad to hear from the hon. and learned Solicitor General whether the Government intended to leave this extremely important matter to the whole of the country as well as to Dublin to the initiation of private Members, or whether they intended early next Session to promote a Bill for the purpose of carrying into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that the subject to which the right hon. Gentleman had called attention was one of great importance. The Report had been before the House more than a year. The Commission was appointed to inquire generally into the management of hospitals, including the administration of charitable as well as Government funds, and there was a suggestion also made with regard to the way in which certain of the smaller hospitals should be dealt with. The Commission took a great deal of evidence in regard to various hospitals in Dublin, and presented their Report more than a year ago. The late Mr. Dwyer Gray took the matter in hand, and brought in a Bill. The Bill, however, was not proceeded with during the last Session of Parliament. Unfortunately the death of the hon. Member occurred during this year, and he (Mr. Madden) had made inquiries from time to time, but he was never able to ascertain that any other person had taken up the position Mr. Dwyer Gray occupied in relation to the carrying out of the recommendations of the Committee. But he was authorized to say that the Government would look into the matter most carefully; the matter was one which obviously deserved attention, and they would be prepared next Session to say what course they would take.

MR. SEXTON said, he was obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman for his valuable statement. The unfortunate death of his hon. Friend prevented the Bill being proceeded with as early as it could have been wished. The Corporation of Dublin had requested him to give attention to the subject, and he should be glad next Session to re-introduce the Bill of his late Colleague if he was to understand that facilities would be afforded for it by the Government.

MR. MADDEN said, the right hon. Gentleman would understand that, while the Government would consider carefully how the recommendations of the Committee could be carried out, they could not pledge themselves to the details of the Bill introduced by the late Mr. Dwyer Gray.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £61,698, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he desired to bring under the notice of the House a matter relating to the Longford Union, but before doing so he could not help bestowing one word of commendation on the Local Govern-

ment Board for their action in relation to the Labourers Acts. The Board had taken a very proper and independent course; the Inspectors had done their work fairly, and he thought he might say they had done their work thoroughly. But, at the same time, he had to complain that, when Inspectors came before the Privy Council, and gave evidence to the best of their ability, they were met by the Privy Council not in a fair and friendly spirit, but in a bullying and deprecating spirit. He was glad that the Local Government Board were honestly endeavouring, so far as they were concerned, to discharge their duties under the Act, and he trusted that they would go on unintimidated by the action of the Irish Privy Council. There were other matters under this Vote which he certainly could not expend any praise upon. He referred especially to the Board's action in connection with the dismisal or attempted dismissal of certain medical officers. In the case of Dr. Magner the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had given way. It would have been a life-long stigma on Dr. Magner, a gentleman aged 21, if the charge of conspiracy made against him had been sustained. The charge, however, would not have stood one moment's investigation in the Law Courts, and the Government had given way on the point, and therefore there was no need to dwell upon it further. The Board endeavoured to prevent Dr. Higgins from holding the two positions of Coroner and Dispensing Medical Officer. They had receded from that position in regard to Dr. Higgins also, but he (Mr. T. M. Healy) complained that in the cases of Dr. Magner and Dr. Higgins, because they happened to be Nationalists, the Board took up a position they did not assume in other cases. He also desired to refer to the deliberate attempt on the part of the Board to discredit the machinery of Local Government in the hands of the Irish people. The Local Government Board had recently adopted the plan, if any Board of Guardians made the slightest error, of at once suppressing it. He maintained that this was done for the purpose of discrediting the feeble efforts of the Irish people to manage their own affairs; feeble in the sense that the law did not allow them proper machinery for management. He admitted that in the case of the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians there was a rather heated scene at one of the meetings, but it was brought about because the Local Government Board would not give to the people what they demanded—namely, some kind of local satisfaction. But the scene was not half as bad as those which frequently occurred in the Holborn and Clerkenwell vestries; and he noticed that in Scotland scenes outstripping any which had occurred at the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians had taken place. It was the first time in the history of the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians, in that landlord-ridden country, that the popular party had a majority. They refused to be checked by the minority, and he could not understand why, because they endeavoured to imitate English methods, they should be suppressed. From that day to this the affairs of the union had been in the hands of three paid guardians, whose salary the ratepayers had to pay, and whose management, of course, could never be as pure as that of the unpaid guardians. He preferred rather to see the people blundering on in their own way than to see them bossed by English officials. A popular Board among them was a new thing, and they might be at first a little exuberant, but the ratepayers would soon check them. If there was exuberance at the start, he maintained that it was better to tolerate it rather than to send down paid aristocrats to manage the affairs of the people; it was better for the people to put up with 2*d.* in the pound extra rates a year while they were learning the ways of government than to have their affairs managed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Gentlemen he sent down. What had happened in regard to the Athy Board? That Board considered it right to pay to the evicted tenants £1 a-week under the system of outdoor relief. When the Local Government Board had the possibility of surcharging the men concerned, was it right or fair to take the men by the throat, dissolve their local organization, and put in three of the Local Government's own friends for the purpose of giving them salaries, and thus to practically suspend all local government? The last case of this kind he had to call attention to, and a case in which the Local Government Board had some

amount of right on their side, was that of the Dungarvan Union. In this case there was an allegation that they had not given a contract to the highest bidder, or that they gave a contract to one of their own friends. He was not in favour of either over-payment or corruption; he would certainly deal with such matters with a very high hand. But the way to deal with them, he submitted, was to prosecute the offending parties, and not to dissolve the board. It was unfair to suspend the rights of the people at large, including the *ex-officios*. If the *ex-officios* would try to keep those boards pure and sweet and wholesome, they having all the wealth and intelligence, and every other good quality—if they would not come in and help their poor neighbours and their less intelligent countrymen—if Gentlemen opposite, who represented the land, divorced themselves from the administration of local affairs, what else could be expected, but that the first time a popular party had power, having seen their opponents jobbing for centuries, they would imitate them. The landlord party never gave a job to any but their own friends; no Nationalist or Catholic had a chance. Take the case of the South Dublin Board of Guardians. At that very time there they would not have a Catholic even for a gate porter. He submitted that landlords did not use their rights properly. Not one labourer's cottage had been erected in the whole of Ulster, where the landlords had complete control. He submitted that the Local Government Board, when representations were sent into them, ought to see that the landlord party should not be able to exercise the power of preventing the labourers getting any kind of shelter. It was a curious fact that the Local Government Board took the very opposite view of matters in the case of the Longford Union to that they had taken in the case of the Dungarvan Board of Guardians. The Longford Guardians made an attempt to save the rates; the Board considered that in the rich parts of the union, where the rates were easily collected, the poundage should be reduced from 6*d.* to 4*d.* In the poorer portions of the union, where the rates were difficult to collect, the Guardians were willing to continue the poundage of 6*d.* He was advised that in this matter they were following the example of the Grand Jury, who had reduced the poundage paid to the Barony cess collectors from 1*s.* to 6*d.* and 7*d.* in the pound. The Guardians did not make this a wholesale attack; they only said that in the richer portions of the union they would reduce the poundage. What did the Local Government Board do? They pointed out that the collectors were permanent officers, and that there was no power to supersede them by other men, and they referred to the 39th article of the Rules and Regulations affecting Boards of Guardians. If the Guardians had done wrong, he thought that they should be indicted and convicted, but the ratepayers ought to have a chance of electing new and better men in their place. Ratepayers had a right to representation, and the punishment of the Guardians ought not to be extended to the ratepayers, but that was really what the Local Government Board were doing. If a Member was expelled from this House--if, for instance, the hon. Member for the Lambeth Division of Kennington (Mr. Gent-Davis) were to be expelled—surely the rights of the electors of Kennington would not be suspended for a moment; a new writ would issue, and the people would have the power of returning a new Member to the House. If the Local Government Board were so anxious as they professed to be, with regard to the interests of the ratepayers in the Dungarvan case, what excuse had they for interference with the Longford Board when they, following the example of the Grand Jury, reduced the poundage paid to the collectors? The Longford Board of Guardians felt very strongly about the action of the Local Government Board, and had passed a protest against it. On the facts submitted to him he did not think that with the state of poverty which prevailed at the present time in the country, with the landlords having to reduce their rents, and the people having to put up with less than they had hitherto been receiving, and with the example of the Grand Jury before their eyes, it was too strong a thing for the Longford Board of Guardians to reduce the poundage paid in respect to the richer portions of the union from 6*d.* to 4*d.* There was one other matter he desired to make allusion to, and that was what was called the increase in the outdoor relief.

It had been made a charge against the Irish people, especially in the columns of *The Times*, that an increase in outdoor relief had only taken place in unions where the popular party were in power. He was strongly of opinion that nothing could be more justifiable than the action of popular Boards of Guardians in giving outdoor relief, and he regarded it as a sign of returning Christianity in the management of Poor Law Boards. Formerly people were never relieved until they pauperized themselves, but now that the popular party were getting power they endeavoured to spare the feelings of their poorer brethren by giving them the means of keeping up their employment outside the workhouse. One of the great complaints of *The Times* was that a tailor was given 15*s.* to enable him to purchase a sewing-machine. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) maintained that, if they thereby kept this man and his family off the rates, it was a very proper allocation of public funds, a far more suitable allocation than it would have been to have given the tailor money to pay his and his family's passage to America, possibly to be sent back again, and to be planted on the Queenstown Union, where they might have no settlement at all. He rejoiced that the system against which complaint was made did prevail. He abhorred the system of the Poor Law, and he thought that O'Connel was right in denouncing it. There were 160 unions in Ireland, but he believed that if things were properly managed they could get along with six. At present workhouses in Ireland were merely receptacles for tramps and prostitutes. In most cases he was of opinion that they ought to be swept away, leaving the medical charity, which was an excellent system, in vogue. He had not the smallest sympathy with this kind of humanitarian humbug; he thought the ratepayers ought not to be saddled with burdens for people of the tramp and the other class he had mentioned. If people made mistakes, let them bear the responsibility of them. The Government had, in certain cases, tried to extinguish a number of the poorer Boards of Guardians. That policy of consolidation, in his opinion, ought to be continued, and he was of opinion that one workhouse in every county was quite as much as was necessary for the requirements of the country, keeping up at the same time the system of medical relief and of outdoor relief by means of Parish Committees. The sooner the immense workhouses, which, with the police barracks, were the main trade marks of British administration, were swept away, the better it would be for the country. He trusted the Government would go on restricting the number of Boards of Guardians, leaving the medical charities in full operation, for that was a wise way of spending the public money, or rather the money of the ratepayers.

Mr. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) said, he quite agreed with what the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had said with regard to the beneficial results which accrued in Ireland from the amalgamation of workhouses, though he could not go so far as the hon. and learned Gentleman had gone in supposing that one workhouse would be sufficient for each county. Upon that point he desired to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) whether the Local Government Board had considered the question of the Gorton Union in County Tyrone. He understood they contemplated making a new experiment in that Union—namely, to see whether the union would be able to do without a workhouse. He believed that the Guardians were of opinion that the poor would be able to get relief without the establishment of a workhouse. The hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of the working of the Labourers Act, and had said that there were no cottages erected in Ulster, and had attributed that fact to the action of the *ex-officio* Guardians. Now, in Ballymena cottages were being constructed under the Act. He (Mr. Macartney) utterly denied that, if the Labourers Act had not been productive of any good in Ulster, it was the result of the action of the *ex-officio* Guardians; it was rather the result of the action of the elected Guardians. In Ballymena, in County Antrim, where there had been a considerable struggle under the Act, the *ex-officio* Guardians, especially the leading *ex-officio* Guardians, were in favour of the erection of labourers' cottages, but they were strongly opposed by the elected Guardians. The elected Guardians were not on the side of the hon. and learned Member, and therefore it was naturally

the policy of the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that the Board was under the control of the landlords. He would like the hon. and learned Gentleman to name a single Board in Ulster which was controlled by landlords. [An hon. MEMBER: All.] There was not one. [An hon. MEMBER: Yes; Donegal.] The hon. and learned Gentleman knew perfectly well there was not a single Board of Guardians in Ulster which was controlled upon this question, or upon any other question, by landlords. It was absurd to say that landlords controlled the Boards of Guardians; it was quite impossible that in Antrim, Down, or Derry the Boards of Guardians were, or could be, controlled by landlords.

THE CHAIRMAN: To prevent the prolongation of a controversy which is quite irrelevant, let me say it is not the action of the Boards of Guardians we are discussing, but the action of the Local Government Board in relation to Boards of Guardians.

MR. MACARTNEY said, he was afraid he had been led away from the point. He wished to ask his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary whether, in connection with the working of the Labourers' Act, he would consider this point? In one of the districts in Ulster a very strong feeling had been aroused among those who thought they ought to be benefited by the Labourers' Act, owing to the action of the Board of Guardians. Representations under the Labourers' Act had been with great difficulty in one instance procured, and those representations went before the Board of Guardians, and had been promptly thrown out by the elected Guardians. He knew of one instance in which accommodation for labourers was of a very bad description, but he was happy to say that generally speaking, in the counties in the North of Ireland with which he was acquainted, the labourers' cottages were fairly good, and that it was only here and there that there was a district in which the accommodation was inferior. He had applied to the Local Government Board to send down an Inspector. There was a power reserved by one of the Acts to the Local Government Board to do that where the Board of Guardians declined to entertain a representation. He believed that if the Local Government Board had sent down an Inspector to look into the case, independently of the Board of Guardians, there would have been removed a great deal of the irritation which existed owing to the action of the Board of Guardians. But the Local Government Board had declined to send down an Inspector, sheltering themselves behind the action of the Board of Guardians. The feeling of the labouring population in the district was that their representation had gone before a Body which was distinctly hostile to them. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. T. M. Healy) would recollect that when the last Labourers' Act was before the House, he (Mr. Macartney) moved an Amendment to the effect that power should be given to permit representations signed by householders. He recognized the difficulty there was in some cases in getting ratepayers to sign the representation. The labourers in the district he had in mind felt that the representation, which they had secured at very great difficulty, went before a Board which was decidedly hostile. At all events, the representation was thrown out, as the labourers conceived, not on its merits. Possibly it was, but the labourers felt greatly aggrieved when the Local Government Board, to whom the Act reserved a sort of appeal as to the real merits of a representation, did not take the trouble to send down an Inspector to inquire into the merits of the facts alleged in the representation. He trusted that even yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would cause an independent examination into the facts alleged in the labourers' representation, because, if so, he believed the labouring population, with which he was acquainted, would feel that the Act was not a complete farce.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (MR. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, that one part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macartney) was certainly pertinent to the Vote before the Committee. Under Section 1 of the Labourers' Act the Local Government Board had power, not necessarily to initiate schemes under the Act, but when Boards of Guardians failed to act on representations made to them, to send down an Inspector to inquire and report. If the Local Government Board availed themselves of that statutory power, unquestionably

the Province of Ulster would not be, in regard to the erection of labourers' cottages, in the neglected condition it was at present. Now his hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had referred to a question of great importance, and that was the continually intrusive and irritating conduct of the Local Government Board in regard to medical men who were subjected to their jurisdiction. The Committee was familiar with the case of Dr. Kenny, a Member of the House, but in a more recent case the Local Government Board endeavoured to intimidate Dr. Magner, a medical gentleman connected with the Department, by putting him, to quote the words of the Coercion Act, "in fear of his means of living." He (Mr. Sexton) failed entirely to see why the Local Government Board should interfere with a respectable man and a competent practitioner, because, in proposing a resolution at a public meeting, he stated his belief that the Chief Secretary for Ireland was not an admirable Minister and the Crimes Act was not a perfect piece of legislation. The action of the Local Government Board had been proved by experience not only to be despotic, but inefficacious. The intervention of the Board had been a failure in every case—they had retired from their position in the case of Dr. Kenny as well as in the case of Dr. Magner. He protested against the attempt to deprive a medical man, who was paid by the rates—paid by the people—of his means of living because he happened not to agree, as a politician, with the Local Government Board. He went a little further than his hon. and learned Friend had gone in reference to the case of Dr. Magner. These cases had been occurring from year to year, and he thought the time had come when the people were entitled to some assurance that this system of petty persecution and imprisonment of official medical men, because of their political opinions, should not be permitted to continue. In the case of Dr. Higgins there was a gross case of persecution. The Local Government Board maintained that he should not be allowed to hold at the same time the positions of coroner and dispensary doctor, although they allowed the two positions to be held by a gentleman who was not opposed to them in politics. The observations of his hon. and learned Friend with regard to the suppression of Boards of Guardians were well worthy of the attention of the Committee. He thought the Committee ought to press for a catalogue of the cases in which Boards of Guardians had been suppressed—for the names of the Unions, the facts which led to their suppression, and whether or not the facts which led to the suppression continued to operate. The Board of Guardians of the Ballinasloe Union had been suppressed, because, in their manners, they did not come up to the elegant standard of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. In England numerous cases could be found of Vestries and other local Bodies where there were not only irritating speeches, but where differences of opinion occasionally reached the length of physical combat. He did not object to a little freedom in the popular government of affairs in England, but he thought the same weight and measure might be applied to Ireland. In the case of the Swineford Board there was also suppression, but it was owing to the financial condition of the Union. A gentleman named Mr. Peter Welsh, however, had been since sent down as one of the Vice Guardians. The suppression of the Board meant a money fine upon the ratepayers of the Union, because two gentlemen, previously idle on account of the misappreciation of their intellectual force by society in general, were sent down upon comfortable salaries and quartered on the rates of the Union, which were not already in a sound condition. Mr. Welsh was already a magistrate in several counties, and the Government found him so useful a magistrate in other counties that the moment he went down to Swineford they made him a magistrate of the County of Mayo also. One of his first achievements as a magistrate for the County of Mayo was to come into the street on a Sunday, when the members of a foot-ball club were returning from their field to their meeting house, and to threaten them, in very harsh and brutal tones, with the use of the forces of the Crown against them. He did not intend to go into the details of the matter, nor was he going to argue whether Mr. Welsh was within his legal right in threatening to use the

forces of the Crown upon the occasion; but he mentioned that a gentleman who was sent down from Dublin to act as the paid servant of the ratepayers ought to be confined to that function, and should not be created a magistrate as well. His hon. and learned Friend had exposed the curious inconsistency in the action of the Local Government Board in suspending the Dungarvan Board of Guardians upon the ground of financial laxity, and in their censure of the Longford Board of Guardians on the ground that the Board was financially too strict. He imagined it was rather hard for one of these unfortunate members to strike a golden mean. Surely in the case of the Dungarvan Board nothing would have been easier, if they had acted corruptly, than to take one or other of the courses indicated by his hon. and learned Friend. Either the Guardians could have been prosecuted for an act of fraud, or else the Auditor of the Local Government Board could have surcharged the individual Guardians concerned in the act of maladministration or fraud. But the extreme and despotic course which was always most in favour with the Departments of the State in Ireland was adopted. The Government did not choose to take the course which would hit the guilty parties, but to take a course which would punish the innocent as well as the guilty. They suspended the whole Board for the act of a few, and, therefore, deprived the ratepayers of the Union of the valuable benefit of elective Local Government. In the case of the Longford Board the case was more extraordinary still. The Longford Board had been in the habit of paying 6*d.* in the £ for the collection of the rates, and they came to the conclusion that the collection of the rates—in fact, they had tenders from competent men to collect the rates for 2*d.* and 3*d.* in the £—ought to be made for less. They appealed to the Local Government Board, who said—"No; although you can get a man with good security to collect these rates for less, you must continue to pay 6*d.* in the £ whether you like it or not." He maintained very strongly that the Longford Guardians had a perfect right to have the rates collected for the cheapest practical sum, and that the Local Government Board were, by their action, insisting upon the imposition of a fraud upon the ratepayers of the Longford Union. Now, he had lately had occasion to refer to the Local Government Board on a matter connected with the public health of the City of Dublin. The Governors of Sir Peter Dunne's Hospital in the city erected a new wing, which they proposed to set apart for cases of infectious diseases. The wing was erected in close proximity to a populous court, and the proposal to use this new wing spread alarm and terror amongst the people inhabiting the court. He visited the court himself, and noticed that the windows of the ward to be used for fevers and other infectious diseases were far nearer to the doors and windows of the houses in the court than the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland was to him at that moment. The Municipality went to the Local Government Board, and saw the capable, and courteous, and genial Commissioner, Mr. George Morris. He asked the Local Government Board, through this gentleman, to take some steps which would prevent the use of the wing for the purpose he had specified. The Commissioner said the Board would refer to their legal agent, and on reference to that gentleman they reported to him (Mr. Sexton) that they had no power to do what was desired. Now the Municipality of Dublin had no power, indeed they found themselves controlled in the most ridiculous way in regard to matters of public interest and importance. The Municipality had no power, and the Local Government Board said that they had no power. The Governors of a hospital were absolutely going to set up a wing for fever and other infectious diseases in a court inhabited by hundreds of people, and where it might have the effect of submitting the city to a terrible epidemic. The Governors had, however, given the assurance that the wing should not be used for the purpose originally contemplated. He was thankful to the Governors for that assurance, but the people of Dublin had certainly nothing to thank the Government for. An appeal was lately made to the Local Government Board upon another question. A gentleman — Dr. Panter—died of poison in one of the hospitals maintained by the Government in Dublin. A medical student had to give a patient about midnight some bromide of potassium for the purpose of producing sleep, and he had to go from one hospital

to the other for the purpose of administering the draught. There was no pharmacy chest in the hospital where the patient was lying, but the medical student had to bring the draught from another hospital in the city. The student had two bottles in his possession. One of the bottles contained the draught which he was to give to induce sleep, and the other contained a solution of morphia to be used as a hypodermic injection in another case. The medical student gave the wrong bottle to the nurse; the patient took the draught and died in a few hours. At the inquest the jury returned the very curious verdict of "death from poison taken from misadventure," which, to the ordinary reader, seemed to infer that it was the act of the patient himself, and not the act of the medical student and the nurse. Of course, what happened in the case of Dr. Panter might happen in the case of any other man. The Public Health Committee appealed to the Local Government Board to make inquiries, because they were entitled to an assurance that precautions would be taken that such a misadventure should not occur again. He hoped his hon. Friends would join with him on that occasion in insisting upon the Government giving them some assurance that the inquiry asked for by the Public Health Committee would be held by the Local Government Board. The public ought to be certain that the hospitals, which cost so much money, and were maintained at the public expense, would be conducted in a manner which would render the occurrence of such misadventures impossible.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, he desired to join his protest to that of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), and the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), against the action of the Government in respect to the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians. He thought the appointment of Vice Guardians in the place of elected Guardians had lasted too long there. He was not altogether adverse to appointing Vice Guardians where unions were totally incapable of managing their own affairs, but at no time had there been more than four or five of such unions. In a case like that of the extremely poor Union of Swineford, he was not at all indisposed to the Government stepping in, but he thought if they did they ought to give some assistance to the rates. But in no case did he think the suspension of a Board ought to last more than a month. The important subject of outdoor relief had been raised, and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford had said it would be a very good thing if indoor relief in Ireland was practically abolished. He thought it would be a good thing if it was practicable, and, having some experience of Poor Law administration, he rather thought it was practicable. At any rate, the Local Government Board might take some steps in that direction. If an economical system was desired in Ireland, they must have either indoor relief altogether, or outdoor relief altogether. The double system was very expensive; at the same time he did not think they could ever get rid of out door relief in Ireland without causing enormous suffering to the aged poor, who were unable to earn their livelihood. Of course outdoor relief could be greatly abused. In the Tuam Union, with which he was connected, there was no abuse of the system, but the fact was owing to the great vigilance of the Guardians. If they had a workhouse they must have a master and matron, and they must have a clerk of the union, who must be a man possessing considerable knowledge on certain points of law, and to whom, therefore, a good salary must be paid, There were all the superannuation allowances to be taken into consideration, so that the establishment of a workhouse system was an extremely expensive matter. When it was said, as he knew it had been said, that an indoor pauper could be maintained for 3*s.* 4*d.*, it was altogether illusory. If the unions could be broken up there might be a great cheapening of the poor rate throughout the country. Of course some provision would have to be made for orphans and aged persons. In other countries such persons were attended to by charitable institutions. Individual Members could not be expected to elaborate schemes which would totally change the Poor Law system in Ireland, but the Government might do so. The present was a very proper time for such a change to be made, because at present there was scarcely anybody in the

workhouses except the habitual paupers. Of course, in any new scheme by which the number of workhouses was reduced, it was absolutely necessary that vested interests should not be interfered with. For instance, the present masters of workhouses would have to be compensated. Another point he had to draw the attention of the Committee to was the present overloading of the Poor Law system. Why the registration of voters should be connected with the Poor Law he could not understand. He would like to know what supervision was exercised over the work of the clerks in this Department? The Committee were asked to vote a considerable sum of money for extra clerks in Dublin, and, so far as he could see, the result of their employment was simply to put the Local Authorities to additional expense in answering their communications. This was not a condition of things that was created all at once, and subjected to the criticism of Parliament. It grew, and unfortunately there was no means by which the growth could be watched and checked. There was another point he wished to put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. It was understood that a large sum of money was to be allotted in England in aid of the local rates, but only a very small sum was to be allotted in Ireland. Now, the present Vote not only dealt with the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland, but also with the administration by the Grand Juries, and he was anxious to know how far the Local Government Board would have power to allot this money to the different unions. He was told that the greater portion of the grant would be received in the course of the ensuing financial year; but very possibly a portion of it would be received before Parliament re-assembled next Session. He believed that certain poor unions had remonstrated as to the mode in which it was proposed to allot the grant, on the ground that that portion of it which was to be allotted in the relief of the poor rates, in accordance with the Returns which had been presented, would not fairly represent the claims of the Poor Law districts. One of their contentions was that a larger proportion of the grant ought to be given to localities where the rates were regularly paid without dispute than where they were squeezed down to the lowest possible point. He thought it was of the utmost importance that early information should be given as to the way in which it was proposed to carry out the allotment by the Local Government Board. He presumed that the duty of allotting it would be entrusted to the Local Government Board, and that they would have the power of regulating the apportionment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Will the hon. and gallant Member allow me to explain? The allotment of the grant will not rest with the Local Government Board at all, but it will be made in accordance with the Act of Parliament. It is possible that, in the first instance, there will be a provisional allotment.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he understood from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that there would be a provisional allotment during the next three or four months. He had no wish to do anything to interfere with the provisional allotment of the money, but the question as to the principle on which it was to be allotted permanently later on would be another matter. There was a further point which he thought required attention at the hands of the Local Government Board, and that was the audit of the accounts of the treasurers and secretaries of the Grand Juries. He referred to Item C of the present Estimate, which hon. Members would find at page 199. He wished to know upon what principle the accounts were audited? The audit of the Poor Law accounts was a very effectual one. Not only was it effectual, but there were complaints that the auditors were even too stringent in the discharge of their duties. There was no such complaint in regard to the county accounts. In England the auditors were appointed by the ratepayers, but in Ireland they were appointed by the Sheriff, with the result that the accounts were audited upon a much more lax principle than corresponding accounts in England. Nor had the ratepayers any remedy. They had no voice in the appointment of the auditors, and had no control over the audit itself. The auditors themselves were paid a large sum of money, and if their audit was conducted upon an improper principle there was no redress. He thought it was essential to the interests of the ratepayers that the auditors

should be properly looked after, and he was anxious to learn from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary what the system was upon which the county accounts were audited. He believed there was a book published every six months, which was supposed to give an account of the county expenditure, but it was prepared in such a manner as to be altogether unintelligible. He thought it was the duty of the Local Government Board to look after the way in which the money was spent, and to see that it was spent in accordance with the requirements of each county without undue extravagance. He had never, so far, seen a remark from an auditor which would imply that there had been an extravagant expenditure, and he, therefore, maintained that the auditors ought to be very strictly looked after by the right hon. Gentleman, either in his capacity of Chief Secretary or President of the Local Government Board, in order to see that they audited the county accounts in the most satisfactory and thorough manner. The salaries of the auditors were extremely high, and as the position entitled the holder to a pension on ceasing to officiate, it was generally held by persons of high standing. Indeed, if the patronage now exercised in the bestowal of the office were got rid of, he believed it was quite possible to get the work done better, and for one-half of the money. He was of opinion that this was a matter which the Local Government Board should be required to look after, in order to provide that the appointment of auditors should be properly made. There had been constant changes in regard to the staff entrusted with the management of county affairs, and it must not be forgotten that whenever an office was abolished compensation had to be made. In some places the county cess was much higher than the union rate, and in the interests of the ratepayers it was most desirable that the expenditure should be kept as low as possible. In England it was not unfrequently the custom for the Auditor General to criticize even the acts of Her Majesty's Government when he came to the conclusion that they were spending money in an irregular manner. Nothing of the kind was done in Ireland. There was another point to which he desired to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. There was a long-standing complaint in Ireland as to the mode in which extra constables were employed in some of the Irish counties, and charged upon the cesspayers. Although extra constables were allotted to a county, it not infrequently happened that the normal Constabulary Force of the county was beneath its full number. It was, therefore, felt to be a grievance that the county should not only pay its full quota for the Constabulary that belonged to it, but that it was required to pay for an extra body of men, who would not be required if the force was maintained upon its proper footing. It certainly appeared ridiculous and grossly unfair that in such a case a charge for extra constables should be made. He thought the auditor ought to be instructed to look after the matter, and, at any rate, express an opinion upon it. At the present moment it was extremely difficult to get at the facts. The Government shielded themselves behind the plea that they had no information, even in regard to the books relating to the county accounts, which were published every six months. They said they were not Government books, and, therefore, the only way of obtaining information in regard to them was to require the auditors to draw attention to the matter in their reports. It was certainly, in his opinion, a matter that required to be looked after. It was no answer to say that the law would probably be altered before long. For the last 14 years it had been universally admitted that the Grand Jury system in Ireland was very bad; and when any complaint had been made, they were told that it was impossible for anybody to defend the system, but they must wait until the Government were able to introduce a reforming Bill. Nevertheless, no reform had been brought about, and the defects of the system were worse than ever. He, therefore, thought that anyone who occupied a responsible position in Ireland ought to take the matter in hand, instead of leaving it to be dealt with by the Secretary to the Treasury. The work which the Secretary to the Treasury had to do in connection with England and Scotland was quite enough, without supposing him to be master of everything financial that happened in

Colonel Nolan

Ireland. There ought to be some official of the Government responsible who was more specially connected with Ireland. He believed that if attention were directed to the extravagance of the expenditure in Ireland, both in connection with Imperial and local matters, a great benefit would be conferred upon the Irish people. At the present moment there was an extravagant waste of the public money, and everything done was badly mismanaged. He trusted that next Session they would be told that a greater check had been imposed on the public expenditure than that which now existed, and he hoped to have from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary some assurance that he would carefully consider the matter.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) said, he desired to express his concurrence in the views of the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) in reference to the mode in which the Local Government Board administered the duties of their office. The attack which the hon. and gallant Gentleman had made upon the Board was amply justified by the facts of the case. He believed that hitherto they had persistently set public opinion in Ireland at defiance, and had pursued an arbitrary course of action which was highly detrimental to the interests of the ratepayers. The hon. and gallant Member had adverted to several cases in which the Board had taken a high-handed and objectionable course, and he (Mr. Mac Neill) proposed now to bring before the Committee an instance equally glaring in relation to a case in which the Local Government Board had not interfered, although their interference was imperatively demanded. His contention was that the Board invariably interfered where their interference was not called for, and that they remained inactive and supine where they ought to interfere. The matter to which he desired to draw attention was a case which he had been prevented from bringing under the notice of public opinion in England by the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. Before he went into the merits of the case itself, he should like to explain to English Members how impossible it was for them to understand the action of the Local Government Board in Ireland. The term "Local Government Board" was in itself simply a euphemistic expression, signifying the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary himself. The right hon. Gentleman dominated the Board, and the Board in turn dominated the Poor Law Guardians. As the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary acted as the head of the Local Government Board, he was, therefore, responsible to the House of Commons for the acts of the Board. Like all other Public Bodies in Ireland, the Local Government Board were full of paraphernalia and circumstance, and did everything under a big flat-faced seal, bearing the arms of the Office, the only addition required being the motto, "We have done those things we ought not to have done, and have left undone those things which we ought to have done." The instance he desired to mention was one in which a portion of his own constituents had, by the action of the Board, been deprived of their Constitutional rights, and the evil had occurred through the non-intervention of the Local Government Board in the action of the South Donegal Board of Guardians. It was certainly a case in which it was the duty of the Board to have interfered, seeing that the action of the Board of Guardians amounted to a positive scandal to civilization. There was a widespread conviction that the Local Government Board did not mete out the same measure of justice to the localities in which there was a strong National feeling as to others in which the Nationalists were in a minority. On the contrary, a feeling of hostility to the Nationalists was carefully encouraged and nurtured, and this feeling could not have been more strongly exemplified than in a case to which he had already called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—namely, the action of the Board of Guardians of the South Donegal Union. The Protestant majority of that Board during the past five years had systematically appointed Protestants to positions which ought to be held by Catholics. He had put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary on the subject as to the reason of the non-interference of the Local Government Board, but he had failed to receive a satisfactory reply. The circumstances had been repeatedly brought under the notice of the Local Government Board, but there had been no attempt to interfere with the action

of the Protestant majority of the Guardians who, as magistrates, held an *ex-officio* position at the Board. The Guardians, had the control of Donegal Workhouse and while they were Protestants 99 per cent of the children in the workhouse were Roman Catholics. These children, by the mode of procedure adopted by the Board of Guardians, had been entirely deprived of religious instruction. One of the items contained in the Vote was the salary of the schoolmistress of this workhouse. On three occasions during the last five years there had been a vacancy in the post of schoolmistress, and three times, in the teeth of the representations and views of the elected Guardians, a Protestant schoolmistress had been appointed by the Protestant *ex officio* Guardians. The children, consequently, were left entirely without religious instruction, and he could not conceive a more degrading or more shocking thing, having regard to the interests of society at large and the future prospects of the children themselves, than that pauper children should be brought up without religious instruction. A more gross and wanton act of arbitrary power could not be imagined than to deprive persons who happened to belong to another creed of the means of obtaining religious instruction. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had admitted the facts of the case; but, although he deprecated the action of the South Donegal Board of Guardians, he would not direct the Local Government Board to interfere, and had allowed the scandal to continue. Another Question he had put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland a few weeks ago also remained unanswered—namely, what steps would be taken on the part of the Government to push on the scheme of railway and fishery development promised for next year, seeing that the potato crop had failed, and the small farmers of the county of Donegal had nothing to depend upon for subsistence except a scanty crop of oats? He had put the Question succinctly, both to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and to the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland. He had certainly no complaint to make as to the mode in which the hon. and learned Solicitor General answered the Questions put to him. He always treated the Irish Members with courtesy. That was not always the case with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and in this instance the Question was so large and so long that the right hon. Gentleman economized his own time and that of the House by not answering it at all. The consequence was that no reply on the part of Her Majesty's Government appeared in the English journals, where it was most desirable that it should have appeared; and, so far as Ireland was concerned, the people of that country knew all about it a great deal better than the right hon. Gentleman did. The question of the appointments by the Protestant majority of the South Donegal Union had been repeatedly brought under the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He himself had asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the Roman Catholic priest of the district, at the suggestion of the Bishop of the diocese, had not resigned his position on the ground that he was utterly unable to give religious instruction to the children in the workhouse? He had further asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the Local Government Board had not power, under the circumstances, to dissolve the Board of Guardians, and if they proposed to take any, and, if so, what, means of doing so? All the right hon. Gentleman did was to give an expression of his regret and sympathy? He (Mr. Mac Neill) presumed that it would have been far too cruel a kindness to suppress the Board of Guardians. Why? Was it because they were engaged in keeping up the worst and most bitter passions of mankind? He knew that the Roman Catholics of Donegal entertained a strong sense of the wrong and injustice which had been inflicted. Instead of receiving censure, the Guardians had been patted on the back. It could not be said that the Local Government Board had no power to check their own creatures, who, at the end of the 19th century, were guilty of such flagrant religious intolerance and persecution. He did not complain of useless expenditure, but of the way in which the money of the people was used in suppressing and degrading all the instincts of liberty—and then, because through some accidental circumstance the power

of the Board of Guardians was vested in a small minority, allowing that minority to use their power for political purposes. That was the case in Donegal at this moment. He wished the Committee clearly to understand that for the last five years the Donegal Workhouse, the most Catholic place in the Empire, through the action of a party who were simply the nominees of the Government, and who could be removed by the Chief Secretary by a stroke of the pen, had been prevented from giving religious instruction to the pauper inmates. The persons who were responsible for this state of things were the Local Government Board, of which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was the *ex officio* President. As head of the Irish Government, the right hon. Gentleman possessed absolute control and could put matters right if he chose; instead of which he said, with a shrug of the shoulders, that he would be only too delighted to interfere if he possessed the power.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, he joined with his hon. Friend in protesting against the high-handed proceedings of the Local Government Board in dealing with the elected Members of the Board of Guardians in Ireland. The Local Government Board possessed great power over Boards of Guardians through the use of "sealed orders;" and their auditors had the power of surcharging members of the Boards who might sign the cheques with any improper expenditure; he therefore did not think they were justified in taking the extreme step of superseding a Board of Guardians altogether, and of sending down stipendiary Guardians to replace them, except in the very last resort, and in cases where the Unions were left derelict by the local Boards. Unfortunately, the Boards of Guardians which had been singled out recently for the exercise of these powers were Boards on which the popular or Nationalist representatives had secured working majorities, and the action of the Local Government Board was not free from the suspicion that on this account they had been attacked and trifling irregularities made the excuse for suppressing them. He had not risen, however, for the purpose of addressing the Committee on the subject, because, while he thought that the proceedings of the Local Government Board had been wrong in those respects, the central authority of local government in Ireland had various useful functions to perform in directing and assisting the Local Bodies in various ways, with a view of obtaining efficiency of administration and uniformity of practice. His complaint against the Board was that it did not in all cases exercise its powers and duties properly in regard to the local questions with which it had to deal. As an illustration he would mention the unsatisfactory manner in which the Board had exercised its powers under the Labourers' Cottages Act. The labourers' cottages were erected, as the House was aware, under the orders of the Irish Privy Council, obtained by the different Unions. The proceedings were altogether novel, and the works were carried out, in a great part of the country, in a good many places where it was not easy to obtain proper professional architectural advice or competent builders to carry out the building of the cottages. It was, therefore, a case in which he thought the Local Government Board might have stepped in with great propriety, in order to assist the local Boards of Guardians in having the work carried out economically, in the best possible manner, and with some degree of uniformity. The Local Government Board had an engineering Inspector at a salary of £700 a-year, and two assistant engineering Inspectors at £300 a-year each; and he thought the Board ought to have directed those officers to prepare type, plans, and general instructions for the use of the Boards of Guardians, and see that the work was properly carried out, in order that the money that was advanced for the erection of labourers' cottages might not be wasted. He had some personal knowledge of the way in which the work had been carried out in particular districts. It was not to be supposed that there were persons in the outlying districts of Ireland who had personal knowledge or were able to get professional assistance in regard to the construction of these cottages, and it was, therefore, desirable that the Local Government Board should intervene in order that the buildings might be erected in a suitable and satisfactory manner. It must not be for-

gotten that the expense would be a serious charge upon the ratepayers of the district. He would mention one case, by way of illustration, which had occurred recently, where he saw huge stones of 2 cwt. or 3 cwt. had been placed on the roof to keep it from being blown off the house. It was much to be regretted that such a state of things should exist, when the Local Government Board were at hand to lay down proper plans with the engineering assistance they had at their command. The Board should see that proper specifications were prepared, and that proper persons were selected to carry them out. He thought that in every case in which an application was made for the erection of these buildings the Local Government Board should send down an Inspector to see that some uniform plan was adopted, and insist on having the work let to competent contractors, and properly completed before sanctioning the payments. Another question arose in regard to the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act. It was well known that Dublin was the great cattle market of Ireland, and that three-fourths of the cattle imported had to pass over the Dublin quays. During the last 12 months the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act had assumed formidable dimensions in Dublin. One of the provisions of the Act was, that not only were all cattle that were diseased to be slaughtered, but that cattle which were brought into contact with them should be slaughtered also. This regulation had imposed upon the people of Dublin an expenditure of at least from £18,000 to £20,000 a-year, and it was felt to be a great burden on the Dublin Unions.

THE CHAIRMAN: I fail to see how the remarks of the hon. Member are connected with Vote now before the Committee. Will the hon. Member point out the connection?

MR. MURPHY said, he thought it would be regular, seeing that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was also Head of the Local Government Board.

COLONEL NOLAN speaking to the point of Order, said, that there were individuals whose salaries were included in the Vote who certainly received their remuneration under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the question then ought to have been raised under the Vote for the Chief Secretary.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the payments certainly came under the head of the Chief Secretary's Department.

MR. MURPHY said, he regretted that he was unable, through the Forms of the House, to call attention to this very important matter. He would, under the circumstances, defer what he had intended to say until the Report of Committee of Supply was brought up.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) said, he wished to call attention to the circumstances under which the Local Government had suspended the elected Guardians of the Athy Union and replaced them by Vice Guardians sent down from quite a different part of the country who did not possess the confidence of the people of the district. In England, the Poor Law Guardians had considerable powers in regard to the granting of outdoor relief, but in Ireland that power was extremely restricted. There seemed to be an entire want of trust in the Irish Guardians, and certainly that appeared to be the case in reference to the Guardians of the Athy Union. He believed that the Vice Guardians in this case came from the Province of Connaught—quite a different part of the country. As they had brought their wives and families with them, and taken up their abodes there, it was evident that they expected to be very comfortable, and to remain undisturbed for a considerable period. In the meantime the ratepayers were deprived of representation. Of course great dissatisfaction was felt, and he was told that there was likely to be a strike against the rate by the Vice Guardians. The purpose, however, for which he had risen was to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary how long this state of things was to go on? A question, however, was asked the other day by the hon. Member for South Kildare (Mr. Leahy), whether the present condition of affairs would come to an end in March, and the newly-elected Guardians be allowed to take the place of the Vice Guardians, and the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was that the matter was under his consideration, and that there had been communications upon the subject. He (Mr. W. A. Macdonald)

thought he should be wanting in his duty to his constituents, and, indeed, to the people of Ireland generally, if he did not press for an answer to the question. He wished to know how long a state of things which involved taxation without representation was to continue; and whether the right hon. Gentleman was really anxious to preserve the peace and order of the district, because he was quite sure, from what he saw when he was there in September, there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction. This feeling would be altogether allayed if, next March, when the new Guardians were elected, the Vice Guardians were removed and the ordinary mode of Government restored to the Union.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had put a question in reference to the suspension of the Guardians of the Athy Union and their replacement by Vice Guardians, but that question had already been answered by his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) at a time when he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was unable to be present. He was extremely anxious that the elected Guardians should be restored, and this he anticipated would have been done before had there not been some attempt to obstruct the Vice Guardians in the execution of their duty. The hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill) had asked a question about the appointments in connection with the South Donegal Workhouse, and he had asked that the Local Government Board should reconsider the action they had taken in the matter in regard to the course pursued now by the Guardians, for some years, in reference to the appointment of teachers. He had never attempted, nor had any of his Predecessors attempted, to defend the action which the Donegal Guardians had taken, and he had asked them to reconsider the course they were now pursuing with regard to the selection of a Roman Catholic teacher. It must, however, be remembered that it was not in every case in which the Local Government Board objected to the action of the Guardians that they had the legal power to interfere. The hon. Gentleman told them that they had power to dissolve oards of Guardians, and that they invariably exercised their power whenever the Board of Guardians they were dealing with had a majority of Nationalists upon it. [An hon. MEMBER: Quite true.] On the other hand, it was stated that they were unduly lax when they were dealing with Local Authorities of another complexion. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that he was quite mistaken. He would come to the question of the action taken in regard to other Boards directly; but in regard to the Donegal Board of Guardians, the Local Government Board would not have been merely straining their powers, but overstepping them altogether, had they taken power to dissolve the Guardians in reference to the selection of this teacher.

MR. MAC NEILL: Why so?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, they would have been overstepping their powers, because the Local Government had not been formed for any such purpose. The Donegal Guardians, in this matter, were exercising a discretion vested in them by law. The hon. and gallant Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) had raised the question of the auditing of county accounts; all he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had to say was that it would be foreign to any duties imposed in England or Ireland to revise the action of County Authorities in such matters, or to criticize the propriety of their proceedings.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that his remarks had reference to the salaries paid.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the auditor was never allowed to revise the policy of the County Authorities. He had always been in favour of the strictest system of auditing the accounts of Local Authorities, and if he had any authority in the matter in any question where legislation was involved, he would endeavour to make the auditing of local accounts more stringent. Under the existing system, however, he feared that he was unable to do anything in the direction indicated, although he sympathized with the general spirit of the criticism which had been made. His hon. Friend the Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney) had put two questions to him. The first referred to the action of the Local Government Board in reference to the Gorton Union, and in that case he believed that the

Local Government Board Inspector was of opinion that amalgamation was desirable. The Guardians themselves were originally unanimously in favour of amalgamation, and for some years had passed resolutions in that direction. His own view had always been in favour of the amalgamation of Unions in Ireland wherever possible, but he had deferred coming to a decision on that question until he was able to go to Ireland and see those who were more particularly connected with it. He was informed that at the last meeting of the Board of Guardians the unanimity which had hitherto prevailed was not so great, and the majority showed a considerable falling off. His hon. Friend also wished that the Local Government Board would exercise the powers vested in them by the Act of Parliament in reference to the erection of labourers' cottages. The initiative rested with the Boards of Guardians. His hon. Friend said that in Ulster the Boards of Guardians had been slow to act, and he, therefore, desired that the Local Government Board should send down Inspectors to act behind the Local Authorities. He would not say that the appeal of his hon. Friend was not one that deserved careful consideration. He was inclined to think that it did, but he agreed with the view expressed by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) that it was a matter of doubt whether they ought to interfere with the action of the Boards of Guardians. He wished to point out that the course pursued by hon. Members below the Gangway opposite was two-sided. Whenever they approved of the action of the Local Authorities they desired the Local Government Board to exercise their full powers, but whenever they disapproved of that action they complained of the Local Government Board, because they supported the action of the Local Authorities. He would now pass on to the observations of the right hon. Member for West Belfast and Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton). In regard to the case of Mr. Welsh, who had acted in a magisterial capacity while performing the duties of Vice Guardian, he might point out that his gentleman had acted with the single desire of maintaining the public peace at a time when there was no other magistrate on the spot. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was, however, prepared to give his assent to the general proposition which had been laid down—that unless very exceptional circumstances arose it was undesirable that any gentleman who was intrusted with the difficult functions of Vice Guardian should add to them any other duties which should bring him into conflict with the public. Reference had been made to the case of a patient poisoned in a hospital. He should not like to give a conclusive opinion on the point without first making an investigation, but it appeared to him that it was not a case in which the Local Government Board could be properly called upon to interfere. The right hon. Member for West Belfast had, he understood, made representations on the subject, and his representations were successful.

MR. SEXTON said, that the same thing might happen to-morrow. What he desired was that the Irish Local Government Board should do what the English Local Government Board had done—namely, issue a Memorandum upon the subject.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he gathered that the opinion of the legal advisers of the Local Government Board in Ireland was that under the Irish Statute the Board had no power to issue such a Memorandum. If there was any doubt as to the accuracy of that decision he was perfectly ready to have the matter carefully looked into. He was not himself a lawyer, but he feared that nothing but legislation would remedy the evil of which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) complained. There was no doubt that there had been a melancholy accident—to some extent a stupid accident—but he did not know that any regulation could be laid down by the Local Government Board to prevent such mistakes on the part of medical students. A Coroner's jury had inquired into the matter, so that complete machinery for an investigation already existed.

MR. SEXTON said, the Coroner's jury confined their inquiry to the cause of death.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford had dealt with a good many questions connected with the Local Government Board in Ireland. He had laid down a general proposition on the point of

outdoor relief which he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did not wish to discuss at length, but he hoped he might be permitted to say a few words. He earnestly trusted, in the interests of the poorer classes, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not use his great influence for the purpose of rashly encouraging the idea that outdoor relief was best suited to the necessities of the people. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would examine the evidence brought before the Commission of Inquiry in England as to the effects of indiscriminate outdoor relief as administered in this country, he would find that nothing more dangerous to the ultimate interests of the people whom he desired to benefit could be conceived. With regard to the case of Dr. Higgins, the Local Government Board had, with some reluctance, allowed him to continue to hold the two offices; but if experience should show that the duties of both could not be properly discharged by the same person, he would be required to give up one of the appointments. Reference had been made to two cases in which the Local Government Board had suspended the elected Guardians and appointed stipendiary Guardians—namely, the cases of Ballinasloe and Dungarvan Unions.

MR. SEXTON said, there was also the case of Longford Union.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had never heard of that case until it was mentioned to the Committee by the right hon. Gentleman. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford stated that the Longford Board of Guardians had attempted to cut down the poundage or remuneration given out of the rates from 6*d.* to 4*d.*, and that the Local Government Board had suspended the Board of Guardians on the ground that they were too strict. As the case had not come before him, he was unable to give the hon. and learned Gentleman any account of the action of the Local Government Board in the matter. But of this he was quite sure—that the Local Government Board were not actuated by any desire such as that attributed to them by the right hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) to keep up the rates. He was satisfied that if the only question before the Local Government Board was that they could get done for 4*d.* that for which 6*d.* was formerly paid, the Local Government Board would have only been too ready to carry out the scheme of the Guardians. Of course, he accepted the statement which had been made in regard to the matter, but he was satisfied that there must be some misapprehension as to the action of the Local Government Board. He would now say a few words about the cases in which the Local Government Board had exercised their power and had substituted Vice Guardians for the Guardians elected by the ratepayers. There were two cases of that kind, one in connection with Ballinasloe Union and the other with the Dungarvan Union. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that some of the proceedings on the part of the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians had certainly been discreditable, and that on more than one occasion there was a free fight between the various parties on the Board. He would not attempt to apportion the blame, or to raise the question whether *ex officio* or the elected Guardians were the offending parties. For anything he knew to the contrary, it might have been the *ex officio* Guardians or the elected Guardians. There might have been discreditable proceedings on the part of the *ex officio* Guardians that were quite as worthy of condemnation as discreditable proceedings on the part of the elected Guardians. Therefore he would not raise the question as to who was responsible, but he would point out that when the right hon. Gentleman said there were equally discreditable proceedings in regard to local Bodies in England, the right hon. Gentleman was mistaking the ground on which the Local Government Board had acted. Nor did he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) believe that similar scenes occurred with a like persistency among any Board of Guardians in England, although it was possible that some such scenes had occurred in connection with Vestry meetings. It must, however, be recollected that to the Local Government Board in Ireland, as in England, there was given, by the rigid provisions of the Statute, a power of superintendence over the Boards of Guardians more extensive than the power of any other Department over local and subordinate Bodies. If the questions at issue were merely whether a particular locality or Local Authority had acted decently or indecently, the Local Government Board

might have washed their hands of the questions and left it to the Local Authority themselves. If the question was merely whether the ratepayers were to be mulcted by the misuse of their funds, even that, under certain circumstances, might be left to be settled by the ratepayers; but the Local Government Board had to consider the interests of people who were not ratepayers, as the Local Government Board were largely given the enormous powers they possessed, both in England and Ireland, because they had to pay regard to the interests of the poor of the districts which were to be relieved. One natural result—indeed the inevitable result—of the succession of scenes such as those which took place at the meetings of the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians was to show that that Body was incapable of transacting its business, the effect being that not only the interests of the taxpayers, but also the interests of the poor were neglected. The scenes that had occurred there were discreditable to local government. The same general observation applied to the case of the Dungarvan Board of Guardians; in that case the Board of Guardians were apparently guilty of corruption, and not for the first time. It would appear that the Board of Guardians not merely took a contract for bread which was not the lowest contract, but they took the higher contract from a man who, on a previous occasion, had supplied bread so bad that the medical officer had to refuse to allow it to be used out of consideration for the poor under his charge. If, in those circumstances, the Local Government Board had declined to use the power of supervision, it would, in his opinion, have failed to discharge the duty imposed upon it by law. Therefore the Local Government Board refused to continue to the Dungarvan Board of Guardians the power of acting. He thought that he had now gone through the main questions which had been brought before him, and he believed hon. Members would do him the justice to say that he had not shirked any of them. He had endeavoured to answer every one of the questions that had been raised, and he trusted that his answers were satisfactory.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) said, he had nothing to complain of in the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had answered the queries put to him, but a suave and affable manner was a very poor substitute for justice and fair play in the administration of the law in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken about the occurrences which had taken place at the meetings of the Board of Guardians in Ballinasloe. Now, he fully admitted that there had been some strong language used, and, probably, upon two or three occasions the Board of Guardians went beyond the strict bounds of that propriety which the right hon. Gentleman had laid down in connection with the conduct of public affairs by Boards of Guardians and other Public Bodies; but there had not been one word used by the Guardians of Ballinasloe which was one whit worse than that which he had often heard used in the House of Commons. If the right hon. Gentleman would read carefully through the debates of that House he would find that there was much more straightforward, honest, and manly truthfulness in the language of the Ballinasloe Board of Guardians than was often heard on the floor of that House. There happened to be a contention between the elected Guardians and the *ex officio* Guardians, and the result was that some strong talk took place, whereupon the son of an *ex officio* Guardian who occupied that position, not because he was the choice of the ratepayers, but because he happened to be a magistrate, struck one of the elected Guardians, a gentleman named Bull. He believed that was the only occasion upon which the two parties came into actual collision, and it was certainly the fault of the *ex officio* Guardian. However, as the right hon. Gentleman said, it was not a question whether the conduct of the *ex officio* Guardians, or the elected Guardians, was worst. That was a matter which might be put aside altogether. The truth of the matter was that most of those rows occurred in consequence of the conduct of the Local Government Board itself. When the last election took place a Nationalist Guardian was put forward at the first meeting of the Board on the part of the elected Guardians to act as Chairman. An *ex officio* Guardian was proposed by the other side, and the contest was very close. How did the elected Guardians act? They found that three of the *ex officio* Guardians, Mr. Beake, Mr. Hodgson, and another,

were not entitled to vote as *ex officio* Guardians, but instead of using violent language they wrote out a protest and handed it to the Clerk of the Board by whom it was forwarded to the Local Government Board. The protest disputed the legality of the election of Chairmen. What did the Local Government Board do? Ignoring the straits in which the Guardians of the Ballinasloe Union were, and the fact that the contest was a very bitter one, they withheld their decision as to the legality or illegality of the election, although it ought to have been given at once. Instead of doing that the Local Government Board waited for a fortnight, and there was then another meeting of the Board of Guardians, and, as there was no legal authority at the head of the Board, every man did his best to hold his own. He should like to know why the Government remained so long without taking action in the matter; and why all this cavilling, snivelling, and tinkering had taken place on the part of the Local Government Board? He would tell the Committee why it was. It was because they knew in their hearts that the Nationalists had a majority at the Board. He had known the Board of Guardians of the Ballinasloe Union for 30 years, and he ventured to say that while it was under the control of the Conservative Party there was not a Board of Guardians in Ireland, or out of Ireland, worse managed. If the history of the Board of Guardians of the Ballinasloe Union—its conduct in relation to the administration of the Poor Law, and its mismanagement of the funds of the ratepayers—were placed before Parliament, he believed there would be sufficient facts adduced to justify the condemnation of the entire Poor Law system in Ireland. In this case everything went on amicably, and possibly so long as the Tory Party had control of the affairs of the Board of Guardians, but, as soon as Nationalist Guardians were elected, strong language was used, a collision occurred between the two rival Parties, and everything was said to go wrong. That was the real state of things in Ballinasloe, and when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland got up in his place and stated, with the utmost calmness and moderation, that there was nothing wrong at all, the right hon. Gentleman was encouraging a system in Ireland which was driving the country into what he might call a hell of discord. There was not a single part of the country under the supervision of the Local Government Board, or no Local Authorities with which the Board had any connection, in which the most strong and bitter partizanship was not displayed. In the administration of municipal matters he was of opinion that it ought to be carried on without any display of partizanship at all. Who were the members of the Local Government Board in Ireland? After all, the right hon. Gentleman, although his powers were great and his knowledge extensive, was unable, seeing the multifarious duties he had to perform, to exercise a proper amount of supervision. The only difference between the right hon. Gentleman and his Predecessor in the Department was simply this—that whenever the Whigs were in Office it was found that both the police and all the other agencies which were at work in Ireland acted as if there were some controlling power over them, but as soon as the Tories got into power they went recklessly to work without regard to right or justice or anything else. That was his experience of the working of the municipal institutions in Ireland, and he certainly had some experience of their action. The hon. and gallant Member who represented the county in which he (Mr. Harris) lived (Colonel Nolan) had spoken of the action of the auditors. The auditor with whom he was best acquainted was an old military officer, drawn from the class from which the Resident Magistrates were selected. Most of those positions were filled up in Ireland by officers who had left the Army, having been found to be of no use whatever. Every Department in Ireland was, as a matter of fact, a sort of refuge for broken-down naval and military men. Colonel O'Hara became an auditor when he was over 60 years of age, and he (Mr. Harris) did not suppose the gallant officer had ever looked at an account before. The hon. and gallant Colonel spoke about the want of revision of the county accounts and the accounts of the Poor Law Board. It was hardly fair to say that there was no revision, because, if the auditor found that even if a trifling amount of outdoor relief had been given, he at once struck it out and charged the

expense to the Guardians. He had brought instances of that kind more than once under the notice of the House, and he thought it would be wise if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would exercise his power of supervision, and by that means endeavour to effect a saving of public money. When the auditor went through the accounts of a particular union, if he found some small charge amounting only to a few shillings a-week for relief distributed to outdoor paupers, he at once surcharged it against the Guardians. The system of Local Government in Ireland was, in point of fact, a frightful and terrible system that could never be remedied until they had Home Government. The supervision of a central authority was, however, absolutely necessary, as, without it, Local Government in Ireland would be an utter failure. In the present Local Bodies there was not only too much partizanship, but too much personal feelings and private friendships. It, therefore, became difficult to get the members of those Local Bodies to act in an upright and straightforward manner. Respectable tradesmen in Ireland never received a contract, because they declined to condescend to bribe those who had the power of making the appointment. Therefore some central supervision or other was absolutely necessary. Even if they had Home Government to-morrow, he had come to the conclusion that without some strong central authority Local Government in Ireland would be an utter failure. Therefore, he did not object to supervision, but it should be by a body of men who were entirely above partizanship and above appointing one man over another because one of the candidates happened to be a Nationalist. All the Irish Members desired was to secure justice and fair play between man and man. He had already spoken about Colonel O'Hara, and if they went through the list of Commissioners or Vice Presidents of the Local Government Board they would find similar cause of complaint. Most of them were old Government hacks. No doubt he would be told that he was going outside the present Vote if he were to enter into the state of affairs in the County of Galway. He might, however, talk on for ever, and he was satisfied that all his remonstrances would result in nothing until the Irish people obtained Home Rule and were able to manage their own affairs.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.) said, he would only occupy the attention of the Committee for a few moments, but he begged to ask the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board to a matter connected with the Nenagh Board of Guardians of which he (Mr. P. J. O'Brien) had the honour to be Chairman. This matter was the surcharge recently made by the auditor of the Board with reference to a sum of £100 —a payment made on account to their engineer in connection with a scheme for labourers' cottages which had been carried out in the Union. This payment was made by the Board of Guardians in a *bonâ fide* manner—in consideration of the large amount of work that the engineer had performed in discharge of his duties to the Board. This gentleman had had to do extra work owing to the default of some of the contractors, who failed to carry out their contracts. The engineer had to make repeated visits, and had to perform a large amount of extra duty in consequence of this default. The Guardians had to take action against 14 or 15 of the defaulting contractors, and subsequently to annul their contracts. New contracts were taken out, and the works had been steadily going on, and he (Mr. P. J. O'Brien) was prepared to say that the amount of work now done by the contractors fully entitled the engineer to this payment which had been made by the Board, but which had been surcharged by the auditor on the technical ground that the entire amount of work had not been completed. The engineer, in a communication he addressed to the Board and which came before that Body on Thursday last, expressed regret at the surcharge, which he thought he was perfectly entitled to as an instalment in regard to the amount of work he had performed in pursuance of his duties to the Board. He said that the money he had received had been entirely swallowed up in the performance of the large amount of work he had to do. This gentleman pointed out that his work

had consisted of making maps of nearly 500 sites as originally projected, and in connection with which the preliminary work had been something enormous. He pointed out that the 500 cottages originally contemplated had dwindled down to 200, so that all the work he had done in connection with 300 cottages he should not receive a penny for. The work which had been now completed would, he thought, satisfy the requirements of the auditor. In conclusion, the engineer said that in any case he would not allow the Guardians to be put to any trouble or inconvenience on his account, and that if the surcharge were insisted upon he should refund the £100 which he had received. He (Mr. P. J. O'Brien) thought this engineer was fully entitled to the £100 awarded to him, and under the circumstances hoped that steps would be taken to prevent the surcharge being enforced.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kerry, S.) said, he wished to draw the attention of the Committee to the case of the Athy Board of Guardians. If he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland aright, he had said that an election should be ordered by the Local Government Board in the near future. The right hon. Gentleman said that an election would already have been ordered if it were not for the fact that some attempt had been made to interfere with the Vice Guardians in the discharge of their duty. He desired to press upon the right hon. Gentleman the necessity of having this election take place as soon as possible, because any friction there might have been between the ratepayers of the union and the Vice Guardians would be obviated by that means. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that a good deal of dissatisfaction existed amongst the ratepayers of the Athy Union at the continuance of the Vice Guardians in office. He did not stand up to defend the illegality of the Athy Board of Guardians for which they had been suppressed, but he desired to place before the Committee the consideration that although the old Board might have acted illegally, the punishment to which the union had been subjected was altogether beyond the gravity of the offence committed. He would point out that when the Board were suppressed, they were suppressed for having acted illegally. Why was it that the Local Government Board did not have a new election? If they had had a new election, and the new Board had acted illegally, then he could have understood the Local Government Board interfering and appointing Vice-Guardians. What did the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Irish Local Government Board consider to be the necessary qualification for the position of a Vice-Guardian of the union. He (Mr. Kilbride) had endeavoured to find out what that qualification was, and looking at the Vice-Guardians of the Athy Union, the only qualification he could discover was that they were needy landlords coming from the West of Ireland. The only qualification was that having dissipated their own patrimony—having succeeded in badly financing their own affairs, they were in a position to look after the financial affairs of a union. No other qualification could he find that they possessed. He could not understand how it was that Dublin Castle with these paid Guardians were entitled to salaries of £250, considering the fact that a short time ago one of these Guardians was granted leave of absence or vocation from his very arduous duties, and that when a substitute was appointed the Local Government Board allowed him the extraordinary sum of 1*s.* per month. He was aware that this gentleman appointed to the position of Vice-Guardian was already an official of the Irish Local Government Board, and he supposed it was too great a job for a man who was already on the pay of a Board to receive a further stipend for acting as Vice-Guardian in the Athy Union. He should like to know how it was that this gentleman, already an officer of the Local Government Board, could afford time to come down to Athy. It was plain that he could not be very fully occupied by his official duties in Dublin. How was it that he could be spared to come down to Athy and live there for a month? He (Mr. Kilbride) would press the right hon. Gentleman to give some sort of definite answer as to the time when the election of the Athy Board of Guardians was likely to take place. He would put it to the right hon. Gentleman that it was in the interests of the peace and public order of the district that this election should take place at an early date. He was certain that if the elec-

tion took place earlier than the 25th of March, which was the ordinary date for elections under the Poor Law Act, there would be less likelihood of serious friction taking place between the ratepayers and the Vice Guardians of the Athy Union. For this reason he would strongly press upon the right hon. Gentleman the advisability of allowing the elections to take place in the cause of law and order, though he (Mr. Kilbride) did not usually advocate the cause of law and order as it was at present maintained. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board said, in reply to the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), that the Board were not actuated by political motives in so long refusing to recognize the appointment of Dr. Higgins, who had been selected in a certain district as dispensary medical officer. The right hon. Gentleman had not told the Committee that the members of the Dispensary Committee had brought under the notice of the Local Government Board that Dr. Higgins already occupied the position of Coroner for the district. The gentlemen who raised the question, and who had brought it prominently under the notice of the Local Government Board, were strong supporters of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He presumed, however, that the right hon. Gentleman was aware that precedents already existed for the appointment of gentlemen already filling the post of Coroner to be dispensary medical officers. There was the case of Dr. M'Carthy, for instance, in a district in the County of Limerick, a gentleman who held the post of Coroner, and who was so lately as 1885 appointed dispensary doctor to the district, and he was told by the hon. Member for East Galway (Mr. Harris) that there were other precedents of the same kind in the South of Ireland. He was glad the Local Government Board had sanctioned the appointment of Dr. Higgins. He must say, however, that the people of the district did not consider that they had to thank the Local Government Board for the appointment. They believed, rightly or wrongly, that the appointment was consequent upon the strong attitude taken up by the Dispensary Committee. The right hon. Gentleman might not be aware of all that went on in Ireland. He did not very well see how the right hon. Gentleman could be aware of what went on in Ireland, because if the presence of an individual was necessary to an understanding of the political condition of a particular district, the right hon. Gentleman went the best way to work not to understand anything about Ireland. He would again, in conclusion, press upon the right hon. Gentleman to accede to the request made to him and order a new election to take place at Athy.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) said, he wished to call attention to the serious delay of the Local Government Board in sending down an Inspector to Mullingar to inspect the 85 cottages built under the Labourers' Cottages Act. He (Mr. Tuite) had local knowledge of the fact that for 12 months the engineering Inspector had refused to inspect, or that the Local Government Board had refused to send an engineering Inspector to inspect these 85 cottages, the greater pnrt of which were built 12 months ago, whilst a small number of them had been built at periods ranging from four to six months ago. The Local Government Board, in reply to several letters sent to them by the Mullingar Board of Guardians, had said that the Guardians could take over the cottages pending inspection by the engineering Inspector of the Board. Well, if the Guardians took over the cottages and they were rejected by the Government Inspector, the cost of the buildings would be thrown upon the Guardians, and the loan would not be sanctioned. The tardiness of bringing about an inspection was great injustice, not only to the Guardians themselves, but to the ratepayers, who had to pay interest on the greater portion of the instalments which had been already granted. It must be borne in mind that the Local Government Board would not grant the last portion of the instalment until the cottages were passed by the engineering Inspector. What did the Local Government Board intend to do? He was informed that there were only two of these Inspectors for the whole of Ireland. How on earth could only two Inspectors go over the whole of Ireland and inspect the cottages erected to different Boards of Guardians throughout the country within any reasonable period? There were a great many red-tape titles to be gone through

in connection with these cottages, and the result was that a great deal of money was wasted. He believed that the appointment of two new Inspectors would be sufficient to cope with the work, and that a curtailment of the red-tape system would make up for any additional expense which would have to be incurred. He desired also to call attention to the fact that when an inquiry was held under the Labourers' Cottages Act, the Inspector held it to be essential that the Guardians of the division in which the cottages were to be built should be present during his inspection. He (Mr. Tuite) had known cases in his own union where witnesses were summoned from very long distances to these inquiries, and where, owing to accidental causes, the local Guardian was unable to be present. In such cases the inquiry had been adjourned, entailing great expense, not only to the witnessess, but also to the ratepayers. He thought the Local Government Board should not hold it to be essential for the local Guardians to be present on such occasions. Already a Board of Guardians, in meeting assembled, must have sanctioned the scheme or schemes to be considered at the inquiry, and why on earth it should be necessary to have the attendance of the local Guardians at such inquiry he was at a loss to imagine. At any rate, the absence of the local Guardian should be taken as indicating his assent to the scheme. He did not know whether instances of this kind had been brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary already, but he (Mr. Tuite) certainly thought that they were worthy of the right hon. Gentleman's attention, and if the difficulty he (Mr. Tuite) pointed out could be got over—if they could dispense with the necessity of requiring the local Guardian to be present at the inquiry—it would be a great advantage to the Guardians, the ratepayers, and all concerned. There was another matter to which he should like to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. A secret circular had been issued from Dublin Castle as to the method of distributing advertisements in Ireland. That such a circular existed there appeared to be no doubt, and the thanks of the country were due to those who had unearthed that circular and brought it to the light of day. Now, what was the result of this action on the part of the Local Government Board? Why, the advertisements in many cases had been given to Tory and Unionist organs of limited circulation. For instance, quite recently the Carlow Union had put forward a scheme for the construction of labourers' cottages. The Local Government Board had sent down an advertisement calling the attention of the ratepayers to the fact, and asking witnesses to attend the inquiry. That advertisement had been given to the local Unionist paper, *The Carlow Sentinel*, which had no circulation amongst the mass of the population. The result was that when the day of the inquiry came round there was not in attendance one of the supporters of the different schemes, the only persons present being those who were opposed to the schemes, and who were readers of *The Carlow Sentinel*. He held this to be a monstrous state of things. In the case of the Selbridge Union a similar thing was done, and the consequence was that all who were interested in the scheme were absent, and no one attended but the landlords and bailiffs and the agents, although the Guardians had to bear all the expense. Guardians elected by the popular vote had to pay for advertisements in papers which were directly opposed to the sentiments of the population. Another case had recently occurred, although he was afraid he should be out of Order in calling attention to it—namely, the publication of an advertisement relating to an inquiry as to the River Slaney under the Fishery Commissioners. The same grievance existed in connection with that case, but the cases he had already quoted would be sufficient to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the matter. The action of the Government was nothing short of boycotting the Nationalist newspapers. Hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House were charged with boycotting people in Ireland, but could there be a more conspicuous art of boycotting the Nationalist newspapers in Ireland. He did not suppose that his words would have much effect, because no matter how the Irish Members kept on hammering at Dublin Castle they never got any remedy, and he did not expect that any remedy would be obtained in this case until they got a Home Government of their own. However, what he

said might have some little effect in drawing attention to abuses, and particularly to the exclusion of the Nationalist newspapers from these important advertisements and the employment of Tory papers of limited circulation.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, that as to this new patent system of boycotting invented by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, of giving advertisements to papers which supported his pet policy and refusing them to the Nationalist Press, he (Mr. Edward Harrington) might claim to be allowed to say a few words as representing the Nationalist Provincial Press of Ireland. The Nationalist Press had been a good deal boycotted by the landlords and the Grand Juries before, and it did not require the Government to come to their aid in the way in which they had done. There was a large amount of county money, some times £300, £400, or £500, given away for advertisements and printing, and this usually went to the offices of the local papers where job printing was done. Well, it was perfectly useless for the Nationalist newspapers to tender for any of this work or for any of these advertisements. The Grand Jury would either all vote against such applications, or, if granted, they would exact full quantities, or require everything up to specification in a manner that was never insisted upon in a case of Conservative or landlord organs. When advertisements were given to Nationalist newspapers they were kept back to such inconvenient times that they could not be inserted with anything like advantage. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would deny that this policy was first adopted in his time, but would he deny that a circular had been sent out to all the departments of the Local Government Board, of which the right hon. Gentleman was the head, directing that the advertisements should not be sent to such newspapers as differed from him in politics? The policy of the Government in this respect was a cruel, paltry, and mean one, and one in all respects worthy of its patentee. If the Nationalist Party could bring any of the magistrates of Ireland to deal fairly with individuals brought before them, without doubt he would be able to bring the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary before them for having issued this circular, and get him convicted of conspiracy to boycott the Nationalist newspaper proprietors. He (Mr. Edward Harrington) was about to go to Ireland to meet a prosecution for making a speech, one word of which he defied anyone to pick out as being in any way directed against law and order. He was to be prosecuted and imprisoned for that, and yet this officer, the Head of the Local Government Board, who boycotted his (Mr. Edward Harrington's) paper, and deprived him of his living in Ireland, was to be allowed to loll on the Treasury Bench. It was not so very long ago that the same policy was adopted by a gallant Admiral, who thought it a noble thing to send a picket to stand at the door of a certain public house kept by a Nationalist in order to prevent sailors and marines from spending their money there. This was a noble effort symbolized in the gallant phrase which had been quoted the other night, "England expects every man to do his duty." It was a noble thing for English Admirals and Scoteh Chief Secretaries to do their duty by injuring the trade of persons opposed to them in politics. It was a noble thing for the Chief Secretary to sit in Dublin Castle boycotting Nationalist newspaper proprietors who were endeavouring to make a living out of those newspapers. It was not enough to imprison the editors, and to come into the offices seizing and scattering about the type and other property, but they must send out boycotting notices to the Public Departments in order to prevent them getting their fair share of public advertisements which it was absolutely necessary should appear in the popular newspapers in order that, consistently with the spirit of Acts of Parliament, notices should be given to those interested in the subjects to which the advertisements referred. It might be said that, so far as he (Mr. Edward Harrington) was concerned, this was a personal matter; but those who knew him would believe him when he said that he simply referred to this subject as a matter of public policy. The result of the system adopted by the Government was that the advertisements relating to labourers' cottages were circulated amongst landlords who were opposed, as a rule, to the system, and

did not find their way to the tenantry and labourers in whose interest such schemes were propounded. This was obviously unjust, seeing that the money for these advertisements came out of the rates. If this money was paid by the public, the representatives of the public had a right to demand that the advertisements should be published in those papers which had the best chance of meeting the public eye. There were hardly a dozen of the newspapers in which these public advertisements were inserted which were subscribed for by the ordinary public; but they were, as a rule, maintained by the bonuses given by the Grand Juries. These Conservative and Unionist papers received a vast amount of money, not one quarter of which they really earned. In times past they had been maintained on Secret Service money year after year. They were off-shoots of the landocracy, and were largely maintained by the Grand Jury subsidies. He maintained that when public money had to be paid in advertising for contracts, and in other matters involving the expenditure of public money, the least that could be done was to advertise in turn in those papers which were read by the ratepayers concerned. He wanted the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to stand up and defend his boycotting policy in the House. He (Mr. Edward Harrington) wished to goodness he could have the loan of a Crown Prosecutor in the County of Kerry. Would the right hon. Gentleman take an offer from him? There were a pair of Crown Prosecutors in Kerry. There was one Crown Prosecutor engaged in defending moonlighters. He was the cousin and partner of the nominal Crown Prosecutor. Just now both these Crown Prosecutors were joined together for his (Mr. Edward Harrington's) prosecution, and this anomaly was to be witnessed in Kerry — one Crown Prosecutor defending moonlighters, and another prosecuting free speech. Would the right hon. Gentleman toss up with him for one of these Crown Prosecutors, and in the event of his winning, let the right hon. Gentleman bring an action against himself for boycotting *The Kerry Sentinel.*

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must confine himself to the Vote.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, he was referring to the Vote by complaining of the action of the right hon. Gentleman who was President of the Local Government Board of Ireland, in directing that these advertisements should not be given to Nationalist newspapers; and he was asking that they should be allowed to try the question. Of course he knew it was in vain to appeal against the solid majority sitting opposite; but if the right hon. Gentleman would only consent to an action of this kind being brought into a Court of Law, they would see what view was taken by the Resident Magistrates of the right hon. Gentleman's boycotting policy, and if the right hon. Gentleman was imprisoned, they would see whether he would whine to the extent he had accused other people of whining when imprisoned under his coercion policy.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) said, he was very curious to know upon what legal ground, or upon what ground of administrative policy, the right hon. Gentleman could defend the issue of the secret circular to which reference had been made. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman could quarrel with the description which had been given to the House of that circular. For his own part he believed that no word in the language more aptly described that circular than the word "Boycotting." They all knew that the pretext under which the circular was issued was that the newspapers which were thus cut off from the patronage of Dublin Castle were those papers which were guilty of what was called "illegality." Were they to understand that a Court sat in the office of the Local Government Board of Ireland to determine what was legality and what was not? He (Mr. Maurice Healy) was under the impression that nothing was illegal except that which was declared by a tribunal of the land to be illegal. He was under the impression that it was not within the prerogative of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, or any of the distinguished gentlemen who constituted that Body, to sit in some private apartment in the Custom House in Dublin, or whatever other building was chosen, and to take it upon themselves to say that this or that journal had been guilty of illegality, and that therefore they would decline to give it the patronage of the Government. This was another illustration of the force of

the adage that one man might steal a horse while another was not permitted to look over the hedge. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary took upon himself to issue the circular directing Government officials to do that very thing for which the right hon. Gentleman gave Members of Parliament frequent doses of the plank-bed. With regard to the Labourers' Dwellings Act, reference had been made to the fact that the cost of advertisements, the manner of publication of which the right hon. Gentleman so arbitrarily decided, was borne by the Boards of Guardians. The advertisements were paid for in the first instance by the Local Government Board, but as they were issued under the Labourers' Dwellings Act the cost was ultimately borne by the Boards of Guardians. He should like to know in this context what was the meaning of the Vote under Sub-heads E and F, which stated that only one-half of the money voted was refunded by the Guardians to the Local Government Board. He was under the impression that the whole expenses, legal and otherwise, incurred by the Local Government Board in connection with the administration of the Labourers' Dwellings Act were ultimately refunded to the Local Government Board by the Guardians themselves. According to the Estimate, although the expenses of Provisional Orders were £4,488, the sum that was refunded only amounted to £2,604. He should like to have an explanation of this, because he thought he was right in saying that the whole cost of the working of the Act was paid by the Guardians. In regard to the point raised in the course of this discussion, the right hon. Gentleman had not dealt with the question of the proper supervision by the Local Government Board over the erection of cottages in various localities. All would agree that if the Guardians were to spend large sums of money on the erection of labourers' cottages, some steps should be taken to see that the money was properly and effectively expended, and was not spent in such a way as would ultimately throw on the hands of the Guardians elaborate cottages which would be no good for any purpose whatever. There was no doubt whatever, as was shown by an hon. Member who had preceded him, that in a large number of Irish Unions there was an impression prevalent that the cottages which were being built for labourers were not being properly built, and that the Guardians were not getting good value for the money they were expending. The money that was being spent amounted to large sums—hundreds and thousands of pounds. The Local Government Board undertook to supervize all expenditure, and to send down officers to inspect the cottages before the money was paid. In the face of that undertaking, however, there had been frequent cases where cottages had been built which turned out altogether unfit for habitation. That seemed to him a most unfortunate state of things. All Parties would agree that something in the nature of what was provided for by the Irish Labourers' Dwellings Act was very necessary, and it would be a most deplorable thing if, owing to the laxity of any Irish Board, it turned out that the cottages when erected were not what they ought to be in all respects. The taxpayer of the country was concerned in this matter, because public money was being spent on the building of these houses, and that was the ground upon which the Local Government Board undertook to supervize the building, and the ground upon which they said, "We will not advance the money until we see that proper work is done." It was, therefore, most incumbent upon the Local Government Board to see when they did send down their Inspectors that the work was not scamped and ill done, and that the cottages were fit for the unfortunate labourer, and were not, as they had turned out in many cases to be, perfectly uninhabitable. He thought there was a general consensus of opinion that the most important point dealt with in the discussion of this Vote was the question of suppressed unions in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had adopted unquestionably a conciliatory tone on this subject, and he (Mr. Maurice Healy) was glad of it. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman was at this late hour of the day beginning to learn that "a soft answer turneth away wrath," and the right hon. Gentleman would not be surprised to find that this conciliation was not thrown away upon the Irish Members. However, he (Mr. Maurice Healy) did not think that anyone who listened to the right hon.

Gentleman's statement could have been entirely satisfied with his explanation of the conduct of the Government. There could be no doubt that there was a very prevalent impression in Ireland that this policy of suppressing Irish Boards of Guardians was simply a part of the general policy of "Twenty years of resolute Government," which they were promised when the present Government came into Office. It was a very suspicious fact that, whereas during the whole 50 or 60 years during which Irish unions had been in existence, and especially during the seven or eight very disturbed years during which the late Liberal Government were in Office, not a single union—he thought he was right in saying not a single union—was suppressed in Ireland. In not a single case did the Local Government Board of Ireland exercise this power of suspending Guardians and dissolving Boards. This lent some colour to the idea he (Mr. Maurice Healy) had, and the idea was a very prevalent one in Ireland—namely, that during the short time the right hon. Gentleman had been in Office, he had taken upon himself to suppress either seven or eight Boards of Guardians, with the object of discrediting the whole system of Local Government in Ireland. That was a very serious matter, and might justify the idea he had stated. He was not going to say that the Local Government Board in Ireland was wrong in suppressing Guardians in every case. If a Board was guilty of corruption, then he thought the Government acted quite properly in suppressing it. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary could have told the right hon. Gentleman, however, that ever since the days of the late Parliamentary contest in Dungarvan the traditions of electoral corruption had prevailed there, and there was perhaps some truth in the statement of the President of the Local Government Board with regard to Dungarvan. As he had said, if the Local Government Board of Ireland were right in coming to the conclusion that the election was corrupt, no doubt they were right in the action they took. No doubt the Local Government Board were also right in the action they had taken in connection with another case which had been mentioned to-day. Where Boards of Guardians were unquestionably turbulent the Local Government Board had done right in suppressing them, but he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had announced that this policy of suppressing Boards of Guardians was not to be a permanent one. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that as regarded at least one of these unions they might hope within a reasonable time to see elective Guardians re-instated in the place of the Vice Guardians, and he (Mr. Maurice Healy) hoped that promise would apply to all cases. He had said that the idea was prevalent in Ireland that the Local Government Board under the guidance of the right hon. Gentleman, had taken the action they had taken, not in a *bonâ fide* spirit, but with the object of discrediting the whole system of Local Government in Ireland, and colour had been lent to the conclusion by the fact mentioned by the hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill)—namely that the Donegal Board of Guardians had been admittedly guilty of misconduct, and yet the Local Government Board had not suppressed that Board, but had allowed it to go on with perfect impunity oppressing the poor. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Irish Local Board had set up a very peculiar defence of the action of the Local Government Board. He (Mr. Maurice Healy) questioned the correctness of the right hon. Gentleman's statement. He had admitted that the Donegal Board of Guardians had misconducted themselves, and he would not undertake to defend them, but he said that it was not within the authority of the Local Government Board to suppress that Body. Well, he (Mr. Maurice Healy) declared, with the Act of Parliament in his hand, that the Local Government Board had the fullest and amplest power to suppress this Board of Guardians. The charge made against them was that in defiance of popular wishes, and of the expressed wish of the Local Government Board, the Guardians refused to provide sufficient religious instruction for the pauper children submitted to their care. That was a very serious charge, and a charge affecting the character of the Board in a most essential matter, because the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Irish Local Government Board had told them that the primary interests that the Guardians had to look to were not the interests of the rate-

payers but the interests of the unfortunate poor under their care; and the right hon. Gentleman told them now that though the Guardians had, in this important matter, refused to yield to the popular wish and to carry out the express directions of the Local Government Board, that the Local Government Board was helpless and must continue to leave the Guardians to act as they were at present, doing *in secula seculorum*. The right hon. Gentleman justified his statement by referring to the Act of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman said that though all manner of subjects constituted reasons why a Board should be suppressed, recalcitrancy to the Local Government Board did not form one of those reasons. He (Mr. Maurice Healy) had the Act in his hands, and he took most direct issue with the right hon. Gentleman on this point. The Act, in the plainest manner, directed that in cases where, through default of the Guardians, the duties of the Board were not duly and effectually discharged according to the intention of the several Acts of Parliament, that then the Board should be suppressed. That was the power under which the Local Government Board was acting, and he (Mr. Maurice Healy) was at a loss to know, therefore, on what grounds the right hon. Gentleman had said that it was not in the power of the Local Government Board to suppress these Boards of Guardians in one case and in another case it was. He should be very much surprised if the legal adviser of the right hon. Gentleman would undertake to defend the legal opinion which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed with such confidence. He (Mr. Maurice Healy) was sure the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) would agree with him that the powers given in the section of the Act to which he referred were of the widest character, and would cover not only these cases in which the Irish Local Government Board had already acted, but every case where the Board of Guardians had been guilty of misconduct. Now, he should like to say a word with regard to the case of Dr. Magner. In that case the right hon. Gentleman had not attempted to seriously controvert anything which had fallen from previous speakers. The right hon. Gentleman gave the case of Dr. Magner the complete go-by, and said he would not discuss it at all, inasmuch as a satisfying termination of that matter had been brought about. He said the case having satisfactorily terminated, it was not for him to go into the conduct of the Local Government Board in the Constitutional action they had taken. The ground he (Mr. Maurice Healy) and his friends took was, that if the Local Government Board had in the end acted reasonably, they had been obliged to do so, and had no option but to do what they did. The Local Government Board refused to appoint Dr. Magner to the position to which he had been elected because he had been guilty of a certain political offence. Ultimately they yielded on that point, but it was because the whole medical body in the South of Ireland backed Dr. Magner up. There was a fixed conviction on the part of persons in the South of Ireland who were acquainted with this subject that if the Local Government Board could have got any medical man so cowardly and sordid as to go against the opinion of the whole Profession and accept Dr. Magner's appointment, they would not have taken the action they did, but would have made Dr. Magner another victim of their coercion policy. It was, therefore, not correct for the right hon. Gentleman to say that this case ultimately terminated satisfactorily, and that it was not for him to defend the Local Government Board in the matter, for he (Mr. Maurice Healy) certainly thought that the Local Government Board required defence in that case. Its action had been most tyrannous, and of such a character that the right hon. Gentleman could not reasonably expect that it would be passed over in silence. Similarly was the case of Dr. Higgins, a gentleman who was entitled to the consideration of all sides of the House. There was, however, no necessity to discuss that matter further. He would merely say with regard to it that if the action of the Authorities had been limited to the vesting on any one individual of two offices, the Local Government Board would not have been attacked from that (the Opposition) side of the House on the matter. None of them were in favour of any improper dualism, but what they complained of was that the Local Government Board should have been first seized with this

desire to prevent plurality in the case of a gentleman who notoriously held advanced Nationalist views. It was certainly unfortunate that in the first case where the Local Government Board had raised this question of holding the two offices of Coroner and dispensary doctor at the same time that the victim affected should be a doctor holding Nationalist opinions, whereas the Government had previously passed over similar cases when the individuals happened to be gentlemen who held their own views. It was also a suspicious circumstance that the Government should raise this question of holding the office of Coroner and dispensary doctor when it became awkward for them to have occupying the post of Coroner a man holding Nationalist opinions. If this election of Dr. Higgins had been five or six years ago, before the action of Coroners' Courts had come to be discussed so much as they had been lately, there was no doubt that this arbitrary action on the part of the Government would not have been taken. These were the only points upon which he wished to say anything, and, in sitting down he would merely urge upon the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland to offer some defence of the legal opinion expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) said, there was a point to which he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and it was a very important one, having reference to the systematic evasion of the law on the part of certain landlords, the persons alluded to in a certain Report made to Parliament by two Inspectors employed by the Lord Lieutenant to make an inquiry during the year 1887 into the position of the distressed unions in the West of Ireland. This Report showed the way in which the law was evaded in respect of the payment of poor rates. The law in Ireland was that the poor rate on holdings above £4 should be shared between the landlord and the tenant, but it was shown that in certain congested districts, where the occupiers were rated under £4, and therefore not liable to pay poor rates, a custom prevailed of joining a number of small tenancies together so as to bring the rateable value above the sum of £4, and in this way the tenants were compelled to pay the poor rates conjointly. This might seem a very small matter to hon. Gentlemen opposite, but he could assure them that it was a very great grievance and hardship to the poor tenants of Ireland. He remembered being on an estate 20 miles out of Galway, on which people did not feel so much the high rent as that they were, by the artifice of the landlord, made to pay that which the law had declared they should not be bound to pay. The right hon. Gentleman had sent about 100 persons to gaol per month for disobeying the law, and he knew that in this Report the Marquess of Sligo was declared to be disobeying it. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would take steps on this estate, and others where this practice occurred, to have the law carried out. On the 9th June, 1887, he had been astounded by the reply of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman who was then Assistant Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) that he knew nothing of this state of things in Ireland, while the Report was in the possession of the Irish Office. The evidence on this subject was absolutely overwhelming, and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to take care that the law was obeyed in respect to the subject he had brought before the House.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, that the very thing which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. E. Ellis) had referred to in connection with the Local Government Board, and in connection with the Poor Law Act, had occurred in the County of Cork, and the reply given last night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary could not apply to the case which he now referred to. At Bantry it was brought under the notice of the Local Government Board that the Earl of Bantry systematically aggregated his holdings in order to deprive tenants of their right at law, and escape the payment of rates. If this were a solitary case he should not have risen to support the hon. Gentleman; but it was in his recollection, and in that of the inhabitants of the locality, when the matter was under consideration for a period of two years, and was brought under the notice of the Local Government Board by certain members of the

Poor Law Board in the district, and by the hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly). The Local Government Board sent down a letter to the Bantry Board of Guardians, but they took no notice of the matter, but it was left to the initiative of individuals to set the law in motion against the Earl of Bantry. That was clearly a case in which the Local Government Board refused to act where they were bound by law to do so, and, whereas, in every other case they had acted very much as hon. Members believed *ultra vires*. The explanation of this was that the law and the action of the officials of Dublin Castle lay entirely on one side; that, at any rate, was the impression which prevailed in Ireland with regard to circumstances of such suspicious character. There had been so many references to Boards of Guardians who had been superseded at various places that he did not intend to go into that matter at length, but he would refer to the action of the Local Government Board with reference to the Cork Board of Guardians within the past few weeks or months. The Cork Poor Law Board was perfectly solvent, and had been managed in a manner that elicited the admiration of Colonel Spaight, Inspector for the district for some time past, but, somehow or other, it seemed to synchronize with the advent of a Nationalist majority, that the Local Government Board came down upon them with such resolutions as were entirely unprecedented. Some little discussion had occurred, when one member of the Board rose to move a resolution condemning a large number of evictions which were threatening the Union. He (Mr. Flynn) had at once said that the proper course would have been to propose that resolution after the ordinary business of the Board was discharged. But the Local Government Board, not content with pointing out to the Cork Guardians that they had gone outside their ordinary business and trangressed the Rule laid down for Boards of that character, but they also threatened them in the most mandatory and arbitrary manner, that if they heard any more of these breaches of Rules they would be superseded, and paid Guardians sent down. Now, the effect of that would have been very considerable difficulty in collecting the rates, and the entire district would have been thrown into turmoil and disorder, all because the Local Government Board had lashed itself into fury under very suspicious circumstances. He had no desire whatever after the last two days of damaging debate on the administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to pile up proof of his incapacity at Dublin Castle with regard to the Local Government Board in Ireland, but the notion was largely held that the exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the Local Government Board was owing to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman was *ex officio* President of the Board, and that therefore he very largely controlled its operations. It might not be uninstructive to the Committee to remember that the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) had moved for Returns of certain Poor Law Unions in Ireland with their assessment. What was the obvious drift of the hon. Gentleman, taken in connection with the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, but to throw discredit on the administration of the Local Boards in order to damage the position of Irish Members in future when they should come forward with schemes of Local Government. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that in July last a claim was made on those Benches that Local Government should be assisted very much more than it was, and in the course of the debate which took place one of the strongest arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was a reference to the acts of the Local Government Board. Members for Ireland contended that the course of the Local Government Board in dealing with Local Bodies in Ireland was marked by partiality and partizanship. He had referred to the fact that under the notice of the Local Government Board was brought the scandalous state of things at Bantry Union, but, nevertheless, for two years they took no step in connection with it to compel the Earl to do that which the law required of him. On the other hand, when the most trifling circumstances in connection with the state of affairs which might be antagonistic to the right hon. Gentleman occurred, then the Local Government Board put out all its force and went to considerable expense, and was prepared to bring

about the largest possible amount of turmoil and disorder in the Union in order to back up the notion and administration of the right hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Flynn) desired to impress on the Committee that these charges were not made at hazard or in the heat of political partizanship, but they were put forward as the complaints of the Irish people, who looked with grave suspicion on the facts which could not be disproved. He asked for a clear answer on this subject from one or other Members of the Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham (Mr. J. E. Ellis) appeared to be under the impression that the regulation of the rates on owners and occupiers rested with the Local Government Board, but, as a matter of fact, it had nothing to do with the Department, and it was therefore not relevant to the Vote before the Committee. This was a case of private right. He was perfectly aware that a Committee had called attention to the practice which prevailed, which he considered most reprehensible, but which, although it was so, did not come within the duties of the Department. It was altogether outside their province, and the only remedy was by legal proceedings against the landlords who attempted to escape from their liability. More than one hon. Member had alluded to the question of labourers' cottages. Hon. Members said that these were ill-constructed, and appeared to think that the Local Government Board ought to watch the whole process of construction and see that the Guardians carried out the Act of Parliament. He had to repeat that the Local Authority had power to manage its own affairs in its own way, and he did not think that the Local Government Board could interfere more than they did in keeping the Local Authority straight against its will. He had not had time to investigate the question, but he did not believe it possible that the responsibility for construction should be taken over by the Local Government Board. Of course the Board could send down an Inspector, but that was a very different thing from watching the entire course of construction.

MR. T. M. HEALY: They can refuse to advance money for construction.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes. No doubt that was so; but, as he had said, this was very different from watching the whole course of construction, and it would be a straining of the Act of Parliament to throw responsibility upon the Local Government Board. With regard to the case of the Chaplain of the Donegal Union, he understood that the Local Government Board had made a communication to the Guardians which it was hoped would settle the difficulty.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had not, even by ricochet, referred to the question of advertisements in newspapers.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he had no desire to interpose between the Committee and the Division which he thought it was now desirable to take, but he had one or two observations to offer. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that he looked with favour upon the proposition that every Union should be amalgamated, and he (Mr. J. O'Connor) believed that that was a very desirable result to achieve. But how could they be amalgated unless they diminished the amount of work which the unions had to perform at the present time. It was his duty, a short time ago, to defend a certain union in Ireland against an attack made by an hon. and gallant Gentleman who sat opposite. One of the charges made against that Board was that the amount of outdoor relief had been increased. He maintained that it was an advantage to increase the amount of outdoor relief, and diminish, if possible, indoor pauperism in Ireland. It would first be necessary, for the purpose of amalgamation, to diminish the expenses, and the question he asked the right hon. Gentleman who was responsible for the Government in Ireland was whether he would in future cause statistics to be laid before the House giving, in separate columns, the amount expended in the relief of the poor, and the amount expended in the maintenance of the Establishments. They all knew by experience that a vast amount of the money collected for the purpose of relieving the poor in Ireland was expended upon offices, buildings, and other matters, and that a large proportion of it did not reach those for whom it was intended. He had been looking through *Thom's Directory*, and he could

not find that the separate expenses were given in it, and he had no recollection of any Paper having been laid before the House which contained that comparative statement, and he therefore asked the right hon. Gentleman if it were possible that this Return should be laid on the Table in future. Against the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman he was bold enough to maintain that outdoor relief as administered in Ireland was vastly more beneficial to the people than indoor relief, and he believed that it would cause a great amount of benefit in a short time if the principle were extended in its application. He agreed that indiscriminate outdoor relief would be disadvantageous, but it was not his belief that outdoor relief as now administered in Ireland was bad for the people. It was more humanitarian. They knew the children put out to board amongst the people were well cared for; that they were looked after by the Inspectors, and that a report was regularly made as to their health, manner of bringing up, schooling, and everything with regard to the children which it was necessary for the Guardians to know. He believed the principle might be extended with great advantage, and he contended that money expended in relieving people in their own houses was better spent than it would be by withholding it and compelling the poor to enter the workhouses, and there to occupy what the Irish people regarded as the degraded position of a pauper. The people of Ireland, although poor, were proud, and they looked with horror at the idea of entering a workhouse; and, by aiding them outside, you maintained the self-respect and at the same time relieved the rates. He, therefore, held that the extension of outdoor relief was defensible on the grounds both of economy and humanity, and on the ground put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary himself, that it would lead to the amalgamation which he had referred to that day. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had stated that he had not used the administration of the Poor Law Board for political purposes. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had stated that he had not used the administration of the Local Government Board for political purposes. But there was a widespread opinion in Ireland that the Local Government Board had been so used. They had persecuted their political opponents, and evidently, in every case where that persecution had occurred, the Local Government Board and the Squirearchy had been in league. The Poor Law Boards had resented the interference of the Local Government Board, and the fact was established that the Poor Law Guardians had been bullied by the Local Government Board in Ireland. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or if not, the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, would lay these lessons to heart, and that in future they would avoid as much as possible coming into collision with the Guardians in Ireland with regard to their appointments of doctors and other officials. He hoped there would, if possible, be no cases of the dissolution of Boards of Guardians. He was not sorry that Guardians individually or collectively should be punished for faults of their own. If they had acted illegally or fraudulently, no one would rejoice more than he that they should be punished, but he trusted that the faults inevitable in the performance of new duties to which people were unaccustomed would not be turned to their disadvantage politically, commercially, or socially. There was a widespread feeling, however, that the Local Government Board had turned these unavoidable faults to the persecution of the Boards and the persecution of the people in Ireland. The Committee would not, he trusted, be in any way angered because Irish Members had pressed home this point, because their constituents demanded of them that they should impress on the Government the necessity of avoiding the course of conduct complained of and gratifying feelings which had led to so much turmoil among the people of Ireland. He looked forward to the discussion having an effect in the direction he had indicated, and would again ask the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, that the statistics presented to Parliament should in future show in separate columns the cost of the Establishments and the amount actually expended on the relief of the poor.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, under Sub-head 1 there was a decrease of £470 in the Grant in Aid, and hon.

Members would find that this was principally due to the cost of medicines. He did not complain that there was no decrease in the item for salaries, but simply pointed out that this diminution had been arrived at in consequence of the bad quality of the medicines constantly supplied to the Poor Law medical officers in Ireland. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that complaints had again and again been made in and about the City of Cork of the very bad quality of those medicines, and when they considered the amount of the Estimates passed in that House it was easy to understand that the Government should try to make some little saving at the expense even of the poor people of the country. He could furnish many specific cases in which medical men in the county of Cork had complained of the quality of the drugs, and he contended that there should be some investigation of this matter. Large sums of money were frequently voted in that House without examination, but in the present instance he would ask the Committee to join with him in demanding an investigation of the facts of the case.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, he would point out to the hon. Gentleman that the best way of conducting the investigation would be to bring under the notice of the Local Government Board the specific cases which he had alluded to, and he could assure him that they would receive the most careful consideration; and then, if the statements were shown to be well founded, the attention of the Government would be immediately directed to them. As to the observations of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. John O'Connor), with regard to supplying statistics in a certain form to show how much money was expended upon the cost of buildings and salaries, and upon outdoor relief, if the hon. Gentleman would put a Question on the Paper he would communicate with the Board and ascertain whether the information could be given in the shape desired; and then, in the answer to his question, he would get that which it was not at that moment possible to give—namely, a distinct statement whether it could be done or not.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he should like some explanation as to how the economy had been made with reference to the item he had refered to.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) said, there undoubtedly appeared to be a reduction in the cost of medicine, but it did not follow that there was any deterioration of quality. He fully admitted, however, that the subject, whatever the cost might be, was one of the greatest importance, and he invited the hon. Gentleman to bring before the Local Government Board the instances to which he had alluded, and they would receive careful examination.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had not replied to his question as to the distribution of advertisements.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had refrained from answering the question of the hon. Member because he thought the Committee would see that he could hardly regard it seriously. The hon. Gentleman said that the policy of the Government was to refuse advertisements to Nationalist newspapers, but there was no foundation for that statement.

MR. J. O'CONNOR said, he should certainly advise that preference should be given, for the sake of publicity, to newspapers that would come into the hands of the Nationalists.

MR. TUITE said, he had pointed out that the advertisements were sent to two Tory papers, while they were not sent to newspapers having six times their circulation.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, he knew, as he had stated, that a circular had been issued to all the Departments of the Government, as well as to the Local Government Board, by the right hon. Gentleman in Ireland, to prevent the giving of advertisements to Nationalist papers, and asking that preference should be given to those papers which supported the policy of the Government. He knew this, because the advertisements had been refused, and the officials had apologised for their inability to give them. This, he said, was an aggravation of the mean policy pursued by the Government.

MR. SEXTON said, it would be an assistance if the Government would give a promise that the advertisements should be given to journals without any distinction of politics. It was essential that advertisements, especially those

relating to the Labourers' Act, should appear in newspapers through which they would be most certain to reach people of the class.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would bear him out when he stated that he had brought forward repeated complaints of Unionist newspapers being refused Government advertisements.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, the complaint was against the policy of using public money to encourage one section of the Press and to starve out another. Charges and incidents of this kind had been brought forward over and over again in the most specific manner where advertisements had been given to such and such newspapers, although they had the most limited circulation. The hon. Member for North-West Meath (Mr. Tuite) had pointed out a particular instance in which the newspapers referred to did not circulate among the farmers, and, consequently, when an important investigation was held the ratepayers who were interested and paid for the advertisements were not present, because they had no knowledge that the investigation was to come off. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland sat silent, and refused to state whether the Irish Government were engaged in using the public moneys for the purpose of subsidising the Tory Press, which could not exist by its own circulation, and of Boycotting the Press of the people.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought he had already given a clear explanation. But he said that the mere fact that a newspaper was a Nationalist newspaper, and advocated Nationalist views, and supported the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, was not, in his opinion, a reason for not giving it Government advertisements, provided it had a sufficient circulation. He had never laid down any such principle.

MR. SEXTON said he would leave the Committee to judge whether the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was not an evasive one. When a Nationalist paper was excluded by a Government Department it could always be ruled out on some other ground than its politics. What he asked was that in this matter the Irish newspapers should be treated alike all round, and unless the right hon. Gentleman would state that the Nationalist papers with a large circulation were entitled to a fair share of the expenditure he would advise his hon. Friend to take a Division as a protest against the manner in which they were treated by the Minister. He did not want newspapers of shadowy reputation to receive the advertisements, but he contended that those newspapers which circulated amongst the people, and were really the media for the dissemination of information, should have as fair a chance as any in Ireland.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley) said, it was perfectly well known to the Committee that it had been the usage in dealing with Government advertisements to favour solely the newspapers which supported the principles of the Government of the day. He had frequently heard protests against that lingering remnant of the old system of patronage, which they all wanted to get rid of, and he could not help thinking that the Government ought to confine the advertisements to those organs which would reach particular classes whom it was desired to reach, and it was very odious that upon a change of Government the Treasury, or whatever authority it might be, should make a fresh list of newspapers to which the Government advertisements should be sent. It was perfectly notorious that this was done, and he had heard many protests against the practice in that House. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would give expression to a very wide-spread opinion on this matter if he would state that with regard to these official advertisements favour would be shown to those newspapers which had the largest circulation and influence without respect to political opinions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had told the Committee what was the Government policy in this matter. They had always believed that the course condemned by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken was initiated by his own friends; but he would not press that point. Of course, if they were to give advertisements to every newspaper in Ireland, the proprietors would be well satisfied, but he need not point out that this would involve a large and wasteful expenditure of money in Ireland which

he did not think would be satisfactory to the House. In his opinion, if a newspaper in any locality had a distinctly superior circulation to any other, and if the advertisements were only to appear in one, that paper should be chosen wholly irrespective of political opinions. He had already said that, and thought he could not state the case more clearly.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON asked if the right hon. Gentleman would deny that he had issued a circular ordering that advertisements should be confined to newspapers that were friendly to the Government?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had never issued a circular giving the order which the hon. Gentleman had described.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £13,728, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, he rose to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £800, the amount of the salary of the engineer of the Board. He regretted very much that the Minister responsible for the administration of this Vote was not then in his place, because he had taken special interest in the matter to which he was about to call attention. The hon. Gentleman had, moreover, a special knowledge in connection with it which he did not think was possessed by any other Member of the Government. It was hardly necessary to say that he did not move the reduction of the Vote out of any personal hostility to the Gentleman whose salary was in question; but he was bound to say that if they were to judge of his capacity by the discussions which had taken place on the work of his Department, and by the wrecked structures which surrounded the Irish coasts, he was afraid that a high opinion could not be formed of his ability or fitness for the place he held. He called attention to this subject for the purpose of showing how public and private money was squandered by this Department in Ireland, and he believed, amongst all the mismanagement and maladministration in that country, no Department had continually given greater occasion for complaint by the Representatives of the Irish people than that which was then under consideration. As the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was now in his place, he desired to acknowledge the very unusual course which he had been good enough to take with reference to the specific matter he was about to bring under the notice of the Committee. He believed it was the first time that a Representative of the Treasury, when a complaint had been made of the conduct of the Irish Board of Works, had adopted the course of making himself personally acquainted with the facts by a journey to the locality concerned, and of appointing an independent engineer to draw up a report on the subject of the grievance complained of. In his (Mr. Lane's) constituency they were deeply grateful to the hon. Gentleman for the action he had taken; but he was afraid that at this point his expressions of gratitude to the hon. Gentleman must cease. Since the opening of the Session he had made repeated efforts to induce the hon. Gentleman to give them an opportunity of seeing the Report of this independent engineer, so that they might have information to enable them properly to discuss the question. This eminent engineer taken over to Ireland by the hon. Gentleman visited the harbour at Ballycotton on the 6th of October, and, as far as he knew, there was nothing in the nature of the investigation which would prevent him, after the lapse of two months, making his report, and nothing to prevent the hon. Gentleman allowing hon. Members to examine it before the present time. Ballycotton Pier had a very curious history, and it was a history which repeated itself after the lapse of 34 years. In 1854 a pier was built on the site for the accommodation of fishing boats; it was built by order of the Board of Works, and when completed a certificate was given by this engineer at the time that it was properly and effectually built. The Grand Jury of the county, when they were asked to take it over, sent down their engineer to report upon it. The engineer certified that the pier was faultily constructed, and that it would not be safe for the Grand Jury to become responsible for its maintenance. At the Assizes, therefore, the Grand Jury refused to accept the maintenance of the pier, and Chief

Baron Pigott would not compel them to do so. In the following year a similar attempt was made by the Board of Works to compel the Grand Jury to take over the pier; but they made an application to Judge Perrin, and he, following the example of the Chief Baron, declined to cast the obligation on the Grand Jury to take over the pier which their own engineer had certified to be of faulty construction. Thirty-four years ago, as he was instructed, the Board of Works applied to Parliament for and got a short Act to compel the Grand Jury to take over the work which, as he had said, was certified to be badly constructed, and which was liable to be washed away in a short time by the action of the sea in stormy weather. Of course, the Grand Jury had nothing to do but to comply with the Act. They were at the time a loyal Body, and, he believed, at the present moment there were no more loyal supporters of the Government in Ireland, but they were now opposed to the action of the Representatives of the Government in connection with this matter, just as their predecessors were 34 years ago. That was the history of the old pier which justified the Report of the engineer, and which had to be replaced four or five years ago. Under the Irish Fisheries Act, the Board of Works began to build a new pier on the site of the old one, and for the same purpose. There had been such a development of the fishing trade in the South of Ireland that it was reported to be of no use to build another pier on anything like the proportions of the old work, and the specifications were drawn up to meet the increased requirements of the trade. The pier was commenced in 1885, and was sanctioned by the House of Commons to be built at the cost of £20,500; it was built by Martin & Co., of Dublin, under the superintendence of the engineer of the Board of Works; it was finished some time in the year 1887; and, in the usual course, the Board of Works applied to the Grand Jury to take over the pier, and the Grand Jury, in accordance with their usual custom, sent down their engineer to inspect it. This gentleman's qualifications were undoubted; he held a high position in his profession, and was in every way fully qualified to express a professional opinion on a work of this kind. His second Report to the Summer Grand Jury was to the effect that, in his Report at the Spring Assizes, 1880, he stated that in a portion of the pier in deep water a series of settlements had taken place, and that cracks had appeared in some places; that one of the most serious of the cracks had considerably increased since last spring; that it might be that the settlements would not go further, but, on the other hand, they might increase so as to weaken the stability of the structure, or entail continuous charges upon the county in order to prevent it; that he had examined the pier on the 11th of July, and observed that most of the cracks had been filled with cement; that the settlement had still gone on, the head of the pier showed unmistakable signs of falling out; and that the floor of the pier was still subsiding. He went on to say that some improvement had been made in the harbour since his last Report to the Grand Jury, but the foundations and much of the old pier still remained; under the circumstances he would not recommend the Grand Jury to take up the pier, as he considered that by doing so they would be incurring liabilities so serious that he did not think they could fairly be called upon to undertake them. In addition to getting that report the Grand Jury, in order to satisfy themselves that they were not in any way doing an injustice to the Board of Works by refusing to comply with their request, sent two of their members to make further inspection on the spot. These gentlemen corroborated everything stated by the engineer, and advised the Grand Jury not to take over the pier, and the Grand Jury passed a resolution to that effect.

It being half after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress, to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolution [4th December] *reported.*

"That a sum, not exceeding £12,707, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of

Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, he rose to move the rejection of the Vote. He did so because of a statement by the Lord Lieutenant which appeared in *The Times* of to-day, to the effect that 160 derelict farms had been taken, but that it would be unwise to specify the names of the occupants, the districts, or other particulars concerning them. Now, he would ask first, why did not the Lord Lieutenant give these particulars? They must be well known in the particular districts and to everybody who could do the occupants any harm. No doubt there were differences of opinion between the Government and those with whom he usually acted. The Government claimed that their policy had been successful, that they had diminished outrage and Boycotting, and now that they were enabling derelict farms to be re-let. He, however, believed their policy to have been an utter failure, and that any diminution of outrage was due to far other causes, such as the influence of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. But these evicted farms would furnish a good test, and he would give the House some statistics which bore upon the subject. He had received particulars of 268 farms in 16 counties of Ireland. These were farms from which applications had come to the National League during the six months ending October last. The number of these farms which had been re-let was 12 only, and five more were partially re-let. Forty out of the 268 had had judicial rents fixed, and the rentals varied from £4 to £400. The evictions were, on the average, for two years' arrears. Ninety of these farms were in occupation of Emergency men, the Landlords' Association, or the police. He could furnish the Government with all particulars of place and persons in each of these cases. He had received further particulars of 687 other evicted farms from 166 districts and 30 different counties, embracing an area of one-eighth of the whole of Ireland. But of the 687 only 32 had been re-let and five partially re-let; and 230 were in the occupation of police, Emergency men, or representatives of the landlord. He contended, therefore, that the policy of the Government was wholly unsuccessful, and moved the rejection of the Vote.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, the House would not expect another long and elaborate speech from him. He would, however, remark first that the hon. Member had not broken down any statement of the Lord Lieutenant. But what was the hon. Member's argument? It was that crime had diminished, intimidation had diminished, Boycotting had diminished, but that this result was not due to the policy of the Government but to the influence of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. He could, if he had time, cast a good deal of not undeserved ridicule upon that astohishing assertion. The inference he drew from the hon. Member's argument was that while the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian's great influence was used successfully to diminish outrage, it was not used to obtain tenants for evicted farms. This he took from the hon. Gentleman who was the chief source of information to the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. He inferred from the hon. Member's speech that the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian and his friends were not in favour of the re-letting of evicted farms. They were in favour of keeping farms derelict—that was, of intimidation and boycotting. They were in favour of reducing to the condition of an unproductive desert a not inconsiderable portion of the best land in Ireland; and, finally, that they were in favour of a system which deprived the evicted tenant of the value of his tenant-right and of the value of his improvements and of all the privileges which were conferred upon him by the Act of 1881, which the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had made it his proudest boast that he had passed. He could not conceive a speech more damaging than that of the hon. Member—damaging, not to the Government, but to the hon. Member's own Party. But if the hon. Member was in favour of farms being kept derelict, why should he make this Motion to take away the Chief Secretary's salary? The hon. Member had not only done his Party a great disservice, but from his own point of view he ought not to have made this Motion on the ground he alleged—namely, that the Government had failed

to do that which the hon. Member thought ought not to be done.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, that his hon. Friend had thrown down a plain challenge which the Government were unable to take up. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had perverted the question by charging the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian with not using his influence to get evicted farms taken. But it was the force of public opinion which kept these farms vacant. The right hon. Gentleman said that his hon. Friend had not broken down the Lord Lieutenant's statistics. But how could those statistics be examined when no particulars of persons, time, or place were furnished. His hon. Friends came from every county in Ireland [*Cries of* "No!" *from the Ministerial Benches*]—yes, there was not one county in Ireland without at least one Home Rule Member, and 25 counties had nothing but Home Rule Members—his hon. Friends came from every county, and after conference with them he distinctly impugned the accuracy of the Lord Lieutenant's figures and the veracity of those who had supplied him with these statistics. The hon. Member—not an Irish Member, but an English Member, eminent in scholarship and politics—had laid certain figures before the House and had stated that of 268 evicted farms only 12 were now taken. Further inquiry would probably show that even these 12 were cases of bogus tenants put in for the purpose of enabling the landlords to sell under the Ashbourne Act. That was a distinct challenge thrown down to the Government, and if it was not taken up the country would know what to think. The right hon. Gentleman had made no attempt to dispute the figures given by his hon. Friend, but had most unwarrantably endeavoured by innuendo to attribute motives to him. If the figures quoted by the hon. Member were accurate they showed that all the elaborate machinery of the Coercion Act had ended in utter failure. This was full justification for moving to reduce the right hon. Gentleman's salary, for the figures quoted by the hon. Member showed that the Chief Secretary had proved to be useless for the only political reason of his appointment. In conclusion, he desired to ask what course Her Majesty's Government intended to pursue with regard to the case of a constable named Edward Swindell, against whom a coroner's jury had returned a verdict of wilful murder of a man named Ahearn. The Chief Baron, in addressing the Grand Jury on Monday last, referred to the fact that the Crown had not sent up a Bill, and intimated that if the Crown did not do so he would consider the application of the next-of-kin to send up a Bill. He hoped that some definite information would be given to the House on this point.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, he had just received a telegram stating that Crown counsel had to-day entered a *nolle prosequi* on the inquisition of the Coroner against Swindell. Did the Government approve of this?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, the latest information he received was this morning, when the Attorney General for Ireland telegraphed that the matter was under consideration. He did not impugn the accuracy of the telegram received by the hon. Member for East Cork, but he had no information on the point. This was a matter for which the Chief Secretary was in no way responsible. It rested entirely with the Attorney General as chief Law Officer, upon the evidence before him, to decide whether he would proceed to trial or not.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, that the House had a right to get a more satisfactory answer to these questions. He thought they should know whether the Government were going to back up their Attorney General in the course he had taken, or whether they would take such other steps as would allay public feeling in the matter?

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) said, he wished to draw the attention of the House to the severity of the impost put upon the ratepayers of the Dublin Unions by reason of the order under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act for the compulsory slaughter of cattle affected with disease. Dublin was a sort of conduit pipe for cattle from all parts of Ireland intended for exportation, and the annual cost to the ratepayers of the Dublin Unions in compensation for the slaughtered animals

was between £18,000 and £20,000. He impressed upon the Government the equity of placing the cost of carrying out this order upon the general Cattle Disease Fund. In this he was fortified by an Answer given by the late Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), who said that the Government were at that time considering a scheme by which the districts affected by the order might be relieved.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR explained that the results of the orders relating to diseased cattle which had been complained of were inevitable under the law as it existed, and, even if legislation were desirable, it was at the present moment impracticable. Whatever decision might be come to, it was impossible without legislation to carry out the suggestion of the hon. Member and throw the burden upon a fund spread over the whole country.

Resolution *agreed to.*

House adjourned at half after Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 6th December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—County Court Appeals (Ireland) * (297).
Committee—Report—Third Reading—Land Purchase (Ireland) (293), and *passed.*
Third Reading—Municipal Funds (Ireland) * (290-298); Sea Fisheries Regulation * (291-299), and *passed.*

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

(NO. 293) COMMITTEE.

Order of the day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

THE EARL OF HOWTH remarked that it would be of interest to the large body of landlords and tenants in Ireland if they could have the assurance that even a larger sum than £5,000,000 would be guaranteed for the purpose of land purchase. No doubt the tenants of Ulster had had the largest share of the first £5,000,000. That part of Ireland was largely blessed with peace and quietness. It was true the Act had not been so successful in the South of Ireland, but that was owing to the ignorance of the tenantry and the influence of the National League. In his opinion the future success of this scheme depended very largely upon how the money was allocated. The landlords felt deeply thankful to the Government for introducing this Bill in the present critical circumstances; and, on behalf of those landlords, he congratulated Lord Ashbourne on the success of the Act of 1885. Land purchase was a medium to promote Imperial interests, by appeasing the discontented, by satisfying the earth-hunger in Ireland, and by showing those in favour of Home Rule that the Imperial Parliament was able to legislate satisfactorily for them. The measure would no doubt tend to bring about a Home Rule much stronger than the political Home Rule which had been proposed to the tenants. There were, however, influences and circumstances in Ireland which might cause considerable delay in the administration of the Act, and there were no doubt parts of the country where it would not be to the public interest to administer it. The interests of the British taxpayers would not be safeguarded if the principle "first come first served" were to be rigidly observed. He hoped that, if in the early days of the operation of the measure, the Government found that it was working in such a way as not to justify any future grants being made, they would amend it by giving the Executive the right to consider the allocation of the money. He regretted that such a provision was not embodied in the present Bill.

EARL FORTESCUE said, that two noble Lords who had filled the Office of Lord Lieutenant dealt with the question of arrears on Tuesday night last, and rather implied that the Irish tenants were suffering the greatest hardships from intolerably high rents. They had also heard a great deal about the Irish tenantry having improved the land and buildings which they held. No doubt a large portion of the buildings were put up by the tenants in Ireland, but they seldom heard of the substantial contributions which, on very many estates besides his own, had been given by the landlords in aid of the erection of

those buildings without any interest or increase of rent in consequence. There was one point which the Irish Members were very well aware of, but which a great many Englishmen who were now in alliance with the majority of the Representatives from Ireland were not aware of, or took care to ignore—namely, that the ignorance, the improvidence, and the folly of a large proportion of the Irish farmers had deteriorated and reduced the natural fertility of the land to a very great extent. The practice of paring and burning, which destroyed the permanent fertility of the land, and which was prohibited by an Act of Parliament—by Grattan's Parliament—was still systematically carried on in many parts of Ireland. During the decade from 1851 to 1860, when there were over 2,000,000 acres in Ireland under oats, the average yield per acre was 13 cwt. and three-tenths; while in the decade between 1871 and 1880, when about 1,500,000 acres were under oats, the average yield was 13 cwt. and one-tenth. Taking the years 1851, 1852, and 1853, the average yield in those three years was 14 cwt.; so that the tendency had been apparently towards deterioration. Taking the next great staple of Irish produce—potatoes; in the first of the two decades to which he had referred the average yield was 4¼ tons per acre, and in the second decade it had fallen to three tons per acre. In the three years 1851, 1852, and 1853, the average yield was over five tons per acre; these figures went to show how systematic had been the deterioration of the fertility of the land under the mismanagement of the tenants. The Irish tenantry did not, therefore, deserve so much credit for unremunerated skill as they generally received. It was all very well to talk of the added value of the farm-buildings and improvements of the tenants, but those buildings and improvements did not appear to have told in favour of the average produce of the land. The significant facts to which he had alluded were carefully overlooked by those who made inflammatory speeches against the Irish landlords.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Increase of limit of Advances by Irish Land Commission, and provision therefor) *agreed to.*

Earl Fortescue

Clause 2 (Limitation of advances).

VISCOUNT DE VESCI said, he rose to move as an Amendment the insertion, after the word "advance" in line 13, of the words "in respect of any application made after the passing of this Act." He did not wish to oppose the clause or to criticize it adversely. He cordially sympathized with what was the evident object of the Government—namely, a further extension of the Land Purchase Act of 1885 to increase more largely than hitherto the number of occupying owners of land in Ireland. Experience clearly showed that the cause of law and order in Ireland had been advanced by the creation of a large number of small owners. He trusted, however, that the Government would understand that that reduction of the maximum advance would not be accepted in any way as a precedent for future legislation on the purchase question. This clause limited the advance to the sum of £3,000 to any one tenant, but the Commissioners had a discretion in certain cases, but he would like to see the maximum £5,000. He hoped that the Government would give a distinct assurance that purchasers above £3,000 should not be excluded from the operation of the Bill. It would be grossly unfair to the valuable class of yeomen in Ireland that they should be expected to hold their land on less favourable terms than less capable and less deserving men. He might point out that considerable expense had been incurred with regard to applications already awaiting the sanction of the Purchase Commissioners, and that it would be a great hardship if this expense should be thrown away. It was in order to obviate that that he moved this Amendment, which he would respectfully press the Government to accept. His Amendment would enable all applications previous to the passing of the Act to come under the new rules, and he did not think it fair even to the Commissioners to adopt the course contemplated by the clause as it stood at present.

Amendment *moved*, in page 1, line 13, after ("advance") insert ("in respect of any application made after the passing of this Act.")—(*The Viscount de Vesci.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE) said, he believed the Amendment was out of Order.

This was a money clause, and the Amendment, if accepted, would increase the possible charge on the public funds; it was not competent for their Lordships' House to deal with it. He did not, however, anticipate that any of the inconveniences to which his noble Friend had referred would arise from the operation of the clause as it stood.

VISCOUNT DE VESCI asked, in this case, that the Government should not press the Bill through that evening, but, on Report, insert a clause stating that the action of the Bill should be prospective in all its details.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he trusted the noble and learned Lord would accede to that suggestion. The question affected not only the amount of the expenditure, but the application of the fund. It was clear to him that the House of Commons did not intend to do the injustice of making the Bill retrospective, and to affect applications that were already before the Commission. Take the case of a landlord who had made an agreement with his tenant before this Bill was thought of. The agreement had been signed, and application had been made for the purchase money. Considerable expense would have been entailed, but the preliminary sanction of the Purchase Commissioners had not yet been obtained. That was the point sought to be covered by the Amendment. If it was clear that the House of Commons did intend to make this clause retrospective and to do that injustice, there might be very great difficulty in dealing with this clause as a money clause.

LORD LECONFIELD said, he was exactly in the position described by the noble and learned Lord. The papers in a land transaction between himself and a tenant were nearly completed, and the only thing remaining to be done was to receive the approval of the Commissioners. Would he be unable to complete that sale, and would all the expense incurred be thrown away?

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, he did not attach much importance to the provision, as there would be comparatively few applications beyond the limit of £3,000, but he hoped the Government would consent to consider it, and, if possible, agree to it. He did not think the case just alluded to by his noble Friend would come within the scope of this provision, because it had already been dealt with by the Commissioners. He had had himself some experience of land purchase in Ireland, and he thought it was very desirable that every part of the funds should be made to go as far as possible in advances to purchasers, and that as little as possible should be let out in loans.

LORD ASHBOURNE said, this matter had been already maturely considered by the authorities accustomed to deal with such matters, and it was agreed, as it had also struck himself, that it would be outside the competence of the House to deal with it. They all expected that the whole £5,000,00 would be needed, but it was not probabilities, but possibilities, that they must discuss, and supposing the whole £5,000,000 were not needed, the effect of the Amendment might be to place the increased burden of the difference between £3,000 and £5,000 upon the public funds. He had the greatest sympathy, however, with the observations which noble Lords had made in favour of the Amendment; but this subject had been keenly debated at great length in the House of Commons. Opinions differed very widely upon it. A great many felt much sympathy with many of the observations which had just been made, but he knew that there was a great and powerful section of opinion in favour of the way this clause was drafted. He thought it would be inexpedient for their Lordships to entertain this Amendment, even if it were competent for them to do so, but the opinion he held, as he had already stated, was that it was not competent for their Lordships to entertain it.

VISCOUNT DE VESCI urged the importance of giving encouragement to the substantial yeomen, the most loyal class in Ireland.

THE EARL OF MEATH said, the point was an important one, and he hoped the Government would listen to the suggestion of his noble Friend.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, that he, with his noble and learned Friend, sympathized with the noble Lord (Viscount de Vesci), but he believed that to insert an Amendment of this description would be outside the competence of their Lordships' House. They could not secure

indirectly by circuitous words that which was in substance an un-Constitutional principle.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he did not think that a provision in the Bill declaring this Bill not to be retrospective would offend against the Constitutional principle.

LORD HALSBURY said, that would be only another mode of stating the same thing. If they increased the subject matter with regard to which any part of the £5,000,000 might be appropriated, they would be enlarging the scope of what that £5,000,000, according to the House of Commons, might be spent on. The objection which had been urged referred to the substance of the Amendment, and he shared the doubts of his noble and learned Friend as to whether it was possible to attain the object in the way suggested without offending against Constitutional principle.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Relation of landlord and tenant determined by approval of advance).

LORD FITZGERALD said, that the clause was an important one, as it showed that all arrears of rent and other liabilities were, after the agreement to purchase, wiped out. The clause was so framed as to work great injustice, and to confiscate the right of the landlord to rent or its equivalent for a period that might cover one, two, or three years, whilst the tenant was in possession taking the profits and paying nothing. In addition, it was plain that if the clause remained without Amendment, it would operate in many instances as a prohibition against seeking the advantages of the Bill. He would, therefore, move the Proviso of which he had given Notice.

Moved, at the end of Clause 3, add the following Proviso:—

"Provided that, notwithstanding anything in this section expressed, the vendor shall be entitled to recover from the vendee interest in lieu of rent for the period which may elapse between the date of signing the agreement for sale and the date of the completion of the sale by the Land Commissioner, unless the parties shall have otherwise agreed. Such interest to be calculated at the rate of four per cent per annum on the purchase money."—(*The Lord Fitzgerald.*)

Lord Halsbury

VISCOUNT DE VESCI said, he should support the Amendment. In his opinion, the clause was totally unnecessary, and might be struck out of the Bill, as the Purchase Commissioners had already the power to make such an order, and had exercised it on the 1st November.

LORD ASHBOURNE said, that the question was fully discussed in the House of Commons. He admitted that the drafting of the clause was not felicitous, although his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack and himself thought the Act sufficiently clear already on the question of interest, and that there was nothing in it which would interfere with the existing practice of the Land Commissioners. But as it was desirable to make the point abundantly clear, he would accept the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Subletting to labourers and others) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Notice to be given when the existing fund will be exhausted).

VISCOUNT DE VESCI said, he moved to omit the words after "same" to the end of the clause. The sum applied for up to November 30 was £6,140,000, or £1,140,000 beyond the amount sanctioned by Parliament, and of that some £700,000 or £800,000 was applied for early in the autumn, when it was still uncertain whether an extending Act would be brought forward. It was desirable that applicants should still be able to lodge agreements with the Land Commission at their own risk.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 6, leave out from ("same") to the end of the clause.—(*The Viscount de Vesci.*)

LORD ASHBOURNE said, that he was sorry he was not in a position to accept the Amendment, as the words of the clause were not thought unreasonable in the House of Commons, and they had been accepted by the Chief Secretary for Ireland on behalf of the Government. He therefore trusted the Amendment would not be pressed.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn:* Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed* with: Amendment *reported.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

LORD DENMAN said, he should oppose the Motion, on the ground that it had been hurried through the House, and that it would be a heavy charge to the people of this country. In his opinion the Bill ought to be rejected.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3ª, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN BOARD SCHOOLS—SAUNDERS ROAD BOARD SCHOOL.

QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MEATH rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether the head master of the Saunders Road Board School was recently fined by the Magistrate at the Hammersmith Police Court for correcting a boy, and the right of appeal refused, although the Magistrate declared that he did not think that a deliberate or grievous assault had been committed; whether this was the Magistrate who recently fined the head master of the Beethoven Street Board School for a similar alleged assault, on which occasion, on appeal to Quarter Sessions, the conviction was quashed, and the Assistant Judge delivered the following judgment:—

"We are all of opinion in this case that the conduct of the boy was such as to call for chastisement, and even for severe chastisement, and we are of opinion that the punishment to him was not excessive, and we quash the conviction. We think it of the highest importance, having regard to the duties devolving upon the head master of such a school as this, that the discipline should not be weakened by unnecessary interferences with his authority, and we do not think that the appellant has in this case done anything which, as a master, he should be sorry for after the fullest investigation of the facts in this case;"

and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government are not of opinion that the above two decisions of the Hammersmith Police Court magistrate are detrimental to the interests of education and discipline in board schools? The noble Earl said, that head masters and mistresses were placed in a most awkward and difficult position by conflicting decisions of the magistrates. They were placed in positions of authority; they had the control of large numbers of children, many of whom were never submitted to any discipline at all in their own homes, and had no idea of order. The masters were responsible to their employers—the School Board—for maintaining discipline. On the other hand, they possessed very few means of maintaining discipline. There were only two ways—namely, by keeping a child in school, and by corporal punishment. The former of these methods entailed great inconvenience on the master or mistress, as it was necessary to remain in school with a child, and the hours the teachers were obliged to be in the school were already long enough. Moreover, the Clerkenwell Police Magistrate had recently decided that masters and mistresses had no power to detain children after school hours. The result of the decisions alluded to had been that it was almost impossible to maintain discipline in some schools. In one a boy had deliberately refused to read when told to do so, and there had been absolutely no means of compelling him. When the master insisted on obedience the boy said—"You had better not touch me; if you do I shall have you fined again." In another case a boy who had stolen a book denied the theft, but the book was found upon him, and, when threatened with punishment, he made a similar observation to the master. In another case a boy misbehaved in the play-ground, and when the caretaker touched him on the shoulder to point him out, the boy said—"You dare to touch me and you will be summoned." In none of these cases had the masters dared, after the recent decisions, to inflict punishment. The result of the magisterial decision in the case he had mentioned, and others which he had not stated, was to render it absolutely impossible to maintain discipline in the board schools, and unless something was done in the matter by Her Majesty's Government, either the teachers would have to resign, or the children would have to be permitted to do what they liked. If things were allowed to remain as they were, the Education Act would have been a curse instead of a blessing to the country. It was very awkward for a master to be told on the one hand by his superiors that he could punish a boy, and on the other hand to be told by the magistrates that he must not do so. If the decisions of the magistrates were all alike there would be nothing to be done but appeal to Parliament if the matter was thought of sufficient importance, but under present circumstances the masters did not know what they

might do and what they might not do. He therefore hoped Her Majesty's Government would see if some regulations could not be laid down stating what corporal punishment might be used in board schools. He thought the cane a very bad instrument, but recommended the salutary effect of the birch rod, which he was sure had been applied with good results to their lordships themselves, not excepting the bench of bishops, in the days of their youth.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY): I have communicated with the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the subject, and have received from him the following information, which I will give to the House. It is true that Mr. Herbert Williamson, the head master of the Saunders Road Board School, was recently convicted by the magistrate at the Hammersmith Police Court of an assault upon a boy named Walter Kelly, and that such assault consisted of what the magistrate must be taken to have considered the excessive exercise of the right of disciplinary correction. Mr. Williamson was sentenced to pay a fine of 40*s.* only, so that no appeal lay. Having regard to the fact that the magistrate, in giving to the Secretary of State his observations on the case, implied that in his opinion there was no deliberate cruelty on the part of the master and no serious injury inflicted on the boy, the Secretary of State directed the remission of the fine. It has been alleged that in a similar case the Quarter Sessions reversed on appeal the conviction by the same magistrate of the head master of the Beethoven Street Board School; but the Secretary of State has no information as to the accuracy of the report of the observations attributed to the Assistant Judge. But, in any case, it must be borne in mind that an appeal to Quarter Sessions is a rehearing, at which fresh evidence can be, and often is, tendered. Though, upon a review of the whole circumstances of the case, the Secretary of State thought it right to remit the fine imposed upon Mr. Williamson, he did not take that course without some anxious consideration, and in announcing his decision to the very experienced Magistrate, whose decision was under review, he thought it right to observe that cases of corporal punishment were very difficult to deal with, and might very well present themselves to different minds in a different point of view; and he thinks it well to say further now that, having regard to the great difficulty in determining the line at which legitimate correction ends, and excess, and therefore assault, begins, it would be well that school authorities should instruct their teachers to observe, in the infliction of corporal punishment, such a regularity both of time and method as to insure the greatest possible security against excess or temper in the person inflicting such punishment.

PUBLIC BILLS — AMENDMENT TO MOTIONS FOR SECOND READING, "THIS DAY SIX MONTHS."

LORD DENMAN asked the Lord Chancellor if the Local Government (England and Wales) Electors Act, 1888 Repeal Bill [H. L.] may be on the Paper for Second Reading on Thursday, the 13th of December?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, that the noble Lord had greatly enlarged the Question on the Paper, but he had no difficulty in answering it. The mere negation of the Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time," did not prevent a Bill being put down a second time on the Paper. In earlier times it was not an uncommon thing to move that a Bill be rejected; but now they had adopted the courteous form of postponing it. If, however, Bills were put down from time to time, it might be necessary to revert to the earlier practice. The noble Lord now asked whether it would be irregular to again put down the Bill which he had mentioned, and in reply he had to say that it certainly would not be irregular.

HIGH SHERIFFS—LEGISLATION.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN asked, whether it was the intention of the Government to introduce in the next Session a Bill dealing with the office of High Sheriff?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY): I have given directions that a Bill be prepared, carrying into effect the recommendations of the Select Committee which sat to consider this question.

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, December 6, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 39 to 42; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 2.

Resolutions [December 5] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee—Report*—Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) * [381]; Sand Grouse Protection * [391].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks * [348], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—POISONING OF FOXHOUNDS.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to an account of a meeting held at Nurney, County Kildare, in *The Freeman's Journal* of November 12, in which the hon. Member for South Galway (Mr. Sheehy) is reported to have used these words—

"He would say deliberately that the tenants had a perfect right to poison their lands against vermin;"

whether, on November 24, nine of the Kildare foxhounds were poisoned on the high road near Sallins, in the same county; and, whether any persons have been made amenable for this offence?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) (who replied), said, the Constabulary authorities report that the facts are substantially as stated in the first two paragraphs. No persons have been made amenable for the offence; but the police are still investigating the matter.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman had instructed himself as to the state of the law on the subject?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had gathered from the Report of the police that an offence had been committed.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) asked the right hon. Gentleman, whether his attention had been called to a newspaper account of certain misconduct towards a farmer's wife, a Mrs. O'Neill, by some members of the Hunt?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had no information on that point.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked whether it was not the constant practice of farmers in the North of Ireland to poison their lands?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was not aware of that.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked, whether it was not a fact that if a man poisoned his lands, and gave the ordinary statutory notice, he was protected by law?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that, as the hon. Gentleman wished for information on a legal point, he must give Notice of the Question.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ARKLOW HARBOUR.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that considerable damage has again occurred at Arklow Harbour by the floods in the river; and, if he will state how the cost of repairs is to be provided for?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am informed that no damage whatever has occurred to the new pier at Arklow, either from floods in the river or from the sea. Some damage to the old harbour works was done during the violent gales which occurred last month. They are now being repaired by the Board of Works. The cost is defrayed out of money received from tolls, and a small balance left after completion of the new works.

INLAND REVENUE—COLLECTOR OF TAXES AT TORQUAY—DEFAULT OF A TAX COLLECTOR.

MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If it is proposed to inquire into the circumstances under which Pepprell, the missing tax collector at Torquay, succeeded in embezzling £3,900, a large part of which, owing to insufficient security, must be re-assessed on the ratepayers; and, what steps, if any, will be taken to ensure that Public Authorities shall for the future enforce Article 9 of the General Order of Accounts, which enjoins that every collector shall, every week, pay to

the overseers' bankers all moneys in his hands whenever the amount exceeds £5?

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes) (who replied) said: Pepprell, the missing tax collector at Torquay, who embezzled £3,900, held the offices of collector of poor rates for the parish of Tormoham, and collector of rates of the Torquay Local Board. At present I have no precise information as to the circumstances under which the defalcations have occurred; but I propose to arrange that an audit of the accounts of the officer shall be held at an early date, and the facts will then be ascertained. The Article of the Order of Accounts, enjoining every collector to pay weekly to the overseers' bankers all moneys in his hands exceeding £5, applies to a collector of poor rates; and it is the duty of the auditor to report to the Local Government Board any case in which the requirements of that Article have not been complied with. In any such case it is the invariable practice of the Board to impress upon the officer the necessity for his strictly complying with the provisions of the Article; and, when it appears to be requisite, the Board bring the matter specially under the attention of the Local Authorities.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—TRIAL OF THE CHIEFS.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the fact that the tribunal constituted for the trial of the Zulu Chiefs was appointed by Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Zululand; whether it is alleged, on the part of the Zulus, that the disturbances for which they are being tried arose out of the maladministration of the Government of Zululand; whether any objection has been taken to the appointment of the tribunal being made by Sir Arthur Havelock, and, if so, on what grounds; whether it is the fact that the summons to Undabuko to take his trial for treason was dated in Pietermaritzburg on October 29, and returnable in Zululand on November 15 at Ekowe, a distance of over 100 miles, 80 miles of which has to be travelled by road; and, is it the case that Undabuko's counsel, being refused necessary time for the preparation of the defence, declined to appear in the proceedings; and, if so, whether the refusal to grant time has resulted in the Zulu Chiefs being compelled to stand their trial for high treason without the assistance of the counsel selected by them?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The tribunal was appointed by Sir Arthur Havelock after communication with the Secretary of State. The allegation referred to in the second paragraph has been made. As far as the Secretary of State is aware, there is no foundation for the suggestion in the third paragraph. As to paragraph four, the summons appears to have been dated on or about October 29; but Undabuko had notice from the preliminary investigation, which commenced in September, of the nature of the charge and evidence. The Secretary of State telegraphed on the 3rd instant, strongly urging the adjournment of the trials of Undabuko, although already begun, and of Dinizulu for a month or six weeks. This morning he has received a reply that, in accordance with his request, the trial of Undabuko is adjourned for seven weeks; that Dinizulu is not yet committed for trial; but that his trial will also be postponed.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) inquired whether it was not a fact that the Governor had entirely disapproved of the action taken by the Zulu Government in sending a force against Dinizulu?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I do not think that that arises out of the Question on the Paper; but I may answer in the negative.

LICENSING LAWS—WOLVERHAMPTON LICENSING SESSIONS.

MR. ALLISON (Cumberland, Eskdale) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention had been called to a report of a case at the Licensing Sessions in Wolverhampton, at which it appeared that a licence was granted to a Mr. White for a house on land sold to him by the Corporation; that the Corporation had previously agreed to support the application for the said licence, and to give a pledge to the Bench that an old and inoperative licence should be destroyed, on consideration of the payment by Mr. White

of £100 for such support; that, on the Bench granting such licence, were the Chairman and ex-Chairman of the Public Works Committee, which had recommended the Corporation to support the application, which was granted, notwithstanding it was strongly opposed by ratepayers and owners of property in the locality; and that a majority of the Bench granting such licence were members of the Corporation; and, whether, in the light of these facts, he is prepared to take any action with a view to the vindication of the law by which interested parties are legally ineligible to consider applications for licences?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed that such a licence was granted to Mr. White, and such an agreement was made by the Corporation; but it is not correct to say that an old and inoperative licence was to be destroyed. The licence was actually in existence, and had recently been renewed. The Bench considered that the opposition to the grant of a licence was outweighed by the Petitions, influentially and numerously signed, presented on behalf of the applicant. No objection was taken to the constitution of the Bench, either at the original grant or at the confirmation of the licence. Five members of the Corporation voted against the confirmation and three in its favour. The Chairman and ex-Chairman of the Works Committee were present at both hearings; but, as they had no beneficial interest in the premises, or the profits thereof, it does not seem to me that they were disqualified. If the hon. Member considers that they acted improperly the proper course for him is to make a representation to the Lord Chancellor on the subject.

ARMY—RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Secretary of State for War, What steps he intends taking for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of Lord Harris's Committee relative to the re-organization of the Royal Artillery; and, whether, if the recommendations are adopted, they will, in any way, disturb the existing distribution of garrison depots at Sunderland and other seaport towns?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): This is much too important a matter for me to be able to deal adequately with it in the form of an answer to a Question, nor, indeed, is it ripe for any statement on the subject. I cannot, therefore, yet say positively whether any, and, if so, which, seaports will be affected by the scheme that may be adopted; but the primary consideration upon which it will be based must be the efficiency of the Royal Artillery, and not the interest of any particular seaport.

ARMY CONTRACTS—MANUFACTURE OF CAVALRY SWORDS AT SOLINGEN.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would state to the House what number of Cavalry swords have recently been manufactured by a German firm at Solingen, and how many were accepted, and how many have been paid for, and at what price; how many have since been sent to Enfield Factory to be properly finished or repaired, what percentage of those already examined have there been rejected, and what percentage were there found unable to stand the Government test; whether alterations have been found necessary as to blades, grips, and hilts alike, and what (including the price paid for rejected swords with that of re-stiffening and other alterations) is the price of the swords when finally fit for issue; and, what is the name of the firm in question?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): 20,000 Cavalry swords have been manufactured by a German firm at Solingen, under a contract dated October, 1885. All have passed the test prescribed in the contract, and payment has been authorized at 20*s.* each. None have been sent to Enfield for either alteration or repair. But, in consequence of the revelations respecting sword-bayonets last year, it was decided to expose these and other weapons to a second and much more severe test. Six thousand six hundred and thirty-five were so subjected at Enfield, the test being far in excess of that specified in the contract. I believe that 1,836 swords failed to pass the new test thus prescribed, and 635 more, which had been in the hands of the troops, were also unable to stand

his test. A large proportion of those derived from other sources of supply, and not from this particular firm, also failed. I have since been advised that this experimental test was excessive, and calculated to injure weapons rather than sufficiently try them, and the requirements have been made less severe. The firm whose swords are referred to in this Question is Messrs. Weyersberg, Kirschbaum and Co., of Solingen.

MR. HANBURY: Are there two different kinds of tests in operation, then?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Certainly not; there is only one.

ARMY CONTRACTS—DEFECTIVE CAVALRY SWORDS.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that the German firm which supplied the defective Cavalry swords, now being re-stiffened and otherwise treated at Enfield, are closely associated with Messrs. Wilkinson, the contractors for the new bayonets; whether a higher price was given to Messrs. Wilkinson, as being English manufacturers, and to encourage sword and bayonet making in this country; whether, nevertheless, only a portion are being made in this country, and large quantities of bayonets are now being received at Messrs. Wilkinson's, and have for three weeks past been received, from Germany in a very advanced stage of manufacture; whether the number of Germans employed at Messrs. Wilkinson's bayonet works has during the last month actually increased, and not decreased; whether English machinery and English processes are principally employed; and, if so, what are the precise processes which the German workmen are teaching; how many of the Germans speak English, and how are themselves engaged upon piecework, and cannot spare time for, and are not paid for, giving such instruction; whether any application was made to the Superintendent or the Manager of Enfield Factory for spare skilled hands, to instruct Messrs. Wilkinson's workmen; whether skilled English workmen who did apply for work were offered by Messrs. Wilkinson only 5*d.* per hour, or two-thirds only of the wages paid for such work at Enfield; when the first delivery of bayonets became due under the original and revised contracts respectively; and, what deliveries have actually taken place?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I have already stated that the German firm did not supply defective swords. I understand that a member of that firm has joined Messrs. Wilkinson's firm. The contract was given to Messrs. Wilkinson for the sword-bayonets because they undertook to manufacture them in this country; and they might have been obtained from Solingen at a less price. No application was made to the Enfield Factory for instructors. The original contract was suspended for many months owing to changes of pattern. The real pattern was not supplied till August, nor the gauges till September last. Up to this time about 11,000 bayonet blades have been passed, and a delivery of 1,000 a-week is expected. The firm are not under obligation to give me information on the other points asked by my hon. Friend, and I have no means of answering his Questions; but my noble Friend the Member for the Enfield Division (Viscount Folkestone) recently visited Messrs. Wilkinson's factory, and was shown all the details concerning it.

MR. HANBURY: If I can produce the very men who unpacked, or who saw unpacked, these bayonets from Germany, tempered and finished in every way, will my right hon. Friend inquire into the matter?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I have always said to my hon. Friend that if he would sometimes do me the favour to speak to me in private, I should be only too glad to remedy any grievances he might point out. I desire, equally with him, to expose any abuse; but I am not always sure that categorical explanations in this House are always the best means to adopt.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—COLLECTING EVIDENCE FOR THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON Kerry, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Michael Healy and Mr. James O'Leary, of Killarney, when engaged recently in collecting facts about the Kenmare Estate, bearing on the evidence of Mr. Leonard before the

Royal Commission, were followed by, interfered with, and finally arrested by the police; and, whether the notes they had made of the facts collected were seized and kept from them even when they were released; and, whether he will take steps to prevent police interference with persons engaged in collecting evidence material to the issues raised before the Royal Commission Court and useful to the Members of this House against whom accusations are made?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): As I stated in reply to a Question put two days ago on this subject by the hon. Member for North Cork (Mr. Flynn), the persons referred to were arrested on a warrant, the first-named for obstructing and assaulting the police, and the second-named for inciting thereto. Some documents were found upon the persons referred to when arrested. One of these was a letter of an incriminatory character, and cannot be returned. Any other documents not incriminatory are being returned.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will give us a guarantee that those who are making such inquiries for the purpose of meeting the accusations made against the Irish Members will not be interfered with when they are in pursuit of these inquiries?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course, nobody will be interfered with. On the contrary, I should be glad to aid them.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: Does the right hon. Gentleman suggest that these men did anything else than make inquiries for the purpose of elucidating matters referred to by Mr. Leonard in the Parnell Commission?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that they were arrested for obstructing and assaulting the police.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: Does it mean that the moment these persons left Killarney to verify the statements made by Mr. Leonard before the Commission they were followed into every house by policemen, who interposed themselves between these persons and the tenants of whom they wished to make inquiries; and that it was only in what I may characterize as just indignation that they eventually pushed the police out of the house where they were making these inquiries?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Gentleman wants any further information he must give Notice; but, certainly, these men were not interfered with by the police as far as their object was to investigate matters of fact.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: Did not the police dog them from house to house while they were pursuing these investigations? And I would ask whether, in view of the statement by the First Lord of the Treasury that Irish officials are disposed to accord equal facilities to us with those which they afford to our accusers, is it right for the police to thus interfere with men who are endeavouring to ascertain the truth?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member is rather begging the question. He is assuming that the police did interfere with an investigation which these men were making *bonâ fide*. That allegation I do not admit; but if the hon. Gentleman wishes for further detail, I am not able to give it without further Notice.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: Does the right hon. Gentleman admit or deny that the police followed these men from Killarney, and then from house to house?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Answer, answer!

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member is unreasonable. I have given him all the information that I possess. If he wants more he must put a Question on the Paper.

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW—BREAKING UP A VAULT IN HEMEL HEMPSTEAD CHURCH.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the fact that, in August last the family vault of Francis Combe, Esq., in Hemel Hempstead Church, was, without the knowledge of his descendants, broken into, and, after the leaden coffins therein had been removed and broken up, and the remains therein had been buried in the churchyard, the vault was deepened, and added to the family vault of Sir Astley Paston Cooper, Bart.; whether these proceedings took place with the consent of the vicar, the Rev. Dr. Robbins, and with the sanction of the Home Secretary, or of any ecclesiastical

authority; and, whether he has received any representations on the subject; and, if so, whether he has ascertained who are responsible for this act, and what steps he is prepared to take in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I learn from the vicar that the vault of the Combe family was, with his consent, interfered with, and that he removed some pieces of battered lead and pieces of broken monuments, not belonging to the Combe family, which had been placed in the vault before the present vicar's time. No coffins appear to have been broken up by the vicar, or human remains removed to the churchyard. Coffins of the Cooper family were placed in the Combe vault. These proceedings were without the consent of the Bishop or the sanction of the Secretary of State, and were altogether irregular. The vicar informs me that he was in ignorance of the law relating to burials in a church and churchyard closed by Order in Council, and expressed great regret if he had done any anything contrary to law. I have written to the vicar, calling his attention to the existence of an Order in Council, regulating burials in his church and churchyard, and requesting him to observe its provisions with regard to future burials in his parish. This is the only matter within my jurisdiction. The improper interference with a family vault is a matter wholly for the Bishop to deal with. I have no information to lead me to suppose that the coffins of the Cooper family were placed in another vault.

CRIMINAL LAW—WILLIAM WADDLE INDICTED FOR MURDER—IMPROPER QUESTIONING BY CONSTABLES.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) (for Mr. PICKERSGILL) (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, in the course of the trial last week of William Waddle, on an indictment for wilful murder, upon which he was found guilty, a police constable admitted that he "closeted himself in the prisoner's cell for over an hour and asked him questions"; and, whether he will take any, and, if so, what, steps to stop the questioning of prisoners by the police?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): According to the notes of evidence the police constable stated that he was almost an hour in the cell with the prisoner, asking him questions. I will communicate with the learned Judge, and ask him whether it appeared at all before him that the police constable asked questions which he ought not to have asked, or other than were necessary for the purpose of ascertaining the prisoner's identity. If it turns out that this was the case, I will certainly take steps to mark my disapproval of such conduct.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—EXPEDITION FROM ACCRA TO THE INTERIOR.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true that a Military Expedition, under Captain Lethbridge, has been despatched from Accra to the interior, to a place 14 days' journey beyond Bontokoo; and, if he can explain the objects of this Expedition?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): It is not true that a Military Expedition is going to the interior 14 days beyond Bontokoo. The facts are that Captain Lethbridge and another officer are going to visit Gaman to maintain those friendly relations with that State which resulted from the visit of Captain Lonsdale in 1882, as reported in Blue Book C. 3687. Similar Missions are of frequent occurrence, and the escort is solely for protection.

TURKEY (ASIATIC PROVINCES) — THE CHRISTIANS IN KURDISTAN.

MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to a letter which appeared in *The Globe* newspaper of Saturday last, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House any recent Correspondence with the Consulate at Van relating to the state of the Christians in Kurdistan?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No recent Reports have been received from the Vice Consulate at Van, as Mr. Russell, the previous Vice Consul, left on transfer early in

September, and Mr. Devey, his successor, has only recently arrived. The latter will be directed to report on the recent occurrences. The attention of the Ottoman Government has been called to the matter; but, according to all accounts, the districts in question are now in a state of tranquillity.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888, SEC. 51—ELECTORAL DIVISIONS OF MONMOUTHSHIRE.

MR. WARMINGTON (Monmouth, W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that the magistrates of Monmouthshire in Quarter Sessions have, under "The Local Government Act, 1888," constituted an Electoral Division, called the Raglan Division, with a population a little over 2,000; another Division, called the Magor Division, with a population of about 2,300; another Division, called the Llanvihangel Division, with a population of about 2,200; whilst they have constituted another Division, called the Abergavenny Division, which has a population of 8,000; another Division, called the Rhymney Division, with a population of more than 8,600; another Division, called the Christchurch Division, with a population of more than 8,000; whether he is aware that similar inequalities are to be found in the constitution of the other Divisions of the same county, so that there are 12 Electoral Divisions, with an aggregate population, mainly rural, of 34,544, returning 12 members, and five Divisions (two sub-divided), with an aggregate population, mainly artizan and urban, of 54,363, returning only seven members to the County Council; and, whether the Local Government Board will take steps, if it be in their power, to secure compliance with the requirement of Section 51 of the Act, which directs that—

"The Divisions shall be arranged with a view to the population of each Division being, so nearly as conveniently may be, equal."

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes) (who replied) said: The Local Government Board have been furnished with a statement as to the Electoral Divisions which have been constituted in Monmouthshire; but they are not in a position to state the facts as regards the population of the several Divisions. The Board have no information as to the considerations which influenced the Justices in constituting the Divisions; but I may observe that the Local Government Act directs that regard shall be had not only to population, but also to the other considerations specified in the provisions on this subject. The duty of constituting the Electoral Divisions devolves on the Court of Quarter Sessions under the Statute, and the Board could not undertake to review the decision at which they have arrived.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked, whether the hon. Gentleman was aware that in other Welsh counties — and notably in Denbighshire—inequalities as gross as, and even grosser than, that referred to had been sanctioned by the Quarter Sessions of such counties acting under the powers of the Local Government Act, 1888?

MR. WARMINGTON asked, whether there was any power to compel the Court of Quarter Sessions to comply with the requirements of Section 51 of the Act?

MR. LONG: The limits of the Statute are extremely wide; and a particular Amendment, introduced not at the instance of the Government, but by hon. Gentlemen opposite, has enabled the Quarter Sessions to take these departures, which otherwise they could not have taken. They are called upon by Statute to take into consideration local peculiarities, &c. The provisions of the Statute are so wide that it would be extremely difficult to prove that the requirements had not been observed.

MR. ARTHUR WILLIAMS (Glamorgan, S.): Does the House understand that, whatever injustice may be committed by the Quarter Sessions in constituting the Electoral Divisions, there is no redress whatever?

MR. LONG: The hon. Gentleman took a prominent part in the Committee on the Bill, and this power was fully considered. It was decided to leave absolute discretion in these matters to the Courts of Quarter Sessions, and with this decision the Executive has no power to interfere.

NAVY—ADMIRALTY CONTRACTS—IRON.

MR. T. FRY (Darlington) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is a

fact that a contract has been made over a period of five years with one firm in Staffordshire, and another in Cleveland, for the supply of certain classes of iron; and, if so, whether he will state if the same is on a sliding scale, and give the quantity and initial price arranged for; and, if he would give the reasons for sanctioning such long time contracts?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): No, Sir; no such contract has been made.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—ELECTORAL DIVISIONS, BELPER.

MR. JACOBY (Derbyshire, Mid) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Why the two Electoral Divisions, Belper No. 1 and Belper No. 2, in the County of Derby, have been joined into one Electoral Division, and upon whose representation the change has been made; whether he is aware that the alteration is contrary to the wishes of a large number of the electors; and, whether he will re-consider the question, and allow the Division to remain divided as originally settled by the Quarter Sessions?

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes) (who replied) said: The two Electoral Divisions of Belper have been united for the purpose of the first election of County Councillors. The Divisions have been thus combined because the separate Electoral Divisions are not conterminous with areas for which there are separate lists of voters. The order was issued after communication with the Clerk of the Peace of the county. I have received no representations that this combination is contrary to the wishes of a large majority of the electors. As there are no separate lists for the two Divisions, the Divisions must be united for the first election.

INDIA—THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—SPEECH OF THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention had been drawn to the speech of the Marquess of Dufferin made at Calcutta on Saturday, when he said of the so-called National Congress—

"The members of the Congress are answerable for the distribution among thousands of ignorant and credulous men of publications animated by a very questionable spirit, and whose manifest intention is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the Crown in India;"

whether urgent representations have been made to the Government of India by most of the Native Princes, and by the leaders of the Indian Mahomedans, as to the mischievous effects of these publications, and of the speeches made by delegates to the Congress; and, what steps, in these circumstances, the Indian Government intend to take with regard to further meetings of the Congress?

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked whether the Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth, Q.C., late Chief Justice of Bengal, had declared the attacks on the Indian National Congress to be "unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic;" whether he had stated that in—

"Bringing to the notice of the Government what they considered to be defects and abuses in the present system" "they have done this in the most open, straightforward, and respectful way;"

and whether he had declared—

"For myself I have long been persuaded that many of the abuses complained of are real and serious; and that some of the proposed reforms would be not only of advantage to India, but would materially strengthen the hands of the Government."

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, if the hon. Gentleman had seen reports from India as to the excitement there arising from the insulting reference to a late president of the Congress, Mr. Naoroji, as a "black man," by the Marquess of Salisbury?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): That Question of the hon. Member does not relate to the one before the House?

MR. CONYBEARE: I will give Notice of it.

SIR JOHN GORST: In answer to the Question on the Paper, I have to say that it does appear that the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava has made a speech in India containing the sentences quoted by the hon. Member; and it is also the fact that representations have been made to the Government of India by Native Chiefs and leading Mahomedans as to the mischievous effect of these publications and the speeches made by delegates at the Congress. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, the

Secretary of State has not yet received any intimation as to the intentions of the Government of India with regard to other meetings of the Congress. In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), the hon. Member must be aware that he has put a Question which it is impossible for me to answer. He asks me what are the opinions of Sir Richard Garth with reference to the Indian Congress. I received Notice of his Question only 10 minutes ago, and have not yet had time to consult the opinions of Sir Richard Garth on the subject.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Has not the Government of India had in its hands for more than two months the pamphlet of Sir Richard Garth, *A Few Plain Truths about India*, containing the words I have quoted?

SIR JOHN GORST: Yes, Sir; I have seen the pamphlet of Sir Richard Garth; but it is impossible for me in 10 minutes to verify the accuracy of the hon. Member's quotation.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN: Is it not a fact that this pamphlet must have been published long before the speech of the Marquess of Dufferin, which was made last Saturday?

SIR JOHN GORST: Yes, Sir; I myself read the pamphlet some months ago.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION AT AYLESTONE, LEICESTERSHIRE.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether he has now received any Report of the late School Board election in Aylestone, Leicestershire, and if he can explain how it happened that Mr. Edward West received from the Returning Officer, Mr. Thomas Sheppard, a formal notification, dated November 5, of his legal nomination, and yet was afterwards informed by the same Returning Officer that the nomination was invalid; whether it is a fact that on the day for the withdrawal of nominations Mr. Edward West, with others, attended at the office of the Returning Officer and were informed that all was right; whether, in consequence of the absence from home of the Rev. Mr. Howlett, curate in charge, the clerk to the Returning Officer agreed to keep open the withdrawal of names until the day after the date legally fixed; whether it was not until two days after the latter date that Mr. West was told his nomination was invalid, on grounds which have since been acknowledged to be false in fact; whether he will reconsider the desirability of giving some reasonable appeal from mistaken or illegal decisions of Returning Officers; and, whether any complaint of the above irregularities has been received from Mr. Charles Coppack, and what answer has been made to it?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, that the Returns of the Election had now been received. The Department had no information of what had occurred, beyond the statement of Mr. Coppack that the Returning Officer refused to accept Mr. West's nomination. A reply was made to that communication, in the words of my answer the other night that the decision of the Returning Officer was by law final. The practice I am now asked to alter has been in operation for 18 years without complaint. There is no intention of disturbing it.

VACCINATION—INQUEST ON ELIZABETH MURRAY, BIRKDALE.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has received any further information as to the inquest on the child Elizabeth Murray, at Birkdale; whether it is true, as alleged, that neither the father of the child nor any medical man was called as a witness; and whether, having regard to the vagueness of the verdict "Died from natural causes," in a case where the precise nature of the morbid processes ending in death is the point at issue, and to his statement concerning deaths following vaccination, he will cause further inquiry to be made?

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes) (who replied) said: I have been in communication with the Coroner by whom the inquest on the child Elizabeth Murray, at Birkdale, was held, and have received the depositions taken at the inquest. From the evidence of the mother it appears that the father, mother, and the infant slept in the same bed; that when the husband went to bed about midnight the child

was all right, and that about half-past 3 it was found to be dead. The attendance of the father, or of a medical practitioner, at the inquest was not suggested by the jury, the police, or the mother, and the Coroner did not deem it necessary. Neither the Report by the police nor the evidence suggested that the death was in any way attributable to vaccination; and it does not appear to me to be requisite that I should direct an inquiry with regard to the vaccination of the child.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORK DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATE.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Heard, County Inspector of Police, has been discharging the duties of Divisional Magistrate in Cork during the absence of the latter in London; and, if not, who has discharged those duties?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The fact is as stated.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOLS.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) (for Mr. JOHNSTON) (Belfast, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, out of the 34 head masters of model schools in Ireland, only four are members of the Irish Church, while the number of young persons belonging to that Church attending such schools exceeds by 578 the number of Roman Catholics, and by 770 the number of Presbyterians; and, if he can state the numbers, respectively, of the Irish Church, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic Professors and teachers in the schools, Marlborough Street, Dublin, and the average amount paid out of the public money to the teachers of each denomination?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): There are 86 head teachers of model schools, of whom 35 are Roman Catholics, 27 are late Established Church, 23 are Presbyterians, and one is a Methodist. As regards the second paragraph, the numbers respectively of the Professors and teachers in Marlborough Street Training College and Model Schools of each of the denominations named in the Question, for the same period, are—Roman Catholics, 27; late Established Church, 13; Presbyterians, 5—total, 45. The pupils in the Marlborough Street Schools were—Roman Catholics, 1,885; late Established Church, 711; Presbyterian, 142; and other Protestant persuasions, 69—total, 2,807. The average amount paid out of the public money by the Commissioners to the teachers of each denomination is as follows:—Roman Catholics, £112 17*s.* 8*d.*; late Established Church, £109 9*s.* 5*d.*; Presbyterians, £106 18*s.* 8*d.*

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—PROCLAIMED BRANCH OF NATIONAL LEAGUE, MEELIN.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he can state in detail the amount spent in connection with attempts to suppress the proclaimed branch of the National League at Meelin, in the County of Cork, including cost of various trials, drafting in of extra police, removal of prisoners to gaol, &c.?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) (who replied) said: The Constabulary Authorities report that it would not be practicable to ascertain what expense was incurred in the matter alluded to without making an examination of the accounts for several months past, which would require a considerable time, and seriously interfere with their ordinary duties. I am afraid that I cannot give the information.

MR. DILLON said that the Solicitor General for Ireland told him last week that he was engaged in making out the account; and a precisely similar account had been made by the right hon. Member for Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach).

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Member is anxious for the accounts, I will make further inquiries, and see whether it can be obtained; but I cannot promise to alter the decision.

MR. DILLON: I am extremely anxious to have the information, and must ask the right hon. Gentleman to do everything he can to obtain it.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—RICHMOND DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the circumstances under which the annual contribution of the City of Dublin to the maintenance of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum was not levied during the present year, and falls upon the rate of next year, the Irish Executive will agree to follow a precedent established in a similar case, by assenting to the addition of one-fourth of the contribution leviable, in the ordinary course, in the rate for 1889, to the annual levy for each of the next four years; and, whether particulars will be given by the Inspectors of Asylums to the Corporation of Dublin of cases becoming chargeable to the city from time to time?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I understand that, with the consent of the Board of Richmond Lunatic Asylum, an arrangement has been come to with the Corporation, who will now present for the charge for 16 months, being the amount for the current year, and for four months of the ensuing year, and they will make like presentments during each of the next two years. An Order in Council will be forthwith passed authorizing this arrangement. I cannot answer the second part of the Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF CHARLES BERTRAM, ADJUDGED A BANKRUPT.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne), who had the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the fact that a certain Charles Bertram was adjudged a bankrupt by the County Court Judge Giffard, under the following circumstances:—That he took a house at Torpoint, fitted it up with furniture for which he never paid, and was afterwards arrested with goods in his possession which did not belong to him; whether, after his arrest, as an absconding debtor, he was subsequently committed to prison for contempt of Court in not filing proper accounts when ordered to do so by the Court; whether, on October 16, an order for his release was made by the late Judge Giffard, in spite of an application to suspend the granting of such order for release, for the purpose of communicating with the Board of Trade, and because a prosecution was intended; whether the Judge refused to suspend the order, stating, as his reason, that he had received a communication from him requesting the release of Bertram; and, whether he made any such communication to the Judge, and on what grounds?—complained that the Notice he had given of the Question had been emasculated.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. CONYBEARE: I wish to explain——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! Put the Question.

MR. CONYBEARE: I decline to do so.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE—NAILERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS—INSANITARY CONDITION OF CRADLEY.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention had been called to the insanitary condition of the Cradley District, as described in the following passage from Mr. Burnett's Report:—

"Open drains everywhere carrying off household refuse, and ruinous privies with overflowing ash-pits, loading the atmosphere with the most pungent odours;"

and whether he will send down a Local Government Board Inspector to inquire into and report upon the same?

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes) (who replied) said: An Inspector of the Board has very recently been inquiring as to the prevalence of fever in certain places in the Rural Sanitary District of the Stourbridge Union, which includes Cradley. I am not in a position to-day to say whether this inquiry has been extended to the sanitary condition of Cradley; and I shall be glad if the hon. Member will defer his Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, as

Judge Boyd declines to entertain any application for the release of Mr. Moroney, the Government will now consider the propriety, in order to save his life, of recommending him to the mercy of the Crown?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): As this Question relates to an Irish matter, perhaps I may be permitted to answer it. The Attorney General for Ireland states that he has already written to the Solicitor General to say that Judge Boyd stated in the most emphatic way that he would release Moroney if a case as to health were established, and that he could get out at any moment. The case is for Judge Boyd, not for the Executive, who, having regard to the character of the order, cannot interfere. If Moroney consents to be sworn he will be let out by the Judge, and if he establishes a case by motion in Court as to his health he will also be let out. I understand that the law in Ireland is precisely similar to the law in England.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that in Ireland, as in England, a prisoner cannot be let out of prison on the score of ill-health except a motion is made in Court? I venture to say that such is not the English practice.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman let out any persons committed for contempt of Court; but I am distinctly advised that when a person is in prison for such an offence the Crown clearly has no power to interfere.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should like to answer the Question of the right hon. Gentleman. I have had experience of a case of contempt of Court where a prisoner was detained for a long time. I communicated with the Judge, and upon my representation the Judge released the prisoner.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Quite so. It appears to me that the answer of the right hon. Gentleman fully bears out what I have stated.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, whether, since the recent debate in the House on the case of Moroney, the Government had caused any independent inquiries to be made as to his condition; and whether the right hon Gentleman had considered that, if the statements made in the debate concerning Moroney's health be well founded, that fact would render it impossible for such an application to be made?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No. I gather there would be no impossibility of that kind. With regard to inquiries made as to Moroney's health, nothing has been done in consequence of the recent debate. Long before the debate was initiated by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) the matter was being inquired into.

MR. SEXTON: Assuming the condition of Moroney's health to be as stated, is it not obvious that it will prevent inquiries by the Judge?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no danger of that kind.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Are we to understand that, if Moroney does not make application to the Judge, he is to be allowed to die or go mad in prison?

[No reply.]

MR. DILLON: I think we are entitled to an answer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I appeal to the House whether the answers I have already given have not been absolutely specific? I am unable to add to the answers I have given. The health of Moroney was examined into nearly three weeks ago by the Prisons Board. The Executive have no power to order his release. The Judge has the power. The Judge has stated publicly in Court that if Moroney's health required it he would be released. I do not know anything that could be added to these three propositions.

MR. CONYBEARE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether there existed any limitation on the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy by the Sovereign; and whether it was not the Constitutional duty of the Home Secretary to advise Her Majesty that that power existed?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): It is the duty of the Home Secretary to advise Her Majesty in the exercise of Her Prerogative. The practice of the Home Office has been never to interfere in an order of attachment made to enforce some other order; and the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy with regard to attachment for contempt is confined at

the Home Office in England to definitive penal sentence inflicted after some accomplished and complete fact. When an order of attachment is made in order to enforce obedience to some other order, it is held at the Home Office that the Sovereign has no right to interfere.

MR. CONYBEARE said, the Question to which he pressed for an answer was whether there existed in the Constitution of this country any limitation on the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy by the Sovereign? He wanted to know distinctly whether the House was to understand that there were certain crimes in regard to which Her Majesty had not the power to exercise Her Prerogative, and that there were other crimes in regard to which she possessed that power.

Several Conservative MEMBERS: Do not answer.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. CONYBEARE: May I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, as to whether the Home Secretary is not to answer the Question I have addressed to him in consequence of the shouts of people below the Gangway?

MR. SEXTON inquired whether there had been any indication of an increase of the malady in the case of Moroney since the last examination was made; and whether the right hon. Gentleman would lay the Report of the examination on the Table?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot give the hon. Gentleman the results of any investigation into the health of the prisoner. The hon. Gentleman is well aware that it is not a matter which comes before me in the ordinary course; but if he will put a Question upon the Paper I shall be able to get the information by to-morrow.

THE FRANCHISE ACTS (IRELAND)—REQUISITIONS.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If Boards of Guardians are bound to prosecute parties who refuse to return requisition forms properly filled up under the Franchise Acts; and, if so, how they are to be compelled to do so when they refuse; and, if they are not, whether it is competent for private individuals to prosecute?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): (who replied) said, he had forwarded the inquiry to the Local Government Board, and as soon as he received the information the hon. Baronet should have it.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF CONSTABLE EDWARD SWINDELL.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that at the Cork Assizes on the 5th instant, Crown Counsel applied to the Judge to enter a *nolle prosequi* in the case in which a Coroner's Jury have found a verdict of wilful murder against Constable Swindell?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Attorney General for Ireland informs me that the fact is as stated in the Question, and that the Lord Chief Baron expressed his entire approval of his not prosecuting on a Coroner's inquisition. He adds that he is now investigating the case, in order to determine whether there are any grounds that proceedings should be taken with a view to the constable being returned for trial in this matter.

MR. LANE asked, had not the crime been committed five weeks ago, and all the evidence been submitted to the Attorney General 10 days ago, and why did he require further time to decide?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Attorney General had absolute discretion in the matter.

MR. LANE said, he would call attention to this matter on the Vote for the Attorney General's salary.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FAIR RENTS—THE MAPS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will suggest to the Land Commission, pending the completion of the new arrangements, the desirability of now suspending the recently made Rule requiring tenants to lodge Ordnance maps with the Sub-Commission before the hearing of their applications to have fair rents fixed?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the Solicitor General had already

answered a similar Question last week. He, however, had asked for further information from the Commissioners.

MR. M'CARTAN asked that the right hon. Gentleman would make to the Commissioners the suggestion contained in his Question?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Commissioners were considering the matter.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—BELFAST INSURANCE FRAUDS—REGISTRATION.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, considering the disclosures made during the recent trials for the Belfast assurance frauds, heard at Wicklow Assizes, the Government will give facilities, now or at the beginning of next Session, to pass a Bill providing, among other things, for the local registration of the names and addresses of persons on whose lives policies of assurance have been obtained by other persons, and making it criminal for one person to effect a policy on the life of another person where there is no insurable interest?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. Member, I am afraid it is not possible for me to give an undertaking of the character asked in the hon. Member's Question; but the subject of the existing state of the law as to policies of insurance is receiving the attention of Her Majesty's Government. I ought, however, to say that, as I understand the facts, the Belfast frauds were not occasioned by any defect in the existing law.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION, WALES.

MR. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, during the coming Recess, he will call the attention of the Cabinet to the numerous pledges made by successive Governments in favour of a measure for the promotion of Intermediate Education in Wales, with the view of including a measure of such importance among the prominent subjects to be dealt with in the ensuing Session of Parliament; and, whether the unanimous support given by Welsh constituencies to the proposal to establish a Welsh University will have adequate consideration in the deliberations of the Government?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I admit the importance of the subjects involved in the Question of my hon. Friend. They are receiving, and will continue to receive, the consideration of Her Majesty's Government during the Recess. I hope that some definite decision on this difficult question may be arrived at.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in view of the fact that one of the chief difficulties in the way of intermediate education in Wales has been removed by the establishment of County Councils, he will give a serious and specific promise that the Government will introduce the Bill on this subject early next Session?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government are anxious to deal with the question as soon as it is possible to do so; but I am not able to give a definite promise to the hon. Gentleman.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked whether distinct and specific promises had not been made during the past three years?

[No reply.]

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE—THE GUNLOCK FILERS OF DARLASTON.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware of the fact that the condition of the gunlock filers of Darlaston is as bad as that of the chain and nail makers of the Cradley district; and, whether he will consider their case in connection with any remedial measures the Government may propose?

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): Before my right hon. Friend answers this Question, I should like to ask him if it is not a fact that the unfortunate condition of many of the operatives in the gun trade, as also of the chain and nail makers in the Cradley District, is not largely due to the pernicious effect on home labour of excessive foreign competition?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am not aware of the extent to which foreign competition has interfered with the trade to which my hon. Friend has referred; but, in answer to the Question on the Paper, I have to say that we have no

special information as to the condition of the gunlock filers of Darlaston. Their case, if necessary, might be brought under the notice of the Committee on the Sweating System.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE — THE NAILERS' AND CHAINMAKERS' TRADE—CO-OPERATIVE FACTORIES.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that, while nailmaking by hand is partly superseded by machinery, this is not the case with the chainmaking trade, of which Mr. Burnett reports—

"Instead of being a decaying trade, it continues to develop, and nothing has yet been done to materially supplant hand labour by machinery;"

whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the chainmakers of Cradley are themselves trying to establish co-operative chainmaking factories, as recommended by Mr. Burnett, but are prevented from doing so by the absence of capital; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will consider the possibility of the advance, by the Loan Commissioners, of a sum of money for that purpose?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Mr. Burnett's Report makes no specific recommendation for the establishment of co-operative chainmaking factories; and, as it is a matter rather for private initiation than for Government action, Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to consider the question of using State loans for the purpose, as many other industries would have an equal claim for assistance.

MR. CONYBEARE gave Notice that he would ask for leave to introduce a Bill on the subject.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888 — COUNTY COUNCILS—CIVIL SERVANTS.

SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK (Kensington, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Civil servants will be permitted to become candidates at the approaching election for County Councils?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Question has been carefully considered by the Government; and they are of opinion that members of the Civil Service should not be permitted to become candidates for the County Councils. It is obvious that the discharge of duties on the County Councils would seriously conflict with their duties in the Civil Service.

EGYPT — SUAKIN — REINFORCEMENT OF BRITISH TROOPS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any reply to the telegram which he informed the House was despatched on Tuesday last in reference to the military forces at Suakin?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I have not yet received any telegram from General Grenfell; but General Dormer, in reply to my telegram, repeats all his former assurances in a complete and satisfactory manner.

MR. JOHN MORLEY asked whether, in the absence of any communication from General Grenfell, the Government were carrying out the operation of the despatch of British troops to Suakin?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Yes, Sir. The British troops have, I believe, for the most part arrived at Suakin already.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

In reply to MR. BROADHURST, (Nottingham, W.),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said: The Government received proposals with regard to this Bill from hon. Gentlemen who are associated with the hon. Member for Nottingham only 48 hours ago. These proposals are of an important character, and they have been most carefully considered by the Government; but no final decision has been arrived at with regard to them. I hope such a decision may be taken in the course of the evening, and then we shall proceed with the Bill to-morrow as the first Order, in the hope and belief that it may be disposed of rapidly, and that the House will afterwards be able to proceed with the Irish Estimates.

MOTION.

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1882—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE).

THE UNSATISFACTORY POSITION OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MR. LABOUCHERE, Member for the Borough of Northampton, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz, the unsatisfactory position of Public Business.

The pleasure of the House not having been signified,

MR. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than 40 Members having accordingly risen.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the object of his Motion was really to expedite Public Business. The House had a right to complain of the First Lord of the Treasury getting Business into the present mess, and for not taking the Opposition into his councils as to the best mode of getting out of it. It was also a matter of great public importance that they should have some specific understanding from the First Lord that he would not in subsequent Sessions do what he had done in the present Session—that was to say, that he would not put off the Estimates until the last moment, taking Votes on Account, and then, in order to push through the Estimates, take time which it was agreed should not be taken. There was, he contended, absolutely no excuse for the Business having got into the mess it was in. Liberal Governments in recent years had carried out during each Session as much legislation as the present Government had, and yet Liberal Governments were not obliged to come to the House for an Autumn Session, nor yet to take time properly belonging to private Members. The case was really stronger against the right hon. Gentleman than he had stated, for in this Session the application of the *clôture* was made far more easy. He denied thet there had been obstruction, but if there had been, with closure made so easy, it was the right hon. Gentleman's own fault. Again, when the hours of sitting of the House were altered there was a specific pledge by the right hon. Gentleman that he would not abrogate the Rule by which the Parliamentary day was to cease at 12 o'clock at night unless on the occasion of some great debate; but, notwithstanding that pledge, the right hon. Gentleman had moved day after day that the Rule be suspended when there had been no great debate, and he had further announced that until the end of the Session he intended to make the Motion twice a week. One would suppose the Government had not a sufficient amount of time. Almost from the beginning of the Session nearly every day had been taken by the Government, and yet what had they done? Nothing very wonderful. It was true they had passed a Local Government Bill, but—

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member has moved the Adjournment for the sake of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance. I do not think that under leave so given it is competent to the hon. Gentleman to take a general retrospect of the Session.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he begged pardon; he would only, then, refer to existing arrangements. On July 16 the First Lord of the Treasury first shadowed it forth that there was to be an Autumn Session, and the understanding then was that all legislation should be thrown upon the Autumn Session with the exception of the Local Government Bill, and that the time before the Adjournment should be given up to the Estimates. On July 26, however, this arrangement was precisely reversed. The right hon. Gentleman then proposed that all legislation, except one or two Bills which he mentioned, should take place before the Adjournment, and that the rest of the time of the Session should be devoted almost exclusively to the Estimates. The right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) at that time asked what the right hon. Gentleman intended to do with the Land Purchase Bill, and he said he intended to take it during the present Sitting.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I beg pardon; No.

MR. LABOUCHERE: This is what the right hon. Gentleman said—"A Bill to continue Lord Ashbourne's Act would be proceeded with during the present Sitting."

MR. W. H. SMITH: "Session."

MR. LABOUCHERE: No; the word is "Sitting."

MR. W. H. SMITH: Then I was mis-reported. The hon. Member will see that on July 12 I stated that the Bill would be taken during the Autumn Session.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Perfectly, and that was precisely the point. It was after the arrangement of July 12 was reversed that he found the words he had quoted in Mr. Walter's report in *The Times*, which he should have thought was entirely above suspicion in the estimation of the right hon. Gentleman. The Vote on Account was agreed to on the understanding that all the time of the Autumn Session would be given to the Estimates, and that no new legislation would be brought forward. There was now a large portion of the Irish Estimates to be taken; the Scotch Estimates, on which Scotch Members had generally a good deal to say; the Army and Navy Estimates, on which there was a good deal to be said; and a considerable number of Civil Service Estimates. He submitted it was reasonable they should know what the right hon. Gentleman contemplated doing. The only chance he saw of finishing the Estimates next week, as the right hon. Gentleman hoped, would be that he should move that the Estimates be reported on a specific day to the House. Of course, the Opposition would regret that very much, because they were always ready to remain in London as long as might be in order to fulfil their duties. He objected to the system on the part of the organs of the right hon. Gentleman—and very often, by implication, on the part of the right hon. Gentleman himself—of throwing upon the Opposition the fault of the present condition of public affairs. He asserted that it was entirely and absolutely the fault of the right hon. Gentleman, who, as Leader of the House, was responsible for the Public Business. He wanted some clear understanding that in future Sessions the Estimates would be brought in and discussed at an early period of the Session, and that they might not get into the present mess. He also wanted to know what was the arrangement for the last of the Session? He thought the Estimates must be scamped. He begged to move the Adjournment of the House.

MR. HERBERT GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) said, he rose to second the Motion. In his humble opinion the present condition of Public Business was not only a shame, but a positive disgrace to the House. He considered that this was due entirely to the way in which the Business had been conducted. Never had a Government so free a hand. It had practically perfect command of the time of the House. It had a stringent closure, and it had the support of a loyal majority, ready at all times to follow them with a touching unanimity; and yet during the two Sessions the condition of Supply had been absolutely disgraceful. He thought more progress would have been made if more regard had been had to the rights of the minority, and more respect shown to Amendments brought forward on his side of the House. The First Lord of the Treasury now proposed that the House should revert to the old, slovenly practice of yawning away the millions of the taxpayers' money in the small hours of the morning. He emphatically entered his protest against such a proposal, and begged to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) said, the hon. Member who had made this Motion attributed the blame entirely to the unfortunate conduct of the Leader of the House. He begged leave to differ from him altogether. He did not think any Member of that House would for a moment attribute to the right hon. Gentleman a want of tact or perfect temper under trying circumstances as they arose. He thought the real reason of the delay was exceedingly simple. Since he had heard of the Motion he had looked into the facts, and he thought they would supply food for reflection. He found that there had been 23 working days in this Session between November 6 and December 6, and during that time, as far as he had been able hurriedly to ascertain, five Gentlemen sitting opposite had made between them 158 speeches, at the lowest computation, and 183 at the highest. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere)

himself had made 43 speeches since the House assembled on the 6th of November. He had observed that during the present Session the hon. Member frequently divided the Leadership of the majority of Gentlemen opposite with the Leaders on the Front Opposition Bench, and therefore it was not unnatural, perhaps, that he should feel called upon to address the House so frequently. He came to three hon. Members who occupied a very different position. The hon. Member for Camborne (Mr. Conybeare) had spoken 30 times, the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) 36 times, and the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) 38 times. Those three hon. Members had not been a very long time in the House, and, while frankly acknowledging their perfect right to address the House on every available opportunity, yet what he wanted to point out was that if all the Members of the House, nine out of 10 of whom had quite as much right as those to whom he referred to express their opinions on every subject debated, were to take that course, it was clear that the conduct of Public Business in Parliament would become absolutely impossible. He mentioned this to show, both inside and outside the House, what was the real cause of the deadlock. The most Heaven-born Minister that ever led the House of Commons within the memory of man would be absolutely unable to manage the Business on this principle. Everyone must have observed that by far the larger part of the time of the House had been occupied by men far removed from those best qualified to give guidance or instruction to the House. He hoped the House would recognize the absolute necessity for some further reform in the Rules of the House in the direction of an individual closure. Until there was power to suppress speeches evidently made for the purpose of Obstruction, and made against the general and unmistakable sense of the House, it would be absolutely impossible to conduct the Business of the House in a satisfactory manner. He hoped hon. Members who were desirous to promote Public Business would refuse to gratify the hon. Member by following his Leadership, but would proceed at once to the Business before them.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said, no complaint could be made of the conduct of the Leader of the House. All recognized the courtesy and tact with which he carried out his duties. Without going into the question of who was to blame for the existing state of things, he wished to protest against the great abuse of the Rules of the House under which the Government had been allowing themselves during the past few weeks to repeatedly suspend the 12 o'clock Rule. When that Rule had been passed strong powers had been given to the Government of closing protracted debates; and he thought that the Government might have used the closure more freely than they had done. Not only ought the Government to exercise the closure if they thought fit to do so, but free means of individual closure should be given to be used if any hon. Member were unduly trespassing on the time of the House. He believed that the Business of the House had been carried on better than it had during any previous Session of which he had had experience—with far less personal irritation and more business-like attention. Any gradual suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule would lead back to all the evils under which the House had before suffered.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he was anxious, if possible, to bring the discussion to a close. It did not seem to him to be a method of advancing Public Business to consider at great length the existing circumstances. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had charged him with having broken a pledge. He was not conscious that he had done so. He would not go into a full explanation of the circumstances under which he had made the statement referred to, but the House must be perfectly well aware that there was all the difference in the world between debates as carried on upon Bills in the House and the consideration of Supply at the end of the Session under circumstances of very great pressure. He had stated to the House some days previously that the condition in which the House found itself seemed to render it necessary that he should make proposals to the House; and taking steps to inquire, he found that they were, as he thought, on the whole, satisfactory to the House. Those in the position he occupied must from time to time make a fresh departure under circumstances which were exceed-

ingly difficult. Reference had been made to the danger of rushing Supply through the House, and of depriving the taxpayers of the protection they ought to have. But if the hon. Gentleman sat through the debates in the House on Supply he would find that very rarely indeed were such valuable speeches given as those from the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) and the noble Lord behind the Treasury Bench (Lord Randolph Churchill). The speeches were generally made for the purpose of airing some grievance, and were not directed to effecting economy and advancing the Public Service. The hon. Member for the Saffron Walden Division of Essex was animated by a strong desire to respect the rights of private Members. If private Members would only be so good as to respect Public Business! An observation had been made as to the large amount of work remaining to be done; he admitted that; but how many days had they given to Supply in the course of the present year? Thirty-two days; and on an average of 12 years up to 1886, under successive Governments, 26 days were found sufficient for the purpose of considering Supply, including several very lengthened debates on Votes of Credit for large sums of public money. He only stated these facts in order that it might be realized that the time now occupied by hon. Members in discussing Supply was altogether out of proportion to that occupied in any former Parliament. It rendered necessary some reconsideration of the position which Supply should take in the Business of the year. He had been asked what course he intended to take next year. It was early to speak of that; but he thought he had stated clearly enough that the view of the Government was that new arrangements must be made with regard to Supply, so that the Civil Service Estimates should be taken at a very early period in the Session and considered without the pressure from which the House had latterly suffered. It was the intention of the Government to make proposals to the House to secure that result at the commencement of next Session. He had further been asked by an hon. Gentleman opposite what he proposed to do this year. He would reply by asking the hon. Gentleman what he himself and his Friends proposed to do—[Mr. LABOUCHERE: Our duty]—how many days they proposed to add to the 32 which they had already devoted to the consideration of Supply? It was the duty of the Government to ask the House to consider the Votes still remaining for consideration as quickly as was consistent with such due deliberation in the discharge of their obligations to the country. But he could give no forecast or promise—as he had never placed the convenience of hon. Members before the obligations due to the country—as to the time in which hon. Members might hope for a termination of the Session.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, he was not fond of Motions for Adjournment, and he did not think he ever stood up for one in his life. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had addressed the House in a fair and conciliatory spirit, and he hoped that the speech had deterred hon. Members from accepting the challenge of the right hon. Member for the Sleaford Division of Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) to enter into acrimonious personal attack. He was justified in saying that when the right hon. Member had attacked hon. Gentlemen by name and had called upon the House to alter the Rules of the House so as to apply a personal gag. The hon. Member below the Gangway had made this Motion for Adjournment merely for the purpose of asking explanations of the Government which could not be made upon the Motion for the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule. The hon. Member wished to come to an understanding as to how the remainder of the Session was to be disposed of. He thought it was a little imprudent of the Leader of the House to answer that appeal by addressing a question to the hon. Member as to what he was going to do. That might lead to a rather protracted discussion and rather discordant suggestions. He would not enter into any recrimination as to whom to lay the blame of the present state of Public Business; but he could not accept the blame which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Sleaford Division had attempted to cast on the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of a Heaven-born Minister. Perhaps they might live to see, some of these days, a Heaven-

born Minister, and then they would know how the Business of the House ought to be conducted. But in the meanwhile they must do the best they could with what they had. The Government had during the past two Sessions been placed in an especially favourable position—having had nearly all the time of the House. Nor could they say that their two great measures of the present Session—the Local Government Bill and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Conversion Scheme—had been met with any factious opposition. The Estimates had not this Session been in any degree unduly discussed. Important questions had been raised with regard to the Naval and Military Estimates, but the discussions had not been carried on in any factious spirit, or exclusively from the Opposition side of the House. Certain of the supporters of the Government had very properly taken part in these discussions on military and naval subjects. As to the Irish Estimates, he could not say that he had found any Vote discussed at excessive length. It ought to be borne in mind that Ireland was being governed under an exceptional law, and the conduct of the Executive must therefore naturally be largely discussed. This was a sound principle which the Government could not deny. A few days ago, in a moment of frankness, the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury pointed to a remedy when he spoke of there being "several Parliaments instead of one." He could not agree with the suggestions of the right hon. Member for the Sleaford Division, who seemed to think that not only should the Government alone introduce legislation, but that only Members on the Treasury Bench should address the House. Nor could he agree with his hon. Friend's (Mr. S. Buxton) views as to the more frequent use of the closure. The fact was that if the Government took for themselves the whole time of the House, and deprived private Members of those opportunities which, under ordinary circumstances, they possessed of bringing matters in which they were interested before the House, the discussions on the Estimates must necessarily be prolonged, for these Estimates and Motions for Adjournment afforded them the only opportunities of laying their views before the House. The Government was there not only for purposes of legislation and administration, but to look into grievances. A good deal of value lay in the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman that the Estimates should be taken earlier in the Session. With regard to the 12 o'clock Rule, he did not desire to make any charge against the First Lord of the Treasury; he was sure he had not intended to break any promise he had made, but if he made a Motion for the general suspension of the Rule this would afford an opportunity for discussion, whereas these daily Motions for its suspension did not. Therefore it was that his hon. Friend had made this Motion for the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of eliciting explanations from Her Majesty's Government. Having attained his object he hoped his hon. Friend would withdraw the Motion, so that the House might, without further delay, proceed with its regular Business.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness) said, that as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin) had called attention to him, he wished to explain that, having found from the Estimate that Scottish officials were only paid one-half the rates paid to English officials, and that in Scotland the localities paid for many things which in England were largely paid out of the Imperial Funds, he desired to bring this injustice to Scotland before the House and country. As he could not do so in the ordinary way, the Government having taken all the nights possible for discussion of such matters, he had been compelled to raise these matters on the Estimates, and would very likely have to do so again.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) would not suppose he was slighting his advice—in the spirit of which he entirely concurred—if he made a few observations on one portion of this subject which had not been discussed before. Whatever opinions might be formed as to the state of Business generally in the House, it must be agreed that the state of Scotch Business in particular was, in the highest degree, scandalous and deplorable. He would not speak of that monstrous, but now, happily, dead Bill which the right hon. Gentleman tried to induce them to discuss in the few half-hours of a Wednesday afternoon in the summer; but he would call attention to the fact that

there was on the Order Book for that very night the most important measure which had been proposed for Scotland since the Government came into Office —the Universities (Scotland) Bill—and Members were brought down there on the possibility that that measure might be brought forward, without knowing in the least whether it was the intention of the Government or not to press that Bill. It was an insult to the Scotch Members that the Government, having wasted the whole of the summer without giving them the slightest opportunity of discussing Scotch Business, should call upon them at the eleventh hour to deal with a measure of this great importance. He had another grievance with regard to the position of the Scotch Estimates. It added a serious injury to the insults Scotch Members had already suffered that they should postpone the Scotch Estimates to the very last hours of the Session. Surely Ireland had had sufficient precedence to have entitled the Scotch Members, at all events, to have had their Estimates taken before the Irish. He held in his hand a copy of Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne with which this Session——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Gentleman is deviating from the strict limit of the matter of urgent importance.

MR. E. ROBERTSON said, what he wanted to point out was that the Government could not be relieved from the charge of having contributed to the present position by their vacillation; because of all the long list of measures which they stated they were going to ask the House to deal with this year hardly one had been proceeded with. Of the three measures over which the time of the Session had been mostly wasted, only one was alluded to in the Queen's Speech, and that only faintly. Bearing that fact in mind, and also remembering that the Scotch Members had not received anything like fair treatment from the Government—their interests being unjustly postponed to every other interest in the Empire—he would have no hesitation in voting for the Motion.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) said, he desired to add a few words to insist upon and underline the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Dundee. There had been no attention whatever paid to Scottish Members, Scottish interests, or Scottish measures during the past Session, and during the remnant of the Session they got nothing from the Government but a joke from the Leader of the House that somebody must take the last place, and so, forsooth, the Scottish Members were to do so. [MR. W. H. SMITH: That is most unfair.] The right hon. Gentleman had spoken more than once of having regard to what he called the wishes of the Scotch Members. He (Mr. Marjoribanks) would like to know from whom the right hon. Gentleman had got any expression of opinion as coming from Scotch Members? He, at any rate, as one of the Scotch Members, had not been consulted by any Member of the Government. If the wishes of the Scotch Members had been gathered from the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell) and the hon. Member for the St. Andrew's Burghs (Mr. Anstruther), they no more represented the majority of the Scotch Members than their Party represented the opinion of the majority in Scotland. He knew that the Scotch were considered to be patient people, but there was a limit to all patience, and even the worm would turn. The Scotch people would not consider speeches such as those of the Prime Minister at Edinburgh, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer when in Scotland, as a sufficient set-off for the entire neglect of Scotch Business in Parliament. He thought they were entitled to have some day fixed for the Scotch Estimates, and the least they could expect was that some Member of the Government would say that an early day next week would be given for the discussion of the Scotch Estimates. They were also entitled to have a definite expression of opinion from the Government as to what they intended to do with the Scotch Universities Bill. It was all very well to say that the Bill would be taken *pari passu* with the Appropriation Bill when it seemed likely that the Appropriation Bill would be proceeded with during the last week of December, but if the Appropriation Bill was to be taken in Christmas week it was rather hard to expect the Scotch Members to remain to discuss the Universities Bill then. Though they did not offer any opposition to the main principle of the Bill, there were questions of

considerable importance raised by which it could not be expected hon. Members would begin to discuss at that period of the year.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he could only speak by the indulgence of the House, but he would to-morrow name an early day next week for the consideration of the Scotch Estimates, and he would also make the intentions of the Government known with regard to the Scotch University Bill. He hoped the House would not unnecessarily prolong the discussion.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that as his Motion had secured the object he had in view he would ask leave to withdraw it.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the Proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 226; Noes 117: Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 328.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £13,728, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, he rose for the purpose of renewing the question of Ballycotton Pier, which was under discussion when Progress was reported yesterday. At the present moment that pier was in a most unsatisfactory condition. The original plans and specifications had not been adhered to, and the result was that the centre of the structure was subsiding, besides cracking, and the end of the pier was in danger of falling out into the sea. The Cork Grand Jury had taken direct issue with the Board of Works as to the way in which the work had been carried out; they stated alterations had been made in the original plans and specifications which were not calculated to secure the soundness of the structure; that the walls of the pier were cracked and split from the top to the bottom. In spite of arrangements in the specifications that the hearting of the pier was to be constructed of solid stones, and not of clay and sand, the greater part consisted of the latter materials, which were being daily washed away by the tides. They had carefully inspected a considerable portion of the materials which had been taken out, and by sifting the material through a screen it was found that it consisted one-half of clay, and one-half of large and small stone. There should have been no clay whatever, and upon that ground alone he urged a strong complaint against the Board of Works who had permitted so insecure a structure to be erected. Since the beginning of the year the pier had not been in the charge of any public body. The Grand Jury of Cork refused to take it over, and the result was that every month fresh disclosures were being made as to the subsiding of the pier. That state of things was likely to continue, unless the Secretary to the Treasury stepped in and took the necessary measures for putting the pier in a sound and safe condition. This was not purely a matter of local grievance, but one which affected the expenditure of a great Public Department in Ireland. It was a typical case illustrative of the way in which the Board of Works carried out works of this nature. In this instance he spoke from personal local knowledge, but he believed there were very few Members who were not able to corroborate his statement that in almost every district in Ireland there was some monument of the incapacity of the Board of Works to carry out works of this nature. The whole coast of the country was strewn around with failures of this kind, and unless the Treasury stepped in to mark their disapproval of the manner in which the Board of Works gave certificates to contractors for unsound structures, and intimidated the County Authorities by requiring them to take over each unsound structure against their will, this waste, and worse than waste, of the public money would

continue. Not only was the public money spent, but the work was worse than useless, because really useful work was prevented. Another pier in the same locality — Knockadoon — was almost in the same condition as Ballycotton Pier. It was crumbling away, although it was only constructed a few years ago, and now the Local Authorities were called on to replace it. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to say that he would inquire into these matters. He also desired to know whether the contractor was not bound by his contract to make the harbour at Ballycotton of a certain depth in different places? He held in his hand the last Report of the Royal Commission upon Irish Public Works, and one of the Members of the Commission was the very gentleman who lately went over with the Secretary to the Treasury to inspect the pier and harbour. At page 13 of the Report of the Royal Commission it was laid down that unless these harbours erected under the Fishery Act of 1883 were of a suitable depth, and accessible to fishing craft at all states of the tide, their erection was a waste of the public money. At page 19 of the same Report, there was a direct reference to the harbour of Ballycotton. The Commissioners, in their Report upon the harbour, without having visited the locality, but deriving their conclusions from the Report of Mr. Manning, said that there was a depth of 16 feet at low water in spring tides at the termination of the pier, diminishing to 12 feet at a length of 200 feet. As a matter of fact, there was no such depth of water at all. There never had been more than a depth of eight feet, and of that depth a great part of the harbour was deprived by the accumulation of the rubbish in the centre. On the very day the hon. Gentleman and Mr. Barry visited Ballycotton a large fishing boat was stranded in a dangerous position on this remnant of the old pier. They saw it themselves. Still, the Board of Works certified that it had been all removed. He supposed that, owing to the repeated criticisms that had been made in the House of the unsatisfactory nature of the work done by the Board of Works, the Board were very anxious to escape from under the public eye. They asked the Commissioners to report to Parliament in favour of taking the control of these piers altogether away from the Local Authorities, and handing it back to the Board of Works, that Board to have full powers to raise rates for the purpose of maintaining and repairing the piers. What did the Chairman of the Board of Works stipulate for when the suggestion was made? He said that he thought

> "That in regard to these works the Grand Juries should have power to transfer their powers and duties to the Board of Works in each case in which the latter might be willing to accept the transfer, but which they should not do unless satisfied that the work under consideration was in a proper state of repair at the date of the transfer."

The Board of Works took precaution beforehand against their being compelled to take over any work which was not in a proper condition. But, while they were making that statement before the Royal Commissioners, they wrote very threatening letters down to the Grand Jury in Cork as to the taking over of the pier which was reported by the engineer to be in such a state that even an ordinary layman could see that it was in a condition that was certain to end in complete ruin before, perhaps, this winter was over. Though he, as the Representative of the Division in which this pier was situated, had made several requests to the Secretary to the Treasury to let him know what was the nature of Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report, he had been unable to get the slightest inkling of the nature of that Report. The Representatives of the Board of Works, or, at any rate, the people connected with them on the spot, had boasted that Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report would back up the Board of Works, and that the people who had interested themselves in the matter would simply be jockeyed. He was sure that the matter would receive fair and ample consideration at the hands of the Secretary to the Treasury; and he believed that if the hon. Gentleman continued his action in the same spirit in which he commenced it—namely, by paying attention to the justice of the case rather than to the question of preserving or protecting the Board of Works from proper criticism and full responsibility for their action in certifying this pier was in proper condition, no doubt the people of the locality would have reason to be satisfied with the result. He begged to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £800.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £800, part of the Salary of the Chief Engineer."—(*Mr. Lane.*)

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) said, that on the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane) he desired to draw attention to two harbours in the Division of Wicklow which he represented, and which, he regretted to say, were very much in the same condition as the pier at Ballycotton. The first case was that of the harbour of Arklow. On a former occasion he drew attention to the condition of this harbour, and to the mishaps that occurred there, owing, as he alleged, to the imperfect protection given to the pier and to its defective construction. The defective construction had been made good to a certain extent, but, unfortunately, at the cost of the inhabitants of Arklow and the baronies contributing to the guarantee. He contended that a sum of about £5,000 had been thrown away in making good the defects that originated through the inefficiency of the plans of the Board of Works. But other damage had recently occurred. He asked the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) a question that day upon the subject, and the hon. Gentleman, speaking, of course, from the information that had been given him by the Board of Works, stated that the damage was quite trivial. He did not gather that the damage had been remedied, but that it would be remedied, and that the cost would be met out of the harbour tolls, and some small balance that remained from the original sum provided. He had received a communication that day from the Town Commissioners of Arklow, from which he gathered that in the construction between the old and the new pier an aperture about 28 feet in length, 20 feet wide, and nine feet high, had appeared. The present position of the pier, he was informed by the Commissioners, was most dangerous, especially owing to the fact that some of the work had slipped and left the structure in danger of toppling over altogether. His informants said—

"The present dangerous position of the new structure demands immediate remedy. The harbour master lately has had bags of cement and gravel put in to fill up the apertures, and we have been informed that such were useless and of no effect, having been washed away."

He thought that that statement was not quite in accordance with the answer the Secretary to the Treasury gave him at Question time. He complained that the Board of Works, when Questions were asked in that House, supplied misleading information, and he contended that the way in which this great Irish Department scamped its work was simply disgraceful. It was not fair or just that the baronies which had guaranteed this large outlay should be called upon to make good defects which, he contended, arose from the default of the Board of Works. He now came to mention the facts concerning the Greystones harbour. A sum of £10,000 was provided for constructing a small fishing harbour at Greystones, and when the work was proceeded with for some distance it was found that the harbour was getting filled up with shingle. Before the pier was run out the shingle that was driven down by the north-east wind was driven back by the storm that came from the opposite direction, and so there was a counterbalancing influence. But since the harbour had been constructed it proved, as was said in the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Works, a trap for catching the shingle. He was informed—in fact, it was stated at a public meeting and reported in the newspapers—that some persons walked dry-shod from the shore into a portion of the harbour where formerly there was 10 feet of water. Two or three times last year and the year before he asked Questions with reference to the construction of a north groyne to stop the travelling of the shingle, but the invariable reply he received was that an officer of the Board of Works was observing it. That official's observation did not seem to have led him to any practical result, but he could now have the satisfaction of contemplating dry land where there was water before the Board of Works took the work in hand. He (Mr. W. J. Corbet) desired to know what the Treasury was going to do in order to let the poor fisher folk of Greystones have a fair opportunity of exercising their calling. There was a considerable sum of money raised in addition to the Government grant; certainly it was too much to be thrown away. He sincerely hoped that in regard to both these piers the Secretary to the Treasury would move the Lords of

the Treasury to act in a liberal spirit, especially as the Board of Works incubus in Ireland was responsible for the damage which had occurred. He begged to support the Motion of his hon. Friend.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge) said, that the Committee had had a very clear, complete, and perfectly truthful statement from the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane) in regard to the unfortunate condition of Ballycotton Harbour. It was, perhaps, well that he should point out exactly how the question of these works stood in regard to finance. There, no doubt, was an Act of Parliament, under which the Grand Jury, who now, at all events, represented the ratepayers of the county, could be compelled to take over such works as were passed by the engineer of the Board of Works. There was no apparent power left to the Grand Jury to have the works again inspected by an engineer, or for them to make any examination of the works before they were called upon to keep them in repair. Nothing would satisfy the ratepayers of the county of Cork except the clear statement of an engineer who would be above suspicion that the pier was capable of resisting the force of the sea, and that the harbour had a sufficient depth of water in it to be of use to the fishing boats of the locality. The Report of the County Surveyor as to the condition of the pier was a very strong one, and passages from it had been read to the Committee. There were fissures in it both long and deep, and he himself had seen an oar put into one of them to the full extent of the oar, or about 12 feet. He should like to know from the Secretary to the Treasury when the Report of Mr. Wolfe Barry would be produced? Mr. Kirkbey, the County Surveyor of Cork, no doubt smarted severely under the censure of the Board of Works in Dublin, which was both unjust and uncalled for, from a communication in which they used these words to the Grand Jury in Cork—

"It is with extreme reluctance that the Board feel themselves placed in the position of having to state that the County Surveyor has shown himself insufficiently acquainted with Marine Works, and has misled the Grand Jury in conveying an adverse opinion in regard to them."

But the Grand Jury were not yet convinced, nor were the ratepayers who were interested in the matter, that Mr. Kirkbey was not right when he made the assertion that the works were not in a proper state. Certainly Mr. Kirkbey's view was entirely borne out by what had happened to the pier during the last gales. Father Norris, on the 8th of November last, spoke of large fissures having made their appearance in the pier since the recent gales. There had been large gaps from the beginning, but as the works were becoming settled the fissures were growing worse day by day. This was a pier with the expense of maintaining which for ever the Board of Works was anxious to saddle upon the county of Cork. He himself had examined the pier, and found it to be in a most unsound condition. Another gentleman, a friend of his, who had recently visited Ballycotton immediately after the last gale, indorsed word for word the statement of Father Norris. Damage was still going on, and the pier was in a most insecure position. So much for the pier. He had himself been anxious that a larger scheme should be carried out, so that not only fishing boats but coasters should have been able to enter. The Board of Works had even refused to let the plans and specifications be seen by the ratepayers. The depth of water was altogether inadequate for the purposes of a fishing harbour.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) asked, whether the hon. Member was alluding to the depth of water at the lowest spring tides?

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD said, that at certain dates, generally in April and September, the tide fell lower than at other times, but there were also tides caused by off-shore winds. It was a spring tide when he was there, and it was a somewhat small one, but the amount of space inclosed was not sufficient to accommodate the fishing boats even under the present scheme. Over and over again the Board of Works had been applied to to produce the specifications, plans, and estimates, and over and over again they had refused to do so. And the County Authorities were not to be blamed if, when they saw the pier and harbour in the course of construction, they pointed out the absolute necessity of removing the old pier. The day upon which the Secretary to the Treasury visited the pier

there was a low spring tide, but the flood tide had come in to the height of three or four feet before the hon. Gentleman arrived, so that the obstructions were nearly covered, concealing a state of things with which it was of the utmost importance the hon. Member should have made himself acquainted; whether that was the case or not they had no estimate in regard to the things which ought to be removed. They stretched all along the quay, and blocked up the wall of the quayway. The works were the laughing-stock of the locality, and had been strongly condemned. The old pier ought to be removed at any cost. He hoped that the hon. Gentleman would now take means to allow the ratepayers to see the full report of the independent engineer who had been sent down to inquire into the matter.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that the subject was a very difficult one to deal with, and he thought the difficulty had been well illustrated by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald), who not only possessed naval knowledge and skill, but had a personal acquaintance with Ballycotton. Of course, so far as the locality was concerned, it always wanted the largest harbour and pier and quay that could be made. At Ballycotton there was a large pier which the fishing boats had for some time frequented. Before the pier-head was made, and it was to be made a great deal more substantial than the rest of the pier, the County Authorities objected to the plan, and maintained that there ought to be a larger pier. That was the usual custom; and when works of this kind were finished there was generally a demand that everything should be done over again, or that they should return to the original plans. That was invariably the case, not only at Ballycotton, but everywhere else. Therefore he thought the Secretary to the Treasury in this instance would regard the complaint of the County Authorities with a very considerable amount of suspicion; indeed, he attached very little importance to the Report of the County Surveyor, whose personal experience of works of this kind upon the coast was not very great. Probably the County Surveyor knew enough about operations of this kind to be able to criticize them, although he would not be able to undertake them. He thought that most of the County Surveyors' Reports ought to be regarded with suspicion. He quite acknowledged that they might have a considerable amount of ability, but he very much doubted whether any of them were competent to build piers and harbours. No doubt it was the proper thing of the Grand Jury to desire to defend the interests of the ratepayers, and they would not want to take over any pier if they could help it. Certainly they did not want to go to the expense of making it. He had been one of the Fishery Commissioners who inquired into the question of piers and harbours and fishing accommodation on the Irish coast. Of course the Commissioners had the usual difficulty in deciding between the claims of different localities; but as he was not personally responsible he could not say that he had been a very warm advocate for any particular locality. The hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), who was also one of the Commissioners, and the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet) were in favour of works at Arklow and Greystones. The Commission, however, were only responsible for recommending the sites without bearing responsibility for the construction of the works. The responsibility for the construction fell solely upon the Board of Works. The Commission simply decided upon the locality, and the proportion which it should contribute towards the expenses. He thought it was bad policy for Irishmen to abuse all the harbours which had been constructed, because, as a matter of fact, they wanted a good many more yet, and without more harbours it would be impossible to develop the fishing industry. Therefore, making indiscriminate attacks upon all the harbours which the Board of Works had constructed was, in his opinion, a very foolish policy. Certain complaints had been made by the hon. Member for East Cork and the hon. Member for Cambridge in reference to the state of the harbour at Ballycotton, and those hon. Members might be right in their strictures. His own opinion was that every harbour and pier ought to be handed over to the County Authorities in good condition. In this case it would appear that the site selected was bad, and that the harbour itself had been a

source of considerable expense to the county; even 20 years ago heavy expense was incurred by the County Authorities. The new pier was proposed to be handed over to the County Authorities by the Board of Works, and, of course, as the county would have to maintain the pier, everybody who contributed to the rates would naturally challenge the manner in which the work had been executed. The Board of Works had very good engineers connected with the office, and some of them no doubt were acquainted with the construction of piers, but marine engineering was the most difficult branch of an engineer's business, and there had been a large number of failures even on the part of the most eminent engineers. There had, also, been heavy expenditure in order to continue and maintain what at first had merely been the result of an experiment. He was afraid that unless they would spend an extra sum of money as an insurance they would not be able to find out all at once whether a pier was well constructed or not. He was afraid that owing to the force of the sea upon the coast of Ireland two-thirds of the Irish piers had sustained much damage, and in order to meet that difficulty it was absolutely necessary at times to depart from the original plan. Now that the execution of this pier by the Board of Works had been publicly challenged, he thought the Secretary to the Treasury should instruct some eminent engineer, totally unacquainted with the country, and who was perfectly neutral, to make an examination and give a Report. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) and the Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane) had entered into the question from a totally different point of view. He would not say that it was not a point of view they had no right to lay before the Committee. But it was one which he did not think the Committee ought to entertain. He referred to the depth of water. No doubt that was a very important question; everybody wanted as much depth of water as possible, and it was constantly asserted that a particular pier was of no use, because there was only a certain depth of water in the harbour. He thought it would be sufficient if a moderate-sized vessel could get in at all states of the tide. Now, he did not suppose a good-sized fishing vessel would draw less than nine feet of water, and there must be one or two feet under her keel, so that it was very expensive to build a harbour for the accommodation of vessels of that kind. Of course the expenditure increased very largely, according to the increased depth of water. He did not profess to be an authority upon the construction of harbours, but if they were to have a harbour that was to be accessible to fishing boats at the lowest tides, then such a harbour would cost at least £40,000 to construct, whereas if they built a harbour sufficiently large to let fishing vessels in, the cost would not be more than £5,000, which would make an enormous difference. He thought the Harbour Commissioners were quite right in recommending the construction of a considerable number of small harbours round the coast. It must be borne in mind that the fishing population was a scattered population, and all wanted a harbour to which they could run. Such harbours were undoubtedly of very great use, and they ought to be constructed by the Government; but, at the same time, they would be of very little service unless they were connected with the railways. All the calculations of the Pier and Harbour Commissioners were based on low water at medium spring tides. It would make a very considerable difference if they were to take the lowest spring tides. It would make a difference of at least three or four feet in the depth of the water in the harbour, and the cost of the construction would be proportionate. A very large amount of the £250,000 which had been set apart for the construction of those harbours was, he believed, available at the present moment. A large sum could be drawn upon in the shape of guarantees, and there was also an outstanding amount of interest upon the Government loans which could be rendered available. In addition to this, there was a sum of money which a former Chief Secretary for Ireland, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), said ought to go to Irish purposes. In point of fact, there was a sum of £8,000 absolutely available at the present moment. He thought the Irish Members made a bad bargain seven or eight years ago

when they agreed to spend £250,000, and he thought the Secretary to the Treasury ought now to do something to show that the funds he had referred to were available for harbour purposes at Greystones and at Ballycotton. Good professional information ought to be secured as to what were the proper sites, and that information ought to come from a perfectly independent source. He did not see, however, why they should be asked to increase the depth of water, and entirely reconstruct the pier, without they were prepared to raise the whole question of the construction of piers and harbours in Ireland. The hon. Member for East Cork had not given the Committee fair information as to the depth of the water in Ballycotton Harbour. He had not stated what the depth was at spring tides, and the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) declared that a much larger depth was required than was contemplated under the original plan. Was it proposed to go back to the original plan?

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD: No!

COLONEL NOLAN said, he believed that was the original statement. But he did not think that it was necessary to do more than make provision for the accommodation of the fishing boats of the locality; that was all that those engaged in the fishing industry had a legitimate claim to.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD wished to explain. It was proposed at Ballycotton to increase the small space which was provided as shelter for the fishing boats in the old harbour; but the new harbour was such that the piers inclosed the old pier, and the stones of this old pier now occupied the space that ought to be deep water for boats. Before that scheme was decided upon there was an inclosure already existing. The original inclosure was surrounded, and the old pier had been inclosed with it; therefore, when they spoke of the depth of water it should be understood whether they referred to the depth of water at the old pier, which used to be 5 feet at low water spring tides, or the depth of water that was necessary for the new harbour. He might say that he had walked practically dry shod across the old pier in an ordinary spring tide this year.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, there appeared to have been a diminution in the Vote, as compared with last year, of something like £6,000. He found that the salary of the Solicitor to the Board had been got rid of. He wished to know whether the reduction arose from the re-arrangement of the office, or whether it was a decrease in the total amount of the Vote? Then, again, the charge for Land Act loans, which last year was £7,400, was this year only £5,700, and the travelling expenses of the Inspectors, which last year amounted to £7,400, had been reduced this year to £5,400. He believed, however, that in the latter case there had not been an actual decrease. He found, however, under Sub-head E of the Vote, that the charge for Sub-Inspectors had decreased by about £3,000. The Committee, however, had no opportunity of ascertaining whether there had been any relative decrease in the number of Inspectors. He thought that the information for which he asked ought to be supplied to the Committee, and he asked the Secretary to the Treasury to give it. He did not know how long the present debate was to last; but when the same Vote was under discussion two years ago it took a considerable time to dispose of it. It was then brought to a conclusion in an unusual manner by the Head of the Government at that time informing the Committee that he considered the case which had been made against the Department was so strong, that if the Committee would consent to the passing of the Vote the Government would give a pledge to make proposals to Parliament at the earliest opportunity, the object of which would be to place all questions as to the administration of the Board of Works in the hands of the Irish people and under their control. A good deal had happened since then, but the control of the administration of the Board of Works had not been placed in any degree whatever in the hands of the Irish people. The Secretary to the Treasury was not a Cabinet Minister, or he should have liked to have asked him whether, before they could hope for the redemption of the promise, the Irish people were expected to abandon their national aspirations? He quite agreed with the hon. Member for East Cork and with the hon. Member for

Cambridge that the state of Ballycotton Pier demanded serious consideration. He thought the Grand Jury of Cork had every reason to fight shy of the question. Some 30 years ago, when the old pier was constructed, the Grand Jury resisted for a long time every effort to compel them to take over the pier. At that time the Board of Works were a greater power in the House of Commons than they were now, and they succeeded in getting a small Act passed which compelled the Cork Grand Jury to take over the pier, and soon after the Cork Grand Jury took it over the pier fell down. The pier having fallen down, the remains of it were never cleared away, but were allowed to block up the place. He believed it was the existence of these remains which had created some of the difficulties of the case. One of the grievous complaints of the Irish people was that, notwithstanding the distress which existed on the coast of Ireland, even the very few piers which had been erected were not put into a safe and proper condition. The land around the coast was barren and unproductive, and it was very hard, as far as the poor were concerned, that so few harbours had been constructed. His hon. Friend the Member for East Cork had been raising this question for a considerable time. For years the attention of the Irish Department had been directed to the state of Ballycotton Pier. Now this pier was one of the necessaries of life to the people of that fishing village; they had borrowed money from the State for the purpose of securing improved fishing boats. They now went out to sea in the large decked boats which were best adapted to the pursuit of the fishing industry. It would, therefore, be seen that a good pier was absolutely necessary. It cost £6,000 for a boat, and at the present moment he believed that one of them might be seen standing high and dry inside this precious pier. A pier and harbour to be of any use ought, at any rate, to be large enough to enable boats to float. He asked the Committee to look at the position of the people of this fishing village and of the district. They had done all they could. They had given money for the erection of the pier; they had borrowed money from the State to enable them to secure larger boats. They had instructed their Representatives to bring the question before the House of Commons. Their Representatives had not failed in their duty, and they had brought the matter forward again and again, and yet they were now condemned to stand idly by and see their money wasted and their industry injured while an irritating controversy was being carried on between two bodies, neither of which represented the people. Neither the Board of Works nor the Cork Grand Jury was a representative body, and, so far as the Cork Surveyor was concerned, he was nominated by the Sheriff. The Local Authorities had made representations over and over again, and those representations had been backed up by his hon. Friend the Member for East Cork without the slightest effect. So far as Arklow Harbour was concerned, he could only say that if he found himself outside that harbour in a storm he should very much prefer to remain outside. He did not think that the representations which had been made in that House should pass unheeded. When an examination of works of this character was demanded, if the demand for examination was complied with, it was difficult to secure that the examination itself should be conducted by a person who was regarded by those concerned as both competent and independent. He thought it looked somewhat ill, and was not susceptible of easy explanation, that year after year examinations of this kind were conducted by persons who did not commend themselves to public opinion as impartial and independent. He thought it was not asking too much of the Secretary to the Treasury that in a matter of this kind consultation should be held with the Members representing the localities, and that if any persons were appointed to inquire into the merits of the case, only such persons should be appointed whose impartiality the Representatives of the people were disposed to recognize. Before he sat down he wished to call attention to a matter which had been brought to his notice by a well-informed gentleman in Ireland. There had lately been a correspondence between the President of the Board of Works and the Institute of Architects in Ireland, who objected to the system now pursued at the Board of Works with respect to the preparation of plans for structure, for which loans were procured by private individuals from the

State. He asked that this Correspondence should be laid on the Table of the House. The Committee would be aware that the Board of Works was the medium through which the loans of the State were granted for the purpose of erecting buildings in Ireland, such as buildings for national schools, farm buildings, and other buildings of various kinds. The Board of Works prepared certain plans, and they expected the persons who applied for the loans to conform to their requirements; but they went beyond that. Not only did they require the applicants to conform to their plans, but they told the applicants themselves to prepare the plans and submit them for their approval. The Institute of Architects felt aggrieved by the course which had been taken by the Board of Works, who were placing themselves and their *employés* in competition with the professional element of the country. The gentleman from whom he obtained the information told him that in many instances, through certain influence, the applicants for loans managed to have their plans prepared by officials of the Board. For instance, a gentleman applied to the Board for a loan, and said that he wished to have certain works done. The cry of the Board was, "Get plans and send them to the Board." The next thing was to call in an official of the Board, through whose agency the plans were prepared. He asked that the Correspondence between the Board of Works and the Institute of Architects in Dublin should be laid on the table, because he insisted that such relations as therein described as existing between private individuals and officials of the State were incompatible with an impartial discharge of the duties of the Department. He maintained that it was an unfair and unjustifiable system of competition. When they allowed the Heads of Departments to put themselves into communication with the applicants for loans in respect of the preparation of plans, it naturally followed that there must be unfair play in the dealings of the Board with the applicants. He was told, further, that some of the officials were allowed to supplement their salaries by work for private persons. Was he to understand that officials at the Board of Works not only prepared plans, but that they prepared them at the Board of Works for nothing? He did not suppose that that was the case. Now, the third aspect of the case was also a very serious one—namely, that the Department entered into a competition with the architects of the country. He did not object to model plans where model plans were required. The money of the State should not be given away unless the Department were satisfied that full value for the money was given, but it was quite another affair to promote an unjustifiable system of competition, and the Board of Works had, in fact, told the applicants not only would they prepare the plans, but that they would draw them so as to suit the views of the applicants. If they were paid for doing this it was a highly objectionable system, and it was an extension of that co-operative arrangement which had been so frequently denounced in that House. The officials who held office in connection with the State were well paid already, and they ought scarcely to be allowed to compete and drive out of the market gentlemen who were not paid by the State, who were struggling to obtain a living, and who themselves contributed to the taxes from which the salaries of the officials were paid. He wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury if this system did exist, and, if it did, would some representation be made in regard to it with a view of putting a stop to it?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, that he had been asked a good many questions, and he was afraid that he should have to trouble the Committee for a few moments in answering them. There had been, he thought, some statements made under a misapprehension. He was exceedingly obliged to the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) for having pointed out to the hon. Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane) and the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) that the construction of works on these lines was not always very easy, and it was somewhat difficult to determine beforehand with absolute certainty that a particular plan would always be successful. He thought that the strictures which had been passed upon the Board of Works had been a little too sweeping. The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) was evidently unaware that what he was contending for had been

actually brought forward and agreed to. He understood the hon. Member to say that when a complaint was brought forward, as in the case of the Ballycotton Pier, there should be a perfectly independent inquiry by a competent engineer, thoroughly independent both of the locality and the Board of Works. The hon. Member was probably not aware that an independent inquiry had been agreed to by the Government, and, in conjunction with one of the most eminent engineers of the day, he had visited the Ballycotton Pier. They were now waiting for Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report on the subject. He disclaimed having entertained any intention or desire to withhold any information he possessed; but the Report had not yet been received; indeed, he had reason to believe that it was not yet written. When he received it, hon. Members interested in the subject would see it. The hon. Member for East Cork had left an impression on his mind, and he was afraid on the minds of the Committee, that there was an indisposition on the part of the Government to give the Report. The hon. Member went further, and said he had endeavoured to obtain information as to Mr. Barry's Report, and that, although he could obtain none, an official connected with the Board of Works boasted that he had seen the Report.

MR. LANE said, the hon. Gentleman was labouring under a mistake. He had not said that the Report had been seen.

MR. JACKSON said, he could not understand how anybody could boast of reading the Report unless he had seen it. The hon. Gentleman certainly implied that he (Mr. Jackson) had kept back information which he possessed, or that he refused to give certain information which he had received. All he could say was, that he had not received Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report, and he had reason to believe that the Report itself had not yet been written. He trusted the hon. Member would remove from his mind the misapprehension that there was any desire to keep the Report back. If he had received any Report the hon. Member should certainly have seen it before the present debate.

MR. LANE said, he did not intend to suggest that the hon. Gentleman had kept back the Report, but at the end of two months he thought it ought to have been submitted, being of such great importance.

MR. JACKSON said, he would not pursue the subject further. As soon as the Report was received it should be submitted to the House. This complaint about the Irish Harbour Question was not the first that they had had. He would venture to remind the Committee that years ago similar complaints were made about the Board of Works, and an inquiry was ordered. An inquiry was conducted by an engineer of great eminence into the condition of certain piers in the county of Donegal, and he thought it was only due to the Board of Works that he should read one short extract from the Report of Mr. Thomas Stevenson, who was appointed to examine into the alleged unsound state of the works. Mr. Stevenson, after having gone carefully into the matter, said—

"The result of my inquiry is to satisfy me that there has been nothing in the proceedings of the Board of Works or their engineer, or the Fishery Commissioners, with regard to these harbours to warrant the charges which have been brought against them. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have carried out a number of harbour works in a short time, on an exposed part of the coast, with more than ordinary freedom from damage, and with such perfect skill as to be highly creditable to the Board, and to reflect credit also on the proceedings of any harbour authority in the country. I have also to say that I have particularly examined all the documents relating to the question, and there exists not a vestige of foundation for reflection on the honour and reputation of the Chief Engineer."

That Report was made in 1885 in consequence of certain charges that were made at that time. In the Ballycotton case, so far from the Board of Works having, as the hon. Member for East Cork seemed to think, thrown any difficulties in the way of the examination of the pier by an independent engineer, either in the first instance or subsequently, he was able to assure the hon. Member that the Board themselves had said that they were perfectly willing and ready that the Treasury should take the opinion of any engineer they might think necessary. Therefore, so far from their having shirked investigation, it was only due to them to say that they invited the most searching investigation and the most complete criticism that could be passed in regard to this work.

He felt that he was somewhat at a disadvantage in discussing at present the condition of this particular pier in the absence of Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report. What was the condition of the matter at the present moment? The Government, in answer to the representations which had been made, had consented that an inquiry should be made by an engineer of eminence. They had entrusted the inquiry to an eminent engineer, who had, he believed, gone minutely into every particular. He had visited the pier, and, by means of his own agent and assistant, had obtained every information from the Board of Works, which information the Board were perfectly willing to place at the disposal of Mr. Wolfe Barry, together with all the documents in their possession. As he had stated, Mr. Barry had visited the pier and, through his assistant, had obtained all the information that was necessary to enable him to form an opinion as to the condition of the pier. But he would not be in a position to discuss the questions raised by the hon. Member for East Cork until he had received that gentleman's Report. He promised that, when it was received, it should be presented to the House, and that every hon. Member should know what the real facts of the case were. Therefore, he thought that probably the Committee would not expect him to discuss further in detail the questions raised with reference to Ballycotton Pier. The inquiry would be searching and complete, and he was quite sure that, when they got Mr. Barry's Report, they would be in a much better position to judge, both as to the stability of the work and what alterations it might be necessary to make. The hon. Member for East Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet) had brought forward the question of Arklow Pier and Harbour. In this case he was able to speak from some personal observation. He had visited Arklow with the engineer, and he had also visited Ballycotton; and he thought the hon. Member would agree with him that, so far, there had been no damage done to any portion of the work which had been carried out by the Board of Works. He was aware, having seen it himself when he was there, that where the old work was connected with the new some damage had been done, but it had not been done to the new work which had been carried out by the Board of Works, but to the old wall. The hon. Member seemed to lay blame upon the Board of Works for the design which had been carried out. He understood the hon. Member to complain that the design was not good, and urged that, to make the work complete, it was necessary to build the north groyne. But he was informed that that was the original suggestion in the design of the Board of Works, and it was not carried out because it was objected to by the people of the locality. From his own observation he could testify that a splendid piece of work had been carried out. There was no evidence that any portion of the work showed signs of giving way, and he thought the hon. Member might rest satisfied that, as far as the work had been carried out by the Board of Works, there was no fault to find with it. The people of the locality desired that the other portion of the work should be carried out. The hon. Member was probably aware that in the Act which authorized the construction of the pier it was distinctly laid down that if an expenditure exceeding £30,000 were incurred, it should be optional to raise another loan on condition that the Town Commissioners of Arklow should bear the responsibility for the additional loan. In this particular case there had been constructed blocks of concrete in excess of the work already carried out. He understood that those blocks of concrete represented a value of about £4,000, and it was estimated that if the additional portion were carried out it would cost another £4,000, making a total of £8,000. It had been already intimated to the Town Commissioners of Arklow that, if they would assume the responsibility for the £4,000 which it was necessary to spend, the Board of Works would be perfectly willing to carry out the remainder of this work. He confessed that Arklow, when he visited it, gave him the impression of being one of the most prosperous fishing districts he had seen. There were more evidences of life and energy, more boats, and a larger real fishing population than in any other district he had visited. The new work would, no doubt, be of great value in providing a sheltered harbour, and in protecting the work already done, which was not completed because the Local Authorities were not prepared

to take a comparatively small burden upon their shoulders. The hon. Member for East Wicklow had brought forward the question of Greystones. He did not understand that there was any complaint at Greystones in regard to the quality of the work which had been done, but he thought it must be admitted that there was truth in the statement of the hon. Member that the shingle had shown a tendency to fill up the harbour. He was informed that this was due to the unusual prevalence of north-east winds on that part of the coast. When north-east winds prevailed there was a tendency to drive the shingle round the coast into the harbour. There had been no objection taken either to the design or to the quality of the work as far as regards the pier which had been built. As the hon. Member said, it probably did act, to some extent, in checking the shingle. It had been suggested that a short north groyne would prevent what was going on at present. But, in the opinion of the engineer of the Board of Works, that would not be effective, for, unless the north groyne were carried out to a sufficient distance, the sweep of the shingle would come round the groyne and could not possibly be got out again. He was told that in one week, when the wind shifted round to the opposite quarter, 7,000 tons of shingle were cleared out of the harbour. The Board of Works had, from time to time, taken careful note of the subject, and he did not deny that if the present action went on, and the shingle continued to fill the harbour, it might be necessary to consider some means of preventing the evil. Probably the hon. Member would know what the facts of the matter were better than he did, but, according to the information which had been supplied to him, there was no actual urgent necessity to take this course arising from any practical inconvenience, and there was a sufficiency of deep water to accommodate a much larger number of boats than now went into the harbour. He hoped the hon. Member and the Committee would be satisfied with the assurance that if actual inconvenience were proved, and that this action went on to such an extent as to cause practical inconvenience and interfere with the use of the harbour, he would bring the question before the Treasury. He trusted that that statement would be accepted as fairly satisfactory, and as an indication, at all events, that the Government desired to deal practically with any difficulty they found to exist. The difficulty was not confined to this particular harbour; but, as the hon. Member for East Cork had pointed out with much force, the difficulties connected with marine engineering of this kind were so great that it was not always easy to secure complete success. The hon. Member for West Belfast had asked him one or two questions in reference to the Estimate now under discussion. The hon. Member pointed out that the Solicitor to the Board had retired. The explanation was, shortly, this. There was at the end of last year, or towards the beginning of the present year—he thought in January—an alteration made, and what was usually known as a re-organization of the office. He was happy, however, to assure the Committee beforehand that in this particular case re-organization had led to economy of expenditure. In reality there had been a concentration of work, and the old Solicitor to the Board of Works had retired, so that his salary was now being saved. Under the old arrangement there was sometimes a confusion, and almost a collision, of authority in connection with some part of the work, such as the collection of the interest on loans and arrears of loans. He had gone into the question when he was in Dublin, and as the result of the investigation he had made a concentration of the work had been carried out. Mr. Coll had been made head of the office, and the assistant solicitor acted under Mr. Coll. The salaries were borne now on the Vote for Law Charges, Ireland. At any rate, as far as the present year was concerned, the money taken would be sufficient to pay the whole of the salaries.

MR. SEXTON asked what would be the amount of the saving?

MR. JACKSON said, the saving effected would be about £1,900 a-year, and he believed that not only was there a saving, but that the work of the Office would go on much more smoothly, and so far as the arrears of money out were concerned they would be put in a much better position. Certainly, the collection was now going on much more rapidly than heretofore, and the arrears, which had been showing a considerable tendency to increase, were now, he believed,

showing a tendency in the opposite direction. The hon. Gentleman had also put a question in reference to the Inspectors. Possibly the criticism of the hon. Member might be justifiable, and more substantial information might have been given. As a matter of fact, the number of Inspectors had been reduced from 25 to 18, and the amount of the salaries thus saved represented the saving on the Estimate. The hon. Member also asked a question as to some complaint by the Institute of Architects, but he did not call to mind that any such complaint had come to the knowledge of the Treasury.

MR. SEXTON asked how the reduction in the expenditure of the Office had been found to act practically?

MR. JACKSON said, that practically it was found that all the work necessary to be done would be done with a largely decreased expenditure and a less number of officers. It was also found that, with a diminished amount of work, more systematic order was secured. In regard to the preparation of plans, he was given to understand that there was no foundation for the statement of the hon. Member that the Board of Works desired, in any sense, to compete with the Dublin architects. The object of the Board would be understood and appreciated by every Member of the Committee. There were in the Office, in connection with schools and houses of various sizes and numbers, model plans described by the hon. Member, but which were called in the Office standard plans. These standard plans represented school houses and other buildings of various sizes, and they had been adopted as the result of great experience and as a matter of economy. Many people made an application for them, because it was understood that these standard plans were supplied free of cost by the Board of Works. In cases where the plans required special adaptation to local circumstances, or where special requirements were needed to meet the local circumstances, he was informed that there was a practice, as the hon. Member suggested, under which plans were made by the Board of Works and given to applicants free.

MR. SEXTON asked if the correspondence on the subject would be produced?

MR. JACKSON said, he had already stated that he was not aware of there having been any correspondence.

MR. SEXTON said, he knew that there had been a correspondence.

MR. JACKSON remarked that it certainly had not been before him. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would allow him to inform himself upon the matter by making some inquiry.

MR. SEXTON said, he happened to know that there had been a correspondence between the Board of Works and the President of the Institute of Architects. He had read it himself.

MR. JACKSON said, he would rather inform himself upon the matter—first, whether there was a correspondence in existence, and, next, what it consisted of. He thought he had now answered all the questions which had been put to him, and he trusted that he had satisfied hon. Members. He made no complaint of the hon. Member for East Cork for having called attention to the case of the Ballycotton Pier. The hon. Member had simply discharged his duty in bringing the question before the Committee. He thought, however, that the Committee would agree that as far as the Government could meet the question fairly and properly they had done so.

MR. LANE said, he could not find fault with the manner in which the hon. Gentleman had replied to the questions put to him in regard to the various matters which had been brought before the Committee. To a certain extent the answers were satisfactory; but he had to take exception to the fact that, while on the 27th of September last a letter had been received from the right hon. Gentleman's Department promising that an inquiry would be made into the complaints that had been made as to the stability of the Ballycotton Pier, they found themselves now, on the 6th of December, called upon to vote the expenses of the Department which had had the work under its control, just as wise as they were before, with the probability of having to wait for another 12 months before they got a Report. He felt bound to complain, and complain very strongly, that the right hon. Gentleman had not insisted upon Mr. Wolfe Barry making his Report during the past two months, so that there might, at any rate, have been some attempt at a reply to the

strictures which had been made upon the proceedings of the Board of Works. No intimation had yet been conveyed as to when the Report would be received; but he trusted that as soon as it was received a copy of it would be placed in the hands of hon. Members. Unfortunately, no opportunity would be afforded for discussing the Report until this Vote was brought on again next year, nor would it be possible to ascertain what action the Treasury would take in the matter. In the absence of Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report, he asked the Secretary to the Treasury to say what the position of affairs was in regard to the Ballycotton Pier, and whether he would undertake, on behalf of the Treasury, to give a simple guarantee that, no matter what might be the nature of the Report, the Treasury would give instructions that the pier should be put in an adequate state of repair in order to prevent it from becoming permanently injured, and by that means throwing a serious and heavy burden upon the shoulders of the ratepayers of the county of Cork in the event of Mr. Wolfe Barry siding with the Board of Works against the Grand Jury and their surveyor? Whatever the Grand Jury might feel inclined to do, he (Mr. Lane) should certainly advise them, whether Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report was in favour of the Board of Works or not, to refuse to take over a pier which even an ordinary layman could see was crumbling away. Although they might be technically liable for the maintenance of the pier, the Treasury, in common justice, ought not to compel them to take it over. The hon. Gentleman, when he paid a visit to Ballycotton, must have seen the fissures which existed, and, therefore, he hoped the Treasury would come to the rescue of the Local Authorities, and make up for the deficiencies of the Board of Works in not having secured that the pier should be completed satisfactorily and handed over in a proper and sound condition. As there was to be no opportunity afforded for seeing Mr. Wolfe Barry's Report, they ought, he thought, to ask for a simple guarantee to this effect from the Treasury.

MR. JACKSON said, it would be obvious to the Committee that he ought not to give the guarantee asked for by the hon. Member. Certainly no such guarantee could be given before the Treasury had the whole of the facts before them. But the hon. Member was wrong in contemplating that he would have no opportunity of again raising the question for 12 months. He hoped that the opportunity would be afforded within the next three or four months. They were now in the month of December, and the Leader of the House had stated that he hoped next year to take the Estimates pretty early; so that the hon. Gentleman would have an opportunity of discussing the matter that interested him before many months had elapsed.

MR. LANE remarked that the pier might be blown away in the meantime.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, he had no doubt that the discussion of these local matters might be irksome to English and Scotch Members. It was certainly ridiculous that the time of such an Assembly should be occupied with matters which concerned Irishmen only, and ought to be discussed in an Irish Legislative Assembly. It was, however, the result of the policy of Parliament, and he could not help it. On the other hand, it was humiliating for the Irish Members to come to Westminster, and year after year appeal to an English and Scotch Parliament on matters quite foreign to their Parliamentary interest and knowledge. The Secretary to the Treasury had made a defence of the Board of Works, and had quoted their testimony as to the general capacity of an engineer who had examined certain marine works in the county of Donegal.

MR. JACKSON: The Report of Mr. Stevenson had reference to 22 piers.

MR. CLANCY said, that those 22 piers were situated in the county of Donegal. Even in that case it was difficult to get over the fact that every year, for the last 20 or 30, before the Irish Parliamentary Party were heard of, there were constant complaints from all parts of Ireland about the Board of Works. He hoped the Committee would understand that these debates were not initiated from political motives. The interposition of the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) in the debate showed that he was correct in this remark. It was certainly humiliating to find that when all parties in Ireland were united upon these local questions—about which they were bound to know more than anybody else, and

when an hon. Member opposite like the hon. Member for Cambridge joined them—it was humiliating to find that they were compelled to come there year after year and appeal to the Secretary to the Treasury without obtaining the slightest satisfaction. He was certainly astonished to see the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway standing up in his place to support the Board of Works. When the Piers and Harbours Act was passed a few years ago persons connected with the harbour of Rush, in the county of Dublin, subscribed nearly £1,000 in order that they might avail themselves of the grant made for the construction of piers and harbours in Ireland in that year. But because the locality was not able to subscribe the full amount of £1,000, and only managed to raise £800, the Piers and Harbours Commission of that day, whose functions were now discharged by the Board of Works, passed them over, and made a most inadequate distribution of the money, giving it to localities which had made no such effort as that which had been made by the people of Rush. Of course it was of no use to cry over spilt milk, and, without complaining of what had been done in the past, he thought it was right to call attention to the fact that the people of Rush still maintained their harbour, and that the sum originally collected was still intact. Some large local proprietors had wished to withdraw their subscriptions, but he had advised the people to stick to the money and see that it was only devoted to the purpose for which it was originally intended. He called attention to the matter because he wished to show that there were means, in this case, of satisfying the demands of the locality without drawing upon the Imperial Exchequer for a farthing. The fund originally came out of the Irish Church surplus, and, therefore, he made no apology whatever for asking that a portion of it should be applied to this purpose. It involved no Vote of money by Parliament that would come out of the pocket of the British taxpayer. He knew that the fund was comparatively exhausted, but, according to a Return for the year 1888-9, repayments of loans would be coming in during the financial year to the amount of about £3,000 or £4,000; and, if that were so, he would ask the Government to consider the case of the people of Rush, who, to a certain extent, had been cheated out of their rights two or three years ago, notwithstanding the great efforts which had been made in the locality. It would, in his opinion, only be an act of justice to the people of Rush to give them this £3,000 or £4,000 that was now available from the repayment of loans advanced to other localities two or three years ago. He had, however, a still more important matter to the taxpayer generally and the House of Commons to bring under the notice of the Committee. Indeed, he had to call attention to a circumstance which looked very like a charge of corruption against the Board of Works. In the county of Kerry there was a lady named Miss Lucy Thompson. She had acted as the guardian of the property of certain minors for some years, and had been proved by the Land Courts to be a rack-renter. He was speaking, not of his own personal knowledge, but on the authority of a gentleman who had had exceptional opportunities of becoming acquainted with the facts of the case. Miss Lucy Thompson—according to this gentleman—was not only a rack-renter, but had done something even worse. A short time ago this lady obtained a sum of £400 from the Board of Works for a piece of land at Tralee, about two acres in extent, for the erection of a lighthouse, or some other purpose. It was land upon which, as it had been described to him, it was impossible to feed a snipe. He did not know how many years' purchase she got according to the rate allowed by the Ashbourne Act. The bargain, however, was not concluded under that Act; but he presumed it amounted to at least 40 years' purchase, and, instead of £400, £100 was the outside sum this lady ought to have received from any purchaser. The information in regard to the transaction had been obtained quite by accident, and the fact that the existence of such a fraudulent transaction was unknown suggested to him that other things of the same kind might have been going on, and that the British taxpayer might have been swindled of a very large sum of money by the Board of Works. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury might not be able to explain the matter that night, but now that he had the facts before him he would probably cause inquiry to

be made. He gave the hon. Gentleman fair warning that when the Estimates were next under consideration the whole of this case would be brought up, and an answer would have to be given to the very serious charge he now preferred. He had another charge to bring in reference to this lady. She appeared to have obtained loans, at different times, for the improvement of her property, from the Board of Works, and, adopting the usual practice of Irish landlords, Miss Thompson had failed to repay the instalments. The way she had got out of her obligations was very curious, and unless some explanation could be given the whole transaction, he thought, was most destructive to the reputation of the Board of Works. Having obtained one loan, this lady, when the time for repayment came, obtained another. Failing to pay the instalments on one, she wrote up to the Board of Works, who sent down an official—he was prepared to state the name of the official if necessary—who altered the prices which had been agreed to and fixed by the County Surveyor of Kerry, and allowed her to put to her credit the cost of certain improvements at an increased sum. A pliable Board of Works sent down an equally pliable official to survey the improvements, and the difference in the estimate was added by the Board. If these statements were true, he thought the Committee would agree with him that nothing short of a scandalous fraud had been perpetrated on the public by this lady in collusion with the Board of Works. Passing from that subject, they had heard that night that the office of Solicitor to the Board had been abolished, and that £1,900 had been saved in the Department by a system of concentration of business. He thought more could be done in that way. The salary of a Chief Inspector was £500, and of a Chief Examiner £400 a-year. He wanted to know whether both these gentlemen did not perform exactly the same functions, and whether one would not be sufficient to do the work 10 times over? He had heard that two gentlemen, pronounced to be perfectly competent to discharge their duties, had been dismissed, while another, whose dismissal had been recommended by his superiors on the ground of incompetency, had been retained. He considered that the charge was a very serious one, and, if there was no answer to it, the only conclusion in the minds of the Irish people would be that the partizanship which was displayed in purely political Departments of the State was extended in Ireland to every other Department. Certainly the discontent and dissatisfaction which were now expressed in regard to the Government of Ireland would become intensified by these disgraceful transactions. There was another matter to which he also desired to call attention. He wanted to know what rule there was in the Board of Works, and in Dublin Castle generally, as to the participation of officials of the Crown in public and political movements? When those English strollers—the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington)—went over to Dublin to excite the loyalty of the citizens they were entertained at a very select banquet, at which all the chief officials of the Board of Works, except one, were present. General Sankey, Mr. Roberts, and Mr. Soady were there. He was not certain about Mr. Le Fanu. Not only were they present at the banquet, but they signed the highly partizan address presented to these two English strollers. There might be two opinions as to whether prominent officials of the Crown in Ireland ought to take part in political movements; but, for his own part, he considered that the present unfortunate position of Ireland—when so much suspicion attached to the action of Government officials—necessitated the abstention of all officials from political movements. He did not think that such abstention should prevail in England or in Ireland when once a normal condition of things was established. But, as matters stood at present, let all abstain or all be allowed to participate; but there must not be one rule for the Tories in Ireland and another for the Nationalists. He claimed that if Mr. Roberts, Mr. Soady, General Sankey, and others of the Orange fraternity in the pay of the Government were permitted to demonstrate in favour of the Government, that Nationalists who were in the pay of the Government should be allowed to do the same thing. He challenged the Government to say that

all Government officials were to be allowed to participate in political movements in Ireland, or that all should abstain. Either of the two courses would satisfy him, but he warned the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that if one of these principles only was allowed to be put in practice, he would never cease to draw the attention of Parliament to the scandal of permitting Members of the Tory Party to display their political sympathies with the Government, while the Nationalists in the pay of the Government were not allowed to do the same thing.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he thanked the hon. Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane) for having called attention to the Ballycotton Pier. His hon. Friend pressed for a distinct intimation from the Government as to what was to be done in connection with the effective condition of the pier since the visit of Mr. Wolfe Barry. He happened to be present when the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury visited Ballycotton, and he had called the attention of the hon. Gentleman to the remains of the old pier, which protruded into the newly-made harbour. He showed the hon. Gentleman a fishing boat at half-tide, about 100 yards or less from the entrance, hanging on by its tail, a sort of thing they might expect to see in the Zoological Gardens, but not a very desirable item in a newly-constructed harbour. He thought that the more hon. Members considered the subject the more ready would they be to subscribe to the truth of the old adage that "when doctors differ the patients die." So, also, when engineers fell out the fishing boats got stranded, and the unfortunate people for whom the works had been constructed got stranded too. He trusted that the Government would promise that some experiment should be made in order to see whether the remains of the old pier could be removed or not. Owing to remonstrances which he (Dr. Tanner) had made, a certain sum of money had been spent in the removal of the pier, but as yet it had not been entirely removed. The question to which the hon. Member for Cambridge had called attention had been judiciously shelved by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury. The new method of stilling the troubled waters was to pour oil upon them, and the hon. Gentleman never rose to reply in a debate in which material points had been raised without reminding him of the cask of oil that was judiciously spilt in calming the troubled waves. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would direct his great intelligence to the various subjects which had been brought under his notice. He would not enter into the question of the structure or construction of the new pier, but he would confine himself to inquiring whether the remaining portion of the old pier could not be removed. That was all he had to say about Ballycotton Pier; but there were one or two other subjects on which he desired to say a word. In the first place, he held in his hand a communication which had reached him from a gentleman who had pressed forward this business—the Roman Catholic clergyman at Ballycotton, who said that the people of Ballycotton wished to have assurances that Mr. Wolfe Barry's survey of the inner harbour would be laid before the House of Commons, and whether the stone and rubble used in the construction of the works had been washed away, leaving one-half of the old pier dry. The pier at Rosscarbery was another of the monuments of public incapacity which strewed the Irish Coast. They already paid an Inspector of Ancient Monuments, but if the Board of Works were permitted to continue their present action unchecked, it would be necessary to increase his salary or add to the staff. Fortunately, there was no harbour in the part of the county which he represented, but he had visited many of the harbours around the coast, and most of them were in an unsound and unsatisfactory condition. When he last visited Rosscarbery Pier, there were four colliers lying down at an old pier which had been condemned years ago. It was in consequence of the old pier not being considered equal to the requirements of the harbour that a new pier was erected at a cost of £4,299; but so badly had it been constructed that solid blocks of concrete had dropped out into the channel, and the colliers were obliged to discharge their cargoes at the old condemned pier, and the people, as a result, experienced great difficulty in getting a livelihood. He was afraid that these matters would never be properly attended to until the Irish people had a Parliament of their own in which

they could discuss them. He would further like to call attention to the condition of the people of Achill Island. It was one of the poorest districts in Ireland, and if there were any people in the world for whom something ought to be done it was these unfortunate people. They had many troubles and privations to contend with, and their life was one long struggle from year end to year end, notwithstanding the great harvest of the sea which lay at their very door. But they were without means and appliances, and it was a scandal and a disgrace to the country that something was not done to improve their condition. In a visit which he paid to the locality in company with the hon. Member for West Mayo (Mr. Deasy), they had to go by means of a small boat from the Island to Achill Beg, and then take another boat, which they found it extremely difficult to get launched into Clear Bay. The passage was so dangerous that no boat could pass from Achill Island to Clear Bay except at full tide. No one who was unacquainted with the facts of the case could fully realize the enormous dangers and terrible difficulties these unfortunate people had to encounter in their endeavour to obtain a livelihood; it was, therefore, greatly to be regretted that the steps hitherto taken to promote their welfare had been so ill chosen. He wished to call attention also to the harbour in Newcastle in County Down, about which he had over and over again raised complaints in that House, which complaints, he considered, demanded attention, and that there should be some practical solution of the question relating to these harbours, because unless this was done the want of confidence would be increased among the people, owing to the mode of action which had always been characteristic of the Board of Works in Ireland. He hoped that the hon. Gentleman, with his practical power of dealing with these matters, would give them his kind attention.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) said, he rose to refer to the unsatisfactory pier accommodation at Schull.

THE CHAIRMAN said, it was not within the competency of the Committee to discuss on that Vote the business of the Board of Works, but only the action of the Board.

MR. GILHOOLY said, that he had already drawn attention to the subject of the action of the Board. In the Harbour of Schull had been captured in the last year over 1,000,000 mackerel, and he pointed out that each mackerel boat required 10 feet of water, but that there was only a depth of seven feet, the consequence of which was that the fish had to be brought from the vessels in boats to the pier, which was, of course, a great disadvantage to the fishermen. It also had the effect of prejudicing the sale, because it caused the buyers to give a smaller price for the fish than they would have done if they were landed expeditiously. Again, over 250,000 mackerel had been salted and cured, and sent from Schull to America within the last few months.

THE CHAIRMAN asked the hon. Gentleman to point out in what way the Board of Works was liable to criticism under this head.

MR. GILHOOLY said, the pier had been very badly constructed, and it was a great disadvantage to the locality. He would only say that the answer which the hon. Gentleman gave was that the pier had been handed over to the County of Cork, and that, therefore, it was impossible either for him or the Treasury to deal with it. He now wished to ask whether there was any remedy in the case of badly constructed piers and harbours, and if they were to believe that every attempt to develop the resources of Ireland would be met with a statement that the Treasury had no power to deal with the matter, and that the pier had been taken in hand by the county? Another matter to which he desired to call attention was the advancing of loans to tenants for the improvement of their lands. It was almost impossible for any tenant who owed 12 months' rent to his landlord, and whom the landlord had a spleen against, to get any money under the Act. A tenant on an estate in Kildare divided his land between his two sons; each of the sons applied for a grant, and the younger of the sons having voted against the nominee of the landlord, the landlord interfered to prevent the Board of Works granting the loan. The father, who was the lessee, wrote to the Board of Works saying that he was perfectly agreeable that the son should get the

money; yet, owing to the influence of the landlord, through his bailiff, the money was not advanced. He asked the right hon. Gentleman whether, if there was sufficient security, the money would be advanced to the people of Ireland for the purpose intended? He also pointed out that the Royal Commission had recommended works to be done on two piers on the coast, and he asked when that would be carried out?

Mr. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) said, he had to thank his hon. Friend for calling attention to the pier at Newcastle. The pier was constructed in 1854 by the Board of Works, and it was then that the Grand Jury of the County sent down their surveyor.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is speaking of a fact which shows that the matter is not relevant to this Vote—namely, that the work was done by the Board of Works 30 years ago.

Mr. M'CARTAN said, he wished to point out that the present state of the pier was both dangerous to navigators and in a bad state for the unfortunate men who had to make their living there. He asked the hon. Gentleman if he would send some persons to make an independent inquiry in order that some remedy might be found for the present state of affairs? He had no doubt that if such a person were sent he would report to the Board of Works that the pier required improvement, owing to its having been constructed in a very faulty way.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he wished to call the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to the pier at Ballycotton. He held in his hand a letter from the Treasury, dated 27th September. In consequence of the receipt of that letter by the Secretary to the Grand Jury of Cork, a visit was made to Ballycotton Pier. An independent engineer made an inspection, and the Committee were now asked to wait for three months longer after the Recess, and when the Session was over they were told that this independent engineer's Report would be forthcoming. The request he had to make to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was that he would promise that the Report should be produced before the Session was over. The hon. Gentleman wrote the letter on the 26th of September, appointing the 6th October as the date of inquiry and investigation, and, two months having elapsed, there had been sufficient time for the engineer to make his Report and to bring it forward for the satisfaction of those concerned. Considering that a few points only were to be reported upon, it was too great a trial of the patience of hon. Members to put them off for three months longer. Let the Committee remember that the pier itself might pass away, as many other piers had done, before the Report reached their hand, in consequence of the winter storms and heavy seas which might prevail during the time. Hon. Members said that the pier had not been built according to specification; that the blocks originally designed to be five tons, and arranged so as to keep out the water, had been changed to blocks of 50 tons each and that the water now came in; they also complained that the filling should have been of hard stone, but that it was at best soft stone, and that there was about 1,000 tons of soft clay used. The clerk of the works had reported to Mr. Barry that 1,000 tons of stone rubble were never touched at all. These were the few heads under which this engineer was to make his Report, and he did not think it unreasonable to ask that the Report should be expedited, so that the Committee might have information upon this interesting matter. That was all that he had to say upon the subject, and he trusted that the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would give a satisfactory answer upon it.

Mr. JACKSON said, the hon. Member had complained that the Report of the engineer might have been prepared and placed in the hands of hon. Members before that time. But he thought he himself had furnished the very best possible reason why they ought not to hurry the production of the Report. If there was one point more than another which it was desirable to clear up, and on which they ought to have the most reliable evidence, it was as to whether the movement in the pier was going on or not. Now, he ventured to submit to the Committee that nothing but time could ascertain that fact. The hon. Gentleman had spoken of another three months elapsing, and about it being possible that in that time the pier might have passed away, but surely if

such a contingency was likely to occur, and whether that were so or not, it would not be affected by the production of the Report. He hoped that the hon. Gentleman's fears would not be realized, and it was for the very reason that they might have other storms, and also as a matter of justice to the Board of Works, that he ventured to point out that the matter should receive the most careful consideration, so that, when the Report was received, it should be based upon the most minute investigation to determine whether there was any movement going on or not. He was sure it would be very much to the advantage of every one concerned that this question should be settled definitely, if possible, once for all. Now, with regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), he did not think anyone would accuse the hon. Member of lack of oratorical power; he had referred to the old pier, and he (Mr. Jackson) ought perhaps to have made reference to his observations on that subject a little while ago, but the matter had slipped his memory at the moment. The question of Ballycotton Pier was one of those referred to Mr. Barry. As a matter of fact there were two questions — first, as to whether the pier was to be removed in accordance with the specification, and, secondly, as to whether this was desirable.

DR. TANNER said, he thought the hon. Gentleman was wrong in making that statement, because everything had been settled. £30,000 were advanced in order to remove the old pier, and still the complaint was made by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald), one of the hon. Gentleman's own supporters, that although this money had been spent there remained a serious obstruction to navigation.

MR. JACKSON said, certain work was alleged to have been done, and one of the inquiries would be as to whether that work had been carried out. The hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly) had asked him a question with regard to the other pier referred to. That pier was not really under the Board of Works; it was one of those piers handed over to the Grand Jury a long time ago; he was afraid that he had not got the date. However, he might say that quite recently an examination of the pier had been made, and it was found at the time that some slight amount of damage had been done. That damage had been remedied, and he had it on authority that the work was now in order and perfectly substantial. The hon. Member for South Down (Mr. M'Cartan) asked whether he would cause inquiry to be made with regard to the pier at Newcastle. That pier was long ago constructed and handed over at the time by the Board of Works, who had now no responsibility in connection with it. Whether it was desirable to build a harbour at Newcastle or not was of course a question on which he could express no opinion. If it were necessary to have a harbour there it would be of course open to take steps for the purpose in the district as in any other district. The hon. Member for West Cork had asked him a question with regard to loans to tenants. If the hon. Member would supply him with the name of the tenant to whom he referred he did not for one moment hesitate to say that he would inquire into the facts in connection with the case. With regard to Schull Harbour he stood in the same position as to the harbour at Newcastle, because he was under the impression that it had been handed over to the Grand Jury in 1854. It was, in fact, transferred to the Grand Jury on the 29th June of that year. Of course, at the time when it was taken over it was examined, and he thought that so long a period as 30 years having elapsed it was hardly possible for him to answer questions with regard to it at a moment's notice. He was afraid, as far as the Board of Works was concerned, that the matter having passed out of their hands, it was not in their power to spend any more money upon it. It might be desirable to have another pier constructed, but that was not a question for the Board of Works. With regard to the point raised by the hon. Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy) he pointed out that there had been a reduction of 10 on the staff, but he thought the hon. Gentleman was misinformed as to Mr. Manning having been incompetent to discharge his duties.

MR. CLANCY said, he did not speak of him as being incompetent, but that he was reported to be incompetent, and dismissed on that ground.

MR. JACKSON said, that his right hon. Friend the Leader of the House

(Mr. W. H. Smith) had already expressed his opinion with regard to Civil servants attending political meetings, and he (Mr. Jackson) hoped that the time would never come when men occupying the position of Civil servants would lose their rights of citizenship.

MR. CLANCY said, he thought he had expressed himself clearly to the effect that in Great Britain the Government of the country being in a normal state, there was no reason whatever why any man serving the country should be deprived of the rights of citizenship. But he had shown that in Ireland Tory officials of the Government were permitted to do things which the Nationalists employed by the Government were not permitted to do. He had stated as a notorious fact that men like General Sanky, Mr. Roberts, and Mr. Soady could attend Unionist meetings and Unionist banquets, whereas it was known to every man in Ireland, and was a fact incapable of contradiction, that any Nationalist who ventured to do the same thing would be instantly dismissed from the Service. A short time ago a Nationalist teacher was sent about his business for having hinted his political opinions. The hon. Gentleman had not given the Committee an assurance that what the men he had named were permitted to do would be allowed to be done by Nationalists. He repeated what he had previously said, that the very next time he saw Mr. Roberts, Mr. Soady, or General Sanky, or any other official of the Government in Ireland on an Unionist platform, and taking part in Unionist proceedings, he would call attention to the fact, especially if any Nationalist was harassed and eventually driven out of his position for the same thing.

MR. JACKSON said, he had only wished to make it clear that he did not want to go into the question whether Civil servants ought to attend political meetings or not. That was a question which he thought ought to be set at rest by the Leader of the House.

DR. TANNER said, there was another item included in this Vote which would require a certain amount of consideration. For his own part he thought he could expect hon. Gentleman opposite to listen to this matter with the attention which it deserved. He referred to the preservation of ancient monuments. A certain amount of money was passed for this purpose, but he did not consider that Parliament obtained an adequate return for the amount so expended. They had here an Inspector of ancient monuments under the Act of Parliament. This gentleman received a sum of £50 this year and the same amount last year in addition to a salary of £200. What he would say in connection with this officer was, that apparently he was sent down to a district where it suited the convenience of certain individual landed proprietors, and the result was that the major portion of Irish National monuments, of which his countrymen were reasonably proud, were allowed to go to wreck and ruin while the number of small and minor articles of antiquity were preserved to gratify the taste of certain proprietors of the soil. This proceeding was neither just nor honest. They received very little consideration from an expenditure which was literally a National expenditure; they were called upon to pay this money, and if this Vote were passed in an Irish deliberative Assembly he was certain that his countrymen, being proud of matters in the past, would pay considerable attention to the question of the preservation of ancient monuments. But it was not so at the present time; these points were habitually slurred over in a Committee of Supply, when there were, perhaps, occasionally only two or three Gentlemen occupying an official position seated on the Treasury Bench. He contended, that when they kept up an official Inspector, he cared not who he might be, that at any rate the historical remnants which were still in the old Town of Athenry should not be allowed to perish. He had had the opportunity of showing two Members of the Conservative Party over these grand old relics of the historical past, and these Gentlemen were just as much grieved as he that nothing had been done to preserve them as they would have been preserved in other countries. When they were called upon to pass considerable sums of money in that House, he maintained that they ought to receive an adequate return for it, and surely the inspection of these historical remains did not take up very much time or give very much trouble. He sincerely hoped that before the Vote was passed they would get some information from the hon. Gentleman the

Secretary to the Treasury, who, he always knew, took time by the forelock and threw oil upon the troubled waters, which would lead them to the belief that something would be done in connection with this old City of the Kings in Connaught. He had heard many complaints from Catholic and Protestant Clergymen about the want of attention paid to that very historical city, and he sincerely hoped that some definite assurance would be given by the hon. Gentleman that this matter should receive the attention which it deserved. But there was another item to which he desired to refer. He saw there were three surveyors of buildings in Cork with minimum salaries of £400, increasement £20, and maximum £500. The increase under the head of salaries, however, was a very small matter and he would not dwell upon it. But he thought he knew nearly everybody in the City of Cork, and, until he cast his eye over the Estimate presented to the House, he was not aware that in that city such an official existed as a surveyor of public buildings. If such an official did exist in Cork he would like to know what he had to do. He was to a certain extent acquainted with all the public buildings in Cork, and the major portion of them were undoubtedly under the care of the Municipality. Now, in that case, if this official existed to take care of any buildings in Cork the office must be a very small one and quite unworthy of public consideration, for which reason he thought that the sooner it was done away with the better.

MR. JACKSON said, he was not aware that such an officer existed; he saw nothing in reference to Cork on the Estimates.

DR. TANNER said, there was the name of A. T. Williams, surveyor of public buildings, Cork.

MR. JACKSON said, in that case, he supposed that he was stationed in Cork. The hon. Gentleman must see that it was quite impossible for him to give an answer to all these details, and he would probably understand that the Office of Public Works in Ireland extended to the charge of all public works, and that it was necessary to appoint men in different districts. That, he thought, would be the explanation of the point raised by the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Member asked him some questions on the subject of ancient monuments. All he could say upon that point was, that if he would give him the particulars in such form as could be communicated by him to the Board of Works, he would do so, and then, if they came within the scope of the Act of Parliament dealing with such buildings, he was sure that the Board of Works would give the matter every possible attention.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) said, there was very many subjects on which he wished to dwell in connection with the duties of the Board of Works; but he would confine himself to local matters. He feared that the Board of Works neglected the general interest in their desire to please. In connection with the River Sugg there were some important drainage works going on; but he had remarked, in connection with this work, that the Board of Works had been wanting in knowledge, or in that amount of capacity which it was necessary for Public Bodies to have established in connection with such a scheme of drainage as this. The original estimate made for the drainage of this river was £103,000. It was the duty of the engineers of the Board of Works to see that the amount of money specified, or agreed upon between the Committee of the Sugg drainage and the Government, should be, at all events, somewhat approximate to the amount of money required for the finishing of the works. They found, however, that this £103,000 were expended, and that a further sum of £60,000 or £70,000 were required for completing the works. Then, he thought, the Board of Works should also have regard to the necessity of keeping in repair such works as they had given their consent to. As regarded the River Sugg, in addition to what he had already said, he held it to be the duty of the Board of Works to take care that the industries along the river were not interfered with too largely. There were several undertakings on the river which used to give valuable employment—such as weirs and mills—and although they had been of great adadvantage to the locality they had been ruined. No doubt the owners had been compensated for the loss of their property; but the general public suffered by the removal of the weirs. He should think, as a matter of public interest, it should be the duty of the Board of

Works to see that in the matter of these contracts between Drainage Boards and the owners of property no injury should be sustained by the general public. There was one other point he should like to touch upon. There had been a large amount of money spent under the Board of Works, not in carrying on arterial drainage works, but works of a minor class. These works, especially in County Galway, or that part of County Galway he represented, year after year —works which had been accomplished at very great expense—were being closed up, and were becoming useless. It would seem as though supervision on the part of the Board of Works had altogether ceased. No doubt the Grand Juries in some cases might have taken over these works; but he thought that care should be taken, before such works as were necessary for the reclamation of the land were handed over to the Grand Juries, or any other Body, to see that they were in proper repair. Therefore, he complained, first of all, that the Board of Works did not see that the estimates put in were such as would cover the expenses of the works; and, secondly, he complained that the Board of Works allowed such industries as milling and fishing to be affected, and did not take sufficient precautions to preserve them. Thirdly, he complained that minor works of drainage were generally in certain districts, and were maintained in such a manner as to allow them to fall into decay. Drainage works required to be attended to from time to time. The water-courses required keeping open, and everything in the shape of obstruction required moving. He should be glad if the Government would take these points into their consideration, and would endeavour to remedy the deficiencies on the part of the Board of Works to which he alluded.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he desired to signalize this occasion by saying a word in favour of the Board of Works for a satisfactory procedure which he thought hitherto had been almost unknown. He desired to return his best thanks to the Board for what they had done in relation to the bridge across the Liffey in connection with the new Vandal railway which was being made in Dublin. The Board had, for the first time, done an admirable service to the public of Dublin in protecting the Custom House from the railway Goths. He desired, as a member of the public, to return his best thanks to Mr. Soady, of the Board of Works, for the letter that gentleman had addressed to the railway people, and the care he had taken of the interests of the public in respect of the Customs House. He (Mr. T. M. Healy) sincerely trusted that this gentleman and the Board of Works would be induced to continue their opposition to the atrocious structure which the railways had obtained permission from Parliament to erect, and he trusted the Board would not be intimidated from their position of protecting one of the remaining beauties of the City of Dublin, built by the last Irish Parliament, notwithstanding any clamour which might be raised against their action. The Board were supported in the position they had taken up by all the intelligence of Dublin. He hoped they would stick to their point; and if newspaper rings, or railway rings, or any other rings of capitalists endeavoured to induce them, in the interest of what was called trade or commerce, to sanction the unsightly and brutal structure that the Railway Companies proposed to erect, he hoped they would maintain their position and insist, as they had power to insist, themselves or through the Board of Trade, upon the structure being made an ornamental one. He was stronger in his opposition in this matter as he observed that this Railway Company, having come before Parliament in 1884, and having come twice since, would have to resort to Parliament for another Bill in the coming year. Certainly if the Board of Works did not stand to their guns when the Bill was before the House, he (Mr. T. M. Healy) and his friends would have some general observations to make all round.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Dr. TANNER said, he rose for the last time to try and get some definite assurance from the Government with regard to the harbour to which attention had already been called. The matter was a small one, and he did not wish to detain the Committee for one moment longer than was absolutely necessary; but he desired to get some

definite assurance on the subject. Would the Board of Works see to the removal of the pier?

MR. JACKSON said, as he had already stated, if it was necessary in the interests of the harbour to make a further removal, the work would be carried out. At all events, if the harbour was found to be in an unsatisfactory condition the whole matter would be most carefully inquired into.

Question put and *agreed* to.

(2.) £2,010, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

(3.) £4,747, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he did not see any Representative of the Irish Office in the House, but he desired to ask a question with regard to this Vote. The Registrar General was responsible for the criminal and judicial statistics of Ireland, but in his Report he said that, following the lines adopted in connection with the Scotch criminal and judicial statistics, the Report he had been in the habit of returning would not be furnished in future. He (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) desired to have some information on this matter. The change proposed was a very serious one, from a statistical point of view. The judicial statistics of England which the Irish Report had been endeavouring, since 1883, to follow, were a very complete, intelligent, and valuable statement of the whole of their criminal and judicial expenditure. The Scotch Report was an extremely unsatisfactory one. Last year he called attention to this Scotch Report, and expressed regret that in Scotland they did not follow the English example. In Scotland they simply put down on the Table of the House a large mass of undigested statistics, whereas in England and Ireland an intelligent summary was given of the whole of the statistics in a short and tangible shape. Now, he wanted to know upon what ground they were to be deprived of the Irish Report? Who was the authority in Dublin Castle who had decided that Parliament should be deprived of this Return which it had been in the habit of receiving for many years past? What was the ground upon which this omission was founded?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was afraid he was not able to give the right hon. Gentleman complete information as regarded this Vote, but, so far as he knew, this information had been supplied hitherto from Dublin Castle. He was afraid that what had been done in this case was due to one of those many attempts—which the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he knew, did not appreciate—to save £100 in what was called duplicate work. If the right hon. Gentleman would inquire into the matter he would find that that was the fact. This £100 had been paid to the Registrar General for duplicating important information supplied from Dublin Castle, but if the right hon. Gentleman desired it, he (Mr. Jackson) would ascertain definitely the facts of the case, and give the right hon Gentleman all the information in his power.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, the duplicate consisted not so much as the table of statistics, but of an intelligent *résumé*. These *résumés*, with which they had been supplied for some years, could not be altered without the assent of Parliament. The Government seemed to be desirous to change the method of producing very valuable statistics. When the Scotch Votes came on he would ask a question in regard to Scotland. He submitted that in the present state of politics in Ireland, these statistics were most valuable, and he would ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to say that no change would be made in this matter without the consent of Parliament.

MR. JACKSON said, he could only promise to ascertain whether there would be any difficulty in continuing the Return as supplied in the past. If there were none, of course the Return should be presented in the old shape. As he had stated—but he was only speaking from memory on the point—a sum of about £100, which had hitherto been paid for duplicating this information and putting it into proper form, would be saved by the arrangement proposed. It had seemed to the officials unnecessary to continue that payment. He (Mr. Jackson) was not aware that any statement had been made on the subject in the Report to which the right hon. Gentleman had called attention, although he remembered that the question was one

which had come before him with the result he had stated.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he had listened to this conversation with very great surprise. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) had raised a point of the greatest importance. He was not aware that it was intended to limit the extent of the information given to the House from year to year with regard to the criminal statistics of Ireland. The statistics were compiled by Dr. Hancock in recent years.

MR. JACKSON: I beg pardon; they were not compiled by me, but information was sent up to the Registrar-General.

MR. SEXTON: Yes, and duplicated. Those who were connected with Irish public affairs found it necessary to render themselves familiar with these statistics; and at a time when Ireland was subjected to a special coercion law it was highly important that full information should be in the hands of the public with regard to criminal and judicial statistics. He, therefore, thought it meet that the form of this Return should not be altered. It would be a great mistake, in order to effect a paltry saving of £100, to alter the form of the Return, and prevent the Irish Members and the Irish public having that information which was necessary in discussing Public Business. If the form of this Return were altered, it would enable the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to pursue with success the policy of evasion and suppression of facts which he had lately pursued in that House. It was necessary that the Vote should be postponed. He (Mr. Sexton) had not been aware that any great change as that proposed was in contemplation. He would ask the Government to postpone this arrangement until they made up their minds as to whether or not the Return should be altered.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked, whether the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury did not intend giving any reply as to this Vote—as to whether it should not be postponed until he was able to give the House definite information?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, he hoped the Government would be able to say something. It would facilitate Business if they did. There was an old-established form of Return which had been constantly given to Parliament, and, therefore, it would always be a grave objection, when they had a well-known form existing from year to year, to depart from that form. That was the case in regard to all classes of Returns. If the Government would say that in future they would issue the same form of Return as they had issued in the past, everyone would be satisfied.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that of course if the statistics had been given habitually for years in one form, and there was a desire that they should be continued in that form, they would be so continued. His hon. Friend near him, the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), was anxious to effect any economies he could in this and in other Departments, but if statistics had been given, he could assure the Committee there was no desire on the part of the Government to discontinue them. There could be no desire on the part of the Government to make any change in the form. He would inquire into the matter, and if he found that there had been a discontinuance of a Return which any section of the House desired, no consideration of expenditure should stand in the way of its being resumed.

MR. SEXTON said, he did not know what objection there was or could be taken to the production of the Return in the old form, but it was essential that this information should be at hand.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will take care that all the usual information is given.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £5,973, to complete the sum for Valuation and Boundary Survey in Ireland.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £32,665 (including a Supplementary sum of £10,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come

in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1889, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I desire under this Vote, which I believe to be an appropriate Vote, to call attention to a matter to which I confess I attach the most supreme importance, and that is the principle upon which criminal prosecutions are conducted in Ireland, and particularly the principle upon which criminal prosecutions are not conducted in Ireland, which is equally important. I referred to this matter yesterday on the Vote for the Chief Secretary, but though, no doubt, the whole of the Government are the people ultimately responsible in this matter, the people primarily responsible are unquestionably the Irish Law Officers for the advice which they give in the matter. Now, I venture to lay down as a proposition which cannot be disputed, that it is the practice of England that when life has been taken—about the gravest character of offence—there shall be some method of redress for the subject through the Coroner's Jury, and after proceedings from the Coroner's jury, then through the legitimate tribunals of the country. Now that that is a practice which is fundamental in our Constitution I think nobody will deny. I do not want to dogmatize or lay down universal propositions in this matter, but it is certainly not within my knowledge or recollection that where a Coroner's Jury in England have found that life has been improperly taken away by any individual, it has been the practice to treat that finding with contempt, and take no action upon it. The usual course, not only with reference to individuals, but especially with regard to the Police Force—a force which is under the immediate control of the Crown—is that when serious charges are made they shall be inquired into. I have been responsible myself for the conduct of the police in England for many years. I have never known a case, I will not say where the verdict has been returned by a Coroner's Jury, but where a charge has been brought against the police on any reasonable ground, when there have not been instructions given for a prosecution—and that even in cases where the Government were convinced of the innocence of the police. And this has been always done in order that the conduct of the police should be cleared. That is the course that is pursued in England upon the matter, and we have demanded that the same course should be pursued in Ireland. We have said that when charges are brought against the police, I will not say by a Coroner's Jury, but any other reasonable charge, that there should be due inquiry made, as we make it in England, by bringing the matter before the magistrates or the Court, or in having the matter inquired into by some other appropriate method. In Ireland we find that the lives of people may be taken away, and that the subjects of the Queen may be slain, and yet the Executive not only refuse to make any inquiry, but interpose every obstacle in the way of any inquiry that would satisfy the public as to the grounds upon which and the manner in which those lives had been taken. Now, Sir, that is, to my mind, a double mischief. In the first place, it is treating human life in Ireland in a way in which you do not treat human life in England. But it has a still greater and more mischievous effect. It is educating the police into the belief that they may do what they please with impunity—that they can take life—that they can do anything they please, being quite certain that the Executive Government will protect them from any inquiry and from all responsibility. That is a state of things unknown to the liberties of England, and without precedent in the practice of this country. To teach the police that whatever they did they would never be called to account is a doctrine preached by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in this House, and that, apparently, is the principle practised by the Law Officers in Ireland; and I desire to-night on this Vote for Criminal Prosecutions to challenge both the doctrines of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the practice of the Law Officers of Ireland. Well, when we laid down these principles, familiar, inveterate, never departed from as I know in the practice of this country, how are we met by the Government? Do the Government think it worth while to deny it; do they think it worth while to argue against it? Not a bit of it;

they meet us with a *tu quoque*, that most conclusive of all arguments. Now, to my mind, the practice is one that cannot be justified, and if a practice is to be condemned as inconsistent with the doctrines and the traditions of English liberty, you do not make it any better by showing that other Governments have done exactly the same thing. You may make that taunt against individuals, but you cannot establish the principle for the nation. If, therefore, the charge of the *tu quoque* were as true as I am going to show the House it is absolutely false, it would be an argument of no avail at all. What would it show us? It would only show that the traditions of Irish Goverments under whatever administration had always been evil. ["Oh, oh!" and *Laughter.*] Well, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) laughs, but I am afraid that is a proposition that cannot be denied. I do not believe that there is any Irish administration of historical times that can bear to have applied to it tests of English liberty. That is the unfortunate consequence of generations and centuries of coercion. You have never governed Ireland on the principle on which you have governed England, and you have never applied to Ireland the principles which you apply to the English subjects of the Queen, and, unfortunately, this habit of special legislation and exceptional administration has poisoned the blood of Irish administration in Dublin Castle, and nowhere has the poison been more deadly than in the legal portions of the administration of Dublin Castle. They have ceased to believe and they have ceased to practise the principles which are familiar to Englishmen in reference to the liberty and the rights of the subject. Well, but if this miserable *tu quoque* had been true it would have been a bad and worthless argument. But I have a more important subject, and I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to the fact that these *tu quoques* of his are manufactured to order. I will meet the right hon. Gentleman and his precedents. Everybody in the Committee will remember the triumph with which he propounded his seven cases the other night—his seven lean kine of *tu quoques* which he introduced as a conclusive argument to deal with this important subject. Now, what was the object with which he propounded these *tu quoques* of his? His great object was to show that no action had been taken, or at all events in these seven circumstances had not been taken, by the Executive Government in cases where Coroners' Juries had found that life had been taken by the police. Now, he triumphantly demonstrated this, and his great confederate and exponent of the Press, *The Times* newspaper, I see this morning says:—

> "As Mr. Balfour was able to show, Mr. Gladstone's Government had in seven cases, between 1881 and 1885, treated the verdicts of Irish Coroners' Juries against policemen as mere attempts to turn an antiquated form of legal inquiry into a political weapon wielded with a malignant purpose, and had consequently declined to institute proceedings, or even to order a departmental investigation."

So you see the right hon. Gentleman has succeeded in persuading *The Times* newspaper, and probably even more intelligent parties, that the Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), where Coroners' Juries had found verdicts against the police, invariably declined to institute proceedings—or at least in the seven *tu quoques* which were produced the other night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Well, now, I ask the House to mark these words—"That the Government instituted no proceedings." I am going to test the crediblity of the official statements of the right hon. Gentleman, which every day are becoming weaker in my estimation, as I find that the most solemn of his official declarations appear on examination to be entirely without foundation. Now, I will take his seven cases. The first three of them are cases in which he says the Grand Juries threw out the bills. How came it that the Grand Juries had bills to throw out? Who presented the bills? The Coroners' Juries found verdicts against the police, and there were bills put to them; but who presented those bills? Why, the Government which instituted the proceedings upon the subject. Of course the Government considered it their duty upon the finding of the Coroner's Jury to present indictments—I presume that to be the case, for I do not know how otherwise the bills could have come before the Grand Jury. The Grand

Jury ignored the bills, but that was not the act of the Government. The act of the Government was in presenting the bill—the act of the Government was in accordance with the finding of the jury to bring the person implicated by the Coroners' Jury before a Court of Law in order that the case might be investigated. Therefore the statement—the self-contradictory statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, confuting itself as to three cases out of the seven—showed that the late Government did institute proceedings, and that if they came to an end it was the act of the judicial authority and not of the Government who presented the Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What statement did I make?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Why, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was that the Coroners' Juries found their verdicts, and the Government took no action on them, and never prosecuted.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never made that statement in regard to seven cases.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: With the right hon. Gentleman's statement we are all familiar. What I say is this, where Coroners' Juries have found verdicts since you have been in Office, why have you not presented bills to Grand Juries? Have you presented bills in such cases, and, if not, why not; and why has *The Times* newspaper, on your statement, charged us that we never instituted proceedings in any case on these findings? Then I say that the mere fact that the Grand Jury ignored the bills showed that the late Government did prosecute, and that they considered it their duty to prosecute in these cases. I say nothing about the character of the Grand Juries in Ireland. I leave it to the vindicators of law and order to degrade the Coroner's Jury, a Constitutional tribunal. I leave them to speak of it with contempt, and treat it with contempt, and to trample it under foot because it does not suit their purposes. I will not deal with the Grand Jury in Ireland in the same spirit as the right hon. Gentleman deals with the Coroner's Jury. From the three cases I have mentioned I will go to other cases. Now, it is a very short time since the right hon. Gentleman made his statement, and it takes a considerable period, even more than 48 hours, to show up completely and absolutely the unfounded statements which the right hon. Gentleman is in the habit of officially making in this House. Now, I will take two of these cases which I have been able to test, and I will state to the Committee what are the facts. Having stated what are the facts, I will compare them with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He did not give the names of the cases, or where they occurred, but I am entitled to identify them. I will state the facts of these cases on official authority, which I will pledge myself are much better than that of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Now, the last case he referred to was one which occurred on the 27th of October, and I have no doubt that that must be the same case as the Belmullet case, which, according to my record of the proceedings, took place on the 28th of October. It is certainly the same case, because the right hon. Gentleman spoke of two women who died, and were killed. [*Laughter.*] This seems to be a subject for mirth for hon. Gentlemen opposite, but that I cannot help. It is in accordance with the spirit in which they receive all observations of this character. The whole object of that statement of the case was to show that though the police had fired, and though two women were killed, the Government took no action—that though the Coroner's Jury had found a verdict against the policemen, the Government thought themselves justified in treating that verdict with contempt, and taking no action at all. That is the statement made deliberately to the House of Commons by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland. I will tell the Committee what are the facts. After the verdict of the Coroner's Jury was given, the two persons impugned by the Coroner's Jury were both subsequently prosecuted by the Crown Solicitor at Belmullet. That is an absolute contradiction, an absolute refutation of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. They were brought up before the Resident Magistrates for the purpose of being returned for trial, the investigation took place before a Resident Magistrate, and the Executive Government took all the measures which were necessary for bringing about a trial founded upon the finding of the Coroner's Jury; and, if

the matter did not proceed further, it was because of the action of the magistrate, who found it was not necessary to proceed in it, and not to the action of the Executive Government, who were bound to bring the men to trial. That is my answer to the fourth of the seven cases of the right hon. Gentleman. Now I come to the next case, and that is the only case which occurred under the administration of Lord Spencer. Some of the former cases to which the right hon. Gentleman referred were in the earlier years under Mr. Forster's administration, and when, under the unhappy suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, it might possibly be supposed all law was suspended in Ireland. But I will show you that in all the cases which I have been able to examine in which a Coroner's Jury found a verdict, proceedings for bringing the persons to trial were instituted by the Executive Government. I come to the next case, and I am able, fortunately, very easily to identify it. It is a Ballina case, which took place on the 5th of May, 1882, the day before the Phœnix Park murders, and the day before Lord Spencer arrived in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said with triumph, "Now we come to number six." You will remember his manner, you will remember the sort of air with which he brought these cases forward. This is his statement to the Committee of the House of Commons, and I ask you to compare it with the true facts of the case—

"On the 5th of May, 1882, a detachment of police was attacked by a mob, and the police fired. A man was shot, and no steps were taken in pursuance of the verdict of the Coroner's Jury."

Now, that is the deliberate statement made by the Minister responsible for the Government of Ireland—namely, that on the finding of the Coroner's Jury no steps were taken by the Government. What are the facts of the case? It apperred that on the release of Mr. Davitt from prison, demonstrations had taken place. There were processions, and the police had seized the musical instruments of the band in one of these processions, which act led to a tumult. The police fired, and a boy named Mellody was wounded, and from his wounds he ultimately died. What did the Government do? The Coroner's Jury found a verdict, and the Crown Solicitor was directed to report to the Government. That official stated that he did not think that there could be any doubt that at the time of the firing the situation was so serious that the police were justified in firing for their own protection, but that certainly there might be a difference of opinion as to their conduct in seizing the drum. Now, mark how alike that is to Mitchelstown. The opinion was that when a tumult had reached a certain point the police were justified in firing, but the Crown Solicitor considered it was a matter of very serious consideration what provocation had been given by the police in seizing the drum; as in the Ballina case by the seizure of the drum, so in the Mitchelstown case by the forcing of a reporter through the crowd. An inquest was held, but proved to be abortive through some legal defect. A fresh one was then held, and an open verdict returned—namely, Mellody died from a gunshot wound inflicted by the Constabulary under Inspector Ball. Thereupon the Attorney General directed Ball to be summoned before a magistrate. And this is the case brought forward after deliberate inquiries by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland as one in which the Government took no step. What are we to think of the official statements of the right hon. Gentleman? The Attorney General directed Ball to be summoned before a magistrate to show cause why he should not be returned for trial. These are the *tu quoque* of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland, these are the manufactured precedents from the statements brought forward to mislead the House and to mislead the people.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I must point out that the right hon. Gentleman is making an imputation that is un-Parliamentary.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I beg pardon. I will say, which would have the effect necessarily of misleading the people. Now, the magistrate, after legal investigation, determined that the information should not be granted, but compensation to the amount of £195 was paid to Mellody's father and to the other persons injured. This is a case which is brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland as demonstrative that the Government took no steps upon the

finding of the Coroner's Jury. I have not had time to examine the only two remaining cases, but, out of the seven cases, I have shown the Committee that in five of them the Government took the necessary steps upon the finding of the Coroner's Jury to bring the person impugned to a public trial, and that they instituted proceedings in all the cases. That is what I have to say upon the seven precedents of the right hon. Gentleman. Now, what is the position in which the responsible Government stands in making such statements as that? The right hon. Gentleman, flourishing his arms the other night, jeered me for audacity on the strength of these precedents. I will not characterize the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman, because you, Sir, have very properly reminded me that it is difficult to do so in Parliamentary language. I shall, therefore, refrain from doing so. I am quite satisfied to state the facts, and to allow persons to form their own judgment and express their own opinion upon the subject. I do not wish to be understood for one moment as charging the right hon. Gentleman with having deliberately stated circumstances of this kind not believing them to be true, but I say the right hon. Gentleman is in the habit of very recklessly making statements which, upon inquiry, turn out to be unfounded, and that he is in the habit of trusting to informers, and to information much of which does not deserve to be relied upon, and I think a good deal of reform is required in that matter. It is becoming an habitual practice of the Irish Government. A statement as to evicted farms has been made by the Lord Lieutenant, but he has declined to state the source of his information or to prove it. We should like to know very much where the information came from, or what foundation there was for that statement. To justify it or maintain it there was no attempt made; the point was evaded in the usual manner, and it was said—"Oh, you are in favour of derelict farms." That is no answer to the charge that the statement of the Lord Lieutenant was a statement which had no foundation in fact. Who supplied the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary with the documents which he displayed to the Committee the other night; who wrote the papers which he paraded before the House? I have long ago come to the conclusion that there are persons in the secret recesses of Dublin Castle whose business it is to issue false coin. They manufacture specimens of *tu quoques* to order; they have always got a reserve of precedents to be used when they are wanted by the Chief Secretary; and this metal with a false stamp is manufactured wholesale, and then it is dealt out retail, and, after the fashion of false coiners, they find simple and innocent persons—I mean simple and innocent persons like the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen)—who know nothing about it, to retail this bad coin. That, in my opinion, is the real source of the extraordinary statements which are made day after day, and which, as soon as they are examined, are found to be entirely without basis. Now, I think we ought to have an end of this kind of thing, and that upon great questions of this kind, before they launch these *tu quoques*, they might at least ascertain that they had some foundation in truth. But, putting aside these precedents and these *tu quoques*, about which I have said enough—[Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Quite.] Yes, I should think quite enough for the right hon. Gentleman. I wish him joy of them; and I hope, as he has had enough of them, we shall hear no further reference to them. I can promise the right hon. Gentleman that, if he will not repeat his *tu quoques*, I will not repeat my criticisms of them; we will, if he likes, pair on that point, and I will let him off in future. But what I challenge is the policy which these *tu quoques* have been brought forward to justify. That is to say that, when men's lives are taken, when a Coroner's jury has found that the responsibility rests with individuals, the Government should come forward and say—"We will treat that evidence with contempt; we will treat that taking of life with indifference. We will not prosecute; we will not hold any inquiry. We will"—to use the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—"take no steps." That is the policy I challenge. What is the consequence of that policy? It is to inculcate in the minds of the police a most dangerous and most mischievous doctrine—namely, that they

may commit whatever acts of violent outrage they please, but that they shall have no responsibility for them; that they shall never be called to account for them; that they shall not hesitate to shoot, but that they are to take care to shoot to kill; and that no man shall ever examine whether they were justified in that conduct or not. That is a doctrine against which I am here to protest. No such doctrine has ever been tolerated in this English land. I do not say the police in England are not instructed to shoot to kill. Happily, they are not armed, and that is a very fortunate distinction between the English and the Irish police. But to preach a doctrine of that kind, to tell the police that their conduct shall never be inquired into, and that they shall never be called to account, is to demoralize the police, is to destroy the protection of the liberty of the subject which has been promoted before. What is the doctrine we have always taught our police? It is—"If you do your duty, you shall be protected and defended." [*Cheers.*] Yes; I have always acted upon that doctrine—"If your conduct is called in question, it shall be investigated"—I have always acted upon that principle, too—"and if there is no justification for your conduct you shall be punished." Upon that principle I have always acted. These are the principles upon which the police of England have been conducted, greatly, in my opinion, to the advantage both of the police and the people. But it was not the principle upon which the police of Ireland are conducted. It is a totally different principle. It is the principle—"Satisfy the Government. Do not hesitate to shoot—shoot to kill. We will take care of you." The contrast between the conduct of the police in England and the conduct of the police in Ireland is a very painful one. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland regards this matter, no doubt, from an entirely different point of view. I cannot help thinking that there are too many people in this country who regard it from a different point of view. If you attempt to apply this principle or the practice which you employ in Ireland to them, almost every man on the other side of the House will agree with the principle for which, we contend, you are not accustomed—you are not disposed to apply the same principle to Ireland that you apply to England, and that is the real cause of the difficulties which exist between England and Ireland. I am afraid that you do not think that, either in the administration of the police or in the administration of justice, you should treat the "black man" as you do the "white man." These are the Hottentots of the United Kingdom; these are the men who have as little right to the ordinary privileges of British subjects as the 200,000,000 subjects of the Empress of India. It is the same spirit—the same spirit of insolent contempt for inferior races, for subjected people, which dictates this policy, which is the real cause of the distinction between your action in these matters—your action in regard to the police, your action in regard to the Courts of Justice, your action through your Law Officers in Ireland and in England; and it is upon this Vote that I take the opportunity of protesting against these things. I protest against your refusal to deal with these cases in Ireland as you deal with them in England, as you have dealt with them even in Ireland previously. I protest against your refusal to take any notice of the sacrifice of human life, and the verdicts found upon the matter; I protest altogether against your conduct in the administration of justice. I remember a piece of striking testimony which came from one to whom the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will pay more attention than he will to me. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] Yes; I thank the hon. Gentleman for that civil cheer, it indicates the courtesy of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am speaking of my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James). We discussed some time ago a legal reform—the examination of prisoners—and my right hon. and learned Friend said—"He would not dare to apply that which he would wish to apply to England to the Courts in Ireland, because he had not the same confidence or reliance in the manner in which those Courts were administered." That is a very serious assertion coming from such an authority as my right hon. and learned Friend; but, unhappily, we find, at every opportunity, you cannot examine any of these proceedings without seeing that the measure of justice, that the measure of liberty is a different

one for Ireland and for England. It is against this difference that I am here to protest. I believe it is the fundamental ground of the mischief which exists between the two countries, and I believe you will never have peace between England and Ireland until you are prepared in the administration of justice in Ireland to apply the same principles of Constitutional liberty which govern the administration of justice in England.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) is a man of courage, but I do not think he is a man of discretion. I think that had his discretion equalled his courage, he would not have attempted to revive the debate of Tuesday night, in which, I venture to say, he did not get the best of it, and in which I think there is some doubt whether he will get the best of it to-night. Now, the right hon. Gentleman accuses me of, if not myself manufacturing *tu quoques* to order, at all events of distributing the goods which are thus manufactured for me. I think I caught in that metaphor a slight reminiscence of a speech I made at Glasgow. In that speech I drew a parallel between the manufacturing agency in Ireland, and the advertizing agency of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). But I have always noticed that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) did not entirely comprehend the full force of the arguments which he describes as *tu quoque* arguments. I think that, perhaps, in this matter, he is slightly misled by his own self esteem. He apparently thinks that when I quote some action of his Government I quote it as a ground for thinking that the action of the present Government is justified. He appears to think that I quote his action as a precedent which ought to be followed. I never thought of such a thing; it never occurred to me that the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had thought a particular course was right was the slightest presumption that such a course ought to be pursued by his Successors. But I think the *tu quoque* argument, though it is, I admit, no justification whatever for the course of the present Government, has a most important bearing upon current controversies; for, after all, it enables the country to put a tolerably accurate estimate upon the value of the opinions of the gentlemen who chiefly occupy themselves with criticizing us. The country may be regarded as a Court of Appeal, before whom two opposing clients are arguing. If you can show that every statement now made by one of these gentlemen is in direct contradiction to something which the same gentleman under different circumstances—under similar circumstances. [*Ironical cheers.*] I thank hon. and right hon. Gentlemen for that cheer; "it indicates the courtesy of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite." If it can be shown that some of the statements which one of the parties made are in direct contradiction to statements made by the same party under similar circumstances on a previous occasion, why that party is absolutely discredited, and it is in order to show the right hon. Gentleman and his friends in their true colours before the country, and for no other object whatever, that I indulge in this *tu quoque* to which the right hon. Gentleman, not unnaturally, most strenuously objects. Now, the right hon. Gentleman has entirely and gratuitously misinterpreted the motives with which, on Tuesday, I read out the seven cases in which life had been lost in Ireland through the action of the police. The right hon. Gentleman was not present in the debate on Monday. I recollect that to-night, when he was arguing with my right hon. Friend the Member for the Sleaford Division of Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), he reproached my right hon. Friend because he had not been present during the debate. It was a lapse of memory; the right hon. Gentleman has not been present during all these debates; he was absent on the most important night of all. Had he been present on Monday night, and listened to the — I will not say to the speech I delivered on that occasion—but to the interruptions made in that speech by his right hon. Colleague the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) he would have known that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) challenged me to produce a case in which life had been lost by the action of the police, and it was not as a *tu quoque* to the right hon. Gentleman, but in obedience to a request made across the

Floor of the House that I produce certain cases. And that is not all. The right hon. Gentleman appears to think that, so far as the arguments brought forward on Tuesday were concerned, I introduced these cases to indicate that, judging by precedent, the Crown ought to take no steps whatever when one of the crowd is killed by a policeman. But the right hon. Gentleman forgets his own argument, that instead of having a Departmental Committee in order to investigate the action of the police on the occasion at Michelstown, I ought to have had an inquiry into the causes which led to the death of the men.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I said a judicial inquiry.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, not at all. I brought forward the seven cases, not merely in obedience to the request of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, but also to show that in not one of those cases did his Government hold the judicial inquiry which the right hon. Gentleman has now discovered to be absolutely essential when the life of one of Her Majesty's subjects is sacrificed in conflict with the forces of the Crown.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: We had a judicial inquiry in five of them.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I pointed out that in not one of the seven cases did it ever occur to the right hon. Gentleman to hold the kind of inquiry which he now contends ought to have been held into the action of the police. The right hon. Gentleman will observe that I never concealed for a moment that in some of the cases the matter was brought before the Grand Jury; on the contrary, I stated that this was the case, and it was not in reference to the action there has been on the part of the present Government in not allowing the Michelstown case to go before the Grand Jury, that I quoted the seven cases. The right hon. Gentleman was mistaken, as he often is, in stating that in three of the cases the subject was brought before the Grand Jury. I believe him to be wrong in this; according to my information, which I believe is accurate, instead of the three cases it was two cases that came before the Grand Jury, and in the first of those two, according to my information, the Grand Jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against a policeman, who was arrested and committed for trial at the Assizes, but the Crown refused to prosecute, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I said there were two cases.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No; the right hon. Gentleman said three—he repeated the word "three" over and over again. But I accept the correction which the right hon. Gentleman has now made upon his own statement after I corrected him; he now substitutes two for three. Then I go on. No. 1 and No. 2 have been brought before the Committee; of No. 3 the right hon. Gentleman says nothing; of No. 4 he says nothing; of No. 5 he says nothing, and we now came to Nos. 6 and 7. With regard to No. 7, this was the case of the 27th October, 1881, in which District Inspector Stritch and a party of police who were protecting a procession were attacked, and two women were killed. The right hon. Gentleman stated that I misled the House on this matter. That is not the case. Even the report of *The Times*, which is in the third person, and does not profess to be a verbatim report, makes it clear that I said that the District Inspector was proceeded against at Petty Sessions, but that the information was refused, and nothing further done by the Crown. That is the essential point. It comes to this, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman is of opinion that everything is done to protect the life of the subject if, when life is sacrificed by the forces of the Crown, one person is brought before one removable magistrate.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: There is no question of Resident Magistrates. It was under Mr. Forster's administration.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Is the right hon. Gentleman in such utter ignorance of the history of events as to suppose that Resident Magistrates were the invention of Lord Spencer?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: They did not exist at all.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There have been Resident Magistrates for more than 50 years, and during that time they have been as much at the mercy of the Crown as they are at this moment, and they have as much deserved the epithet of "removable" as they do now. Well, sir, I repeat that the right hon. Gentleman is content

with saying that the life of the subject is adequately safeguarded if a person is brought before a magistrate whom he is prepared to qualify as a "removable magistrate." Then I come to the last case touched upon by the right hon. Gentleman. The first statement which I made on that case I believe to be perfectly accurate, and I believe the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to it to be wholly misleading. A certain man was killed; the Coroner's jury returned a verdict of death from gunshot wounds, and wilful murder against Inspector Ball; no steps were taken by the Crown in pursuance of the verdict. It is quite true that Inspector Ball was prosecuted, but I believe he was privately prosecuted by the next-of-kin, and not by the Government; and it was not due to the ardent desire of the Government of the day to protect the lives and liberties of the subject that the case ever came before a magistrate at all.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have stated, on authority which I have, that the Attorney General directed that Inspector Ball should go before a magistrate.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have stated my belief that he did nothing of the kind. I have not had time to inquire into statements made 10 months ago; but I absolutely disbelieve that this was the case, notwithstanding the statement of the right hon. Gentleman—made, doubtless, in good faith; and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that, so far as the information which I have is concerned, the prosecution of District Inspector Ball was not done at the instance of the Attorney General at all, but that it was a private prosecution, probably at the instance of the next-of-kin. Now I come to the cause of my surveying these cases. There were seven cases which I brought forward, not to discuss the action of the Crown, but to illustrate the number of cases in which life was sacrificed under the late Government. I say absolutely that my statement has not been shaken in reference to a single case. The right hon. Gentleman has made a practical misstatement with regard to three, and he has misrepresented what I said with regard to No. 7. He has made another mistake with regard to No. 6, and has absolutely said nothing whatever about Nos. 3, 4, and 5. Now we have the exact value of the argument of the right hon. Gentleman, and I think the Committee will bear me out in saying that the right hon. Gentleman's conduct on this occasion was dictated rather by courage than prudence. I noticed that the right hon. Gentleman attempted to draw a distinction between what happened under Lord Spencer's Government and what happened under the Administration of Mr. Forster. Now, I should like to know on what ground that distinction rests. I was drawing a moral from the action of the Government of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Do they repudiate responsibility for what happened under Mr. Forster's Administration? Did virtue reign for the first time in the Liberal Party in 1882? Did they violate all the rights and liberties of Her Majesty's subjects before that date, and did they only begin to practice true Liberalism after Mr. Forster resigned and Lord Spencer became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did not repudiate Mr. Forster's action. I said the practice might, perhaps, be expected to have been more lax after the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act than when it was not suspended.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand the right hon. Gentleman to accept the full responsibility for anything done in 1880. [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: "Hear, hear!"] Then what does it matter about the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act? Because the right hon. Gentleman was guilty of one gross violation of the liberty of the subject under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, was that any justification of another gross violation of it in dealing with the verdicts of Coroners' Juries? They were doubly guilty. Then in what particular does the *tu quoque* fail? It turned out that the whole seven were but too well founded; it turned out that the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Member did all these things for which he attacks us, and the right hon. Gentleman had acknowledged the responsibility for them. The right hon. Gentleman said I misled the Committee. I completely and categorically deny it; and not only that, but I say that the right hon. Gentleman had not the courage to say so when he was on his legs. The right hon. Gentleman had

seven cases to deal with. He dealt with several cases, but the others he did not touch upon at all. I do not mean, of course, to say that the cases which he did touch upon were accurately given.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I assumed, from the way in which the right hon. Gentleman mis-stated four out of the seven cases, that he mis-stated the rest; and when I have time for investigation I will prove it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman's courage has diminished very much. I have told the Committee frankly that I admitted that the first and second cases went before the Grand Jury. Will the right hon. Gentleman say I have mis-stated either of those two cases?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: You stated that we had taken no action whatever.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I stated equally in the first case as in the second that it came before the Grand Jury. In the third case the right hon. Gentleman stated that it came before the Grand Jury, and I stated that it did not; but the right hon. Gentleman was wrong, and I am right. So much for three cases. He did not touch on the fourth case or the fifth. I have proved that he was inaccurate in the sixth case, and in the seventh that he was misleading. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman has not a particle of evidence on which to assert that I have misled the Committee. I will now leave this particular matter, and make one general observation. The right hon. Gentleman has asserted that I have attacked Coroners' Juries specially. I have not specially attacked them. I have attacked them, and I have not been alone in doing so. It was Mr. Forster, the Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman—for whose action the right hon. Gentleman had justly expressed his own responsibility—who stated substantially that the verdicts of Coroners' Juries in Ireland, if carried out to their legitimate conclusion, would often be instruments of judicial murder, and I absolutely indorse that statement. The Coroner's Jury in Ireland was too often nothing better than a conspiracy to assassinate, and the Attorney General for Ireland as well as the Government would be parties to that conspiracy to assassinate, if, when they knew that the Coroner's Jury was acting corruptly or incompetently, they were to allow the matter to go on. That had always been felt by responsible Governments of Ireland. It was felt by the Government with which the right hon. Gentleman was connected and when he was a Member of it, and it is not the less felt by the responsible Government of Ireland now; and he should feel that the Government were disgraced if, in obedience to any clamour, from whatever quarter it might come, they were to make themselves parties to a gross injustice, to carry out the doctrines which the right hon. Gentleman has represented to be the doctrines which ought to govern Constitutional action. Let the Committee recollect what the situation of the police often is in the remote districts of Ireland. You have a small town in which there are not more than four or five policemen; and some agitator goes down and rouses the feelings of the populace against the police. [AN HON. MEMBER: Quite right]. The result of that has been in some cases, and may be in others, that the small handful of police in a remote district are attacked by overwhelming numbers. Absolutely in self-defence, perhaps with no other means open to them to preserve their lives, it may be that these policemen have either to fire or to charge; some member of the crowd falls a victim; a Coroner's Jury is called—the Coroner possibly being a gentleman of very violent political convictions, and probably the 13 or 14 jurors being under the influence of a powerful organization not favourable to the police, or under the influence of a feeling in the town thoroughly hostile to the police. They bring in a verdict possibly against all the evidence, accusing some unhappy policeman of being a wilful murderer. Are we to make ourselves accomplices in that scandalous transaction? Would any Government worthy of the name acquiesce in such a proceeding? I say no. If the right hon. Gentleman, instead of being a critic of the Government, were responsible, I say he would himself shrink from such a course and spurn it as unworthy of a British Statesman, and the Committee will believe that conduct which the right hon. gentleman thinks unworthy of himself and his Colleagues is not that which we on this Bench are likely to adopt.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said he had had no intention of intervening in this debate, but although it might be a little out of place he could not think it right to allow a charge so reckless and so horrible as that with which the right hon. Gentleman had concluded his speech to go unanswered. The right hon. Gentleman deliberately charged the Irish agitators—and he presumed he had in his eye hon. Members on those Benches—with going down into remote villages where there were but a few policemen in charge, and inciting angry crowds to attack them. He was glad to be there to meet that charge instantly with the most absolute and unqualified denial. He said it was a false charge, and he now challenged the right hon. Gentleman to produce a single instance in the course of a long and excited agitation, lasting for years, on which he could base a charge of the kind. It was a sample of the conduct Irish Members had been obliged to submit to in that House, and which the right hon. Gentleman had very frequently exhibited in the country when they were not present to meet charges of the most insulting character which were hurled at them without the smallest shred of justification. He wondered that the right hon. Gentleman was not ashamed to level such a charge against them. Was it not true that he (Mr. Dillon) and dozens of those around him had stood on platforms in the presence of thousands of men and a small handful of police, and that in no single instance had a hair of a policeman's head been injured, except where they, as aggressors in large force, had attacked peaceable meetings. Let the right hon. Gentleman stand up and select one out of all the thousands of meetings where the police were outnumbered by 10 to one, or 30 to one, at which the slightest injury had been done to a policeman. He would go further, and say that in no single instance that his knowledge would carry him to, and where any leading or responsible member of his Party was present, and where the police were in a small minority, had the slightest offence been offered to them. Let the Committee take the case of the midnight meeting at Woodford, where, if anywhere, under the circumstances, in Ireland one might naturally have expected that some violence would be shown to the police, because the district had been police-ridden, and insult and injury had been inflicted upon the inhabitants for years, yet at that meeting, when the police did not attempt to concentrate at night, the 5,000 or 6,000 men collected, and it was found that there were in the town only seven or eight policemen, who were far away from aid, and among a peasantry many of whom had grudges against the police for insults and injuries, no injury was done to them; and the police themselves were obliged to swear that not only had they received no violence or injury, but that they never received an insult throughout the whole time. Was it not shocking that a Minister, responsible for the government of so difficult and troublesome a country as the right hon. Gentleman had made Ireland, should stand up in his place and aggravate his offences by hurling base and detestable charges across the Floor of the House at Irish Representatives, when he must know that there was not a single instance of such a thing as he had described having occurred during the last eight years? In Ireland the story was all the other way. When the police were outnumbered there was peace and quiet and good humour, and there was never the riots and loss of life such as the right hon. Gentleman described: it was only when the police were in sufficient force, and handled by some intolerant and incompetent magistrate, that they broke up musical instruments, or made some brutal or unjustifiable and illegal attack upon the people, and that then, in the riot which naturally ensued, life was sometimes lost. He had thrown out a challenge to the right hon. Gentleman. He maintained that they were entitled to one of two things from the right hon. Gentleman—either to an apology for the charge, or a withdrawal of the charge he had made against them, or else that he should stand up at the Table and mention the date and place when the police had been attacked as he had alleged.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman has thrown out a challenge which I do not think is a particularly unfair one. He states that these incidents never occur when the police are small in number, and only occur when the police are in large force, and are handled by some violent and indiscreet

magistrate. The very last case in which loss of life occurred in consequence of a collision between the police and the people was, I believe, a case in which there were not more than five policemen in the whole town, and where there was no magistrate in charge of them. It is impossible for me, for obvious reasons, to go into the details of the case at the present moment; but I think if the hon. Gentleman will only consider the circumstances attending the loss of life at Midleton, he will find the general description I have given to the Committee of what may occur now is absolutely borne out by the facts.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is obvious this is a digression from the main Vote.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): It was begun by the Chief Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! The hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division is abusing his position in interrupting the Chair in that way. He must allow the Chairman to direct the discussion, and not interfere when the Chairman is giving a ruling. As I say, this is obviously a digression from the main Vote, to which it has no relation; and now that the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has uttered his protest against the statement of the Chief Secretary, and the Chief Secretary has replied, I think this particular subject ought to drop.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): Mr. Courtney, I think that after that intimation from you it will be for the convenience of the Committee that we should return to the Vote immediately before us; and I rise to move a reduction of the Vote by the sum of £500, in order to raise a question as to the administration of the Coercion Act in respect of a large class of cases—namely, the prosecutions for Boycotting in Ireland, which I believe were all directed and authorized by the Attorney General for Ireland. I believe I shall be able to show that a very grave miscarriage of justice has taken place, and that many scores of people have been prosecuted, convicted, and sent to prison for offences which they did not commit, and which are not offences under the Crimes Act. I shall also show that these prosecutions were used for the purpose of sending to prison persons selected for that purpose, or because the police authorities thought it expedient to send them to prison; and I shall show that they were denied every opportunity of raising a question of the legality of their convictions before the Superior Court in the manner in which it was, undoubtedly, intended and promised should be done. It seems generally to be thought that the Killeagh case stood by itself; but I shall show that it was one of a large class of cases of precisely the same nature, and that the same illegality of conviction took place without any redress. Two or three of the cases which I shall deal with were brought before the Committee in July last upon the Vote on Account. The Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Solicitor General for Ireland gave very unsatisfactory replies. Since then I have had the opportunity of being in the district of Ireland where the greater number of these prosecutions for Boycotting took place, and I was able to make personal inquiry into them; and, as a result, I am able to say that nearly all the convictions, if not all of them, have been as illegal and unwarrantable as those in the Killeagh case. I find in all that there have been 18 batches of persons prosecuted for conspiracy to compel and induce others to refuse to deal with and supply goods to persons. These included 118 persons. There were convictions in 17 of the batches, and 78 persons were convicted; nearly all of whom were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. I have made careful inquiry into a large proportion of these cases; I have obtained and read the depositions in many of them; in others I have obtained what information was available in the reports of the trials; and I have consulted persons who were present. I have been unable to discover more than a single case in which, read by the light of the Killeagh case, there was any evidence of a conspiracy to compel or induce other persons to refuse to supply; in all the other cases where I have been able to obtain information there was no such evidence; and it is absolutely certain that the convictions were illegal. It may naturally be asked by the Committee why it was that if these illegalities were committed they were not sooner detected and set aside? The answer is that in every case the Resident Magistrates refused to state a case to the Superior Courts; in

many of them the Crown Prosecutors used their influence to prevent the magistrates stating a case. In some of them, where the sentences were for more than a month, there was an appeal to a County Court Judge, and the County Court Judge fell into the same error of law as the Resident Magistrates, and there was no appeal on point of law from them to the Superior Courts. When the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. Healy), on behalf of some of the accused, endeavoured to raise the question of legality before the Superior Courts, he was met by every possible resistance on the part of the Attorney General for Ireland. At the instance of the Attorney General for Ireland the Court of Queen's Bench, which is the proper tribunal for dealing with criminal cases, refused to intervene; and it was only when the hon. and learned Member discovered a method of raising the question by a writ of *habeas corpus* before the Court of Exchequer, reviving an almost forgotten practice, that the point of law was brought before a Superior Court, and the three Judges then held that in the case before them there was no evidence whatever to warrant a conviction under the Act. The decision in the Killeagh case was given on June 25 last, and since then there have been no further prosecutions for Boycotting of this kind; and this alone raises a strong presumption that all the previous convictions were illegal. Let it not be said that the point raised was a purely technical one, and one which was contrary to the spirit of the Crimes Act. All these prosecutions took place under a sub-section of Clause 2 of the Crimes Act. The next Sub-section was copied from the Act of 1882, and was aimed at Boycotting when accompanied by intimidation. The new sub-section aimed at conspiracies to compel and induce others to refuse supplies. I find in the debates on this sub-section that the Attorney General for England justified this addition to the Clause of the Act of 1882. He said—

"We have over and over again pointed out, and we maintain that in our view there were important matters with which the Act of 1882 did not deal in respect of Boycotting. It may be that there may not be individual intimidation; but persons may meet together, and, without performing the acts themselves, may provide money or inducements, or adopt other measures commonly practised by Associations, to compel or induce others to take the steps complained of."

It is quite certain, from this and many other passages I could quote, that the decision of the Exchequer Judges in Ireland was in complete accord with the intentions of the Government, and with their declarations and promises to this House, and that it never was intended to give to Resident Magistrates power to send to prison persons for merely refusing to supply goods. Let me say of exclusive dealing, refusing to supply goods, and other acts included in what we call Boycotting, that where they are accompanied by intimidation, or where an association of persons by threats or inducements compels or induces others to refuse to supply, such acts are highly criminal; but where individuals under the influence of public opinion, whether singly or at the same time, refuse to supply, their acts are certainly not criminal. We may regret and deplore them, as we may regret and deplore the harsh evictions or the harsh action of the police which have led to them; but they are certainly not criminal. It is, and ought to be, the right of any individual to refuse to supply any other, and any attempt to extend the Criminal Law so as to include such persons would work enormous injustice, and could be used, as I shall show it has been used, with injustice as a means of oppression. In none of the cases which I have been able to inquire into, with one possible exception, has there been any evidence of a conspiracy to compel or induce within the meaning of the clause in the Crimes Act. The only evidence, as a rule, produced was the bare refusal on the part of some tradespeople, selected by the police for the purpose, to supply goods. The cause of action may be the same in all of them. When the Crimes Act armed the police or the landlord with what they they believed to be its power, they went round to such of the tradespeople as they wished to send to prison, perhaps, even others, and where they refused to supply they were prosecuted, convicted, and sent to prison. In most cases they called on tradesmen they had never dealt with before, generally asking for goods they did not want, and which they could have got elsewhere. Let me give a few illustrations. There have been two classes of cases under

the clause I refer to—one of prosecutions for refusing to supply the police, the other for refusing to supply some landlord who has incurred unpopularity, or some person who has taken an evicted farm, or an Emergency man. Of the first class of cases I could supply numerous illustrations. In all that I have examined there has been no evidence whatever of any conspiracy within the Killeagh decision. At Kildysart, in County Clare, a batch of farmers were prosecuted for refusing to supply turf to the police. The evidence showed that the police had a plentiful supply at their barracks. The farmers had simply refused to supply. There was no evidence of any conspiracy to compel any of them or any others not to supply. Some of them proved that they were not allowed to sell turf by their landlords; one of them showed that he had to buy turf himself. They were all convicted and sentenced to two, three, or four months' imprisonment. A more extraordinary case was that of the 24 publicans at Miltown Malbay, who were prosecuted for refusing to supply drink to the police. A prosecution under the Crimes Act was about to come on. The parish priest had reason to fear that there would be a renewal of disturbances between the police and the people coming into the town from the country, as had occurred on a previous occasion. The Sunday before the trial he addressed the country people in his chapel, and he urged them not to come into the town during the trial. With the same object he also addressed the shopkeepers in the town, and especially the public-house keepers, to shut their shops during the trial. The people followed his advice; all the shops in the town were closed during the trial. The police took the opportunity of getting up a number of prosecutions. Two of of them were sent round the town by the Inspector to ask for refreshments at 34 of the public-houses. They were refused, and 24 of the publicans were prosecuted under the Crimes Act. It was admitted at the trial that the police did not want any refreshments; they had all they wanted in their barracks. The parish priest came into the witness-box and stated that it was by his advice that they had acted as they had done. There was evidence that on previous occasions the police had been served. There was no evidence of any conspiracy to compel or induce. In spite of this, 21 of them were convicted, and were sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour. They asked for a case to the Superior Courts. That was refused. After the sentences, Colonel Turner offered to remit them if the men would acknowledge themselves in the wrong by entering into a written agreement not to do it again. Ten of the accused adopted that course; the others refused, and went to prison. It may be interesting to the Committee to hear that the public opinion of the district was so strong against the men who signed the agreement that during the month the others were in prison no one went near their shops, and even their brothers and nearest relatives would not have a word to say to them. I quite admit that in strict law a publican is bound to keep his house open; but if he fails to do so it is only a matter which can be dealt with when his licence is renewed. I have the depositions before me in this case, and there is absolutely no evidence on which a conviction could be supported. In another case, at Fermoy, two policemen went into the shop of a man named Moloney, and asked for a pair of boots hanging in his shop, and when he declined to sell he was prosecuted. It appeared that the police did not want the boots; they merely went there to get up a prosecution. In cross-examination one of them was asked—

"Who directed you to go to the shop?—Inspector Jones.

"Why did he tell you to do this?—He told me to get a pair of boots in the house.

"Were they for himself?—No.

"Any pair of boots you put your eyes on you were to get?—Yes.

"And you did not care a pin who they were for?—No.

"Was it for the purpose of getting up a prosecution that you went into the house?—I did not know at the time what it was for.

"Do you know it now?—Yes; certainly."

It is obvious that the man was simply sent there to ensnare the shopkeeper. There was absolutely no evidence of conspiracy. The man was convicted on this evidence, but was allowed to go out on his own recognizances. I could multiply cases of this kind. The other class of cases—those of landlords or others—were much of the same kind. There was the case of the farmers at Miltown Malbay. There had been a long-

standing dispute between a Mrs. Moroney, the owner of the land in the neighbourhood, and her tenants, and the people of the district. The dispute had arisen from the belief of the tenants that their rents were excessive, and that her evictions were harsh; and she had, in consequence, been more or less avoided by the people ever since. The shopkeepers of Miltown Malbay, mainly under the influence of the opinion of the country people, refused to supply her. I will not enter into the merits of the case, which are not very relevant, to what I desire now to describe; but I may mention that Sir West Ridgway and Colonel Turner have urged her to reinstate the evicted tenants in order to bring about peace. She was a very courageous and determined woman, and set up a store where she supplied her servants and her hotel. When she found herself armed with the Coercion Act she determined to turn the tables on the Miltown Malbay tradespeople. She began by sending her horse to three blacksmiths in the town, asking them to shoe it. She had never employed them before; she had no difficulty in getting the work done elsewhere. When they refused she had them prosecuted. They were convicted and sent to prison for a month. They asked for a case to the Superior Courts, but were refused. I have seen the depositions; they disclose no evidence whatever of a conspiracy. I have myself heard the story of those three men. They are most respectable tradesmen. They said that if they supplied Mrs. Moroney they would lose their customers among the country people. They had entered into no conspiracy against Mrs. Moroney. There never had been a resolution of the Land League to Boycott this lady. It is absolutely certain that the convictions were illegal; and, if a case had gone to the Superior Courts, they would have got off. Mrs. Moroney, after this success, sent two of her servants into the town to get up prosecutions. They asked for a pennyworth of lace at one shop or a bottle of porter at another, and, on being refused, four or five of the shopkeepers were prosecuted. On cross-examination the servants admitted that Mrs. Moroney did not want the goods; that her servants had no money to pay for them; and that they had simply been sent there to get up prosecutions. The magistrates in this case had a glimmer of good sense and refused to convict—Mr. Hodder, one of them, saying that the conspiracy was on the other side. There was another case of much the same kind at Miltown Malbay connected with Mrs. Connell. Mrs. Connell and her son had come under the ban of popular opinion there, on account of the son having taken part of an evicted farm, and his offence was aggravated by the fact that he was a member of the Land League. He was turned out of the League, and he was consequently avoided in the town. The case is alleged to be one of hardship. I think it has been much exaggerated; but it is immaterial to my case whether it be so or not. One day, accompanied by two policemen, Mrs. Connell appeared in the town, and, going to various tradesmen, asked them for supplies of sugar and tea. She and the police picked out the shops they thought fit, passing by others, and, when refused, they prosecuted these shopkeepers. Some of them were convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. They asked for a case to the Superior Courts, which was refused. They then appealed to the County Court, where the sentences were increased to six months. I have the depositions before me of the evidence taken before the magistrates, and I say with the utmost confidence that there was no evidence whatever of any conspiracy within the decision of the Kelleagh case. When this case was under discussion in July last the Solicitor General for Ireland stated that there was further evidence given before the County Court Judge which showed a conspiracy to compel or induce. From inquiries I have made, I am satisfied he is misinformed, and I am confident no further evidence was given which justified conviction. At all events, I will challenge the Chief Secretary to state what this further evidence was. It is my conviction that these men have been sent to prison unjustly. The Kanturk case was very similar in its general features. Mr. Leader, when armed by the Coercion Act, went round to the shops of the people he wished to prosecute and send to prison and asked them for goods. He admitted that he did not want them; that he had never dealt with these men before; and that he could have got his

supplies elsewhere. I must frankly admit that in this case there was evidence of these men having been present at a previous meeting of a threatening character, which I think might support the conviction; but the case is interesting as showing how the selection of persons is made. The last case I shall deal with is that at Drangan. Five tradesmen there were charged with conspiracy to compel others not to supply a man named Mitchell with goods. It appeared that Mitchell had been employed as an Emergency man in charge of an evicted farm, and had, undoubtedly, been avoided by the people, and refused supplies by the tradespeople in the town. He had, however, left the district, and his son was in charge of the farm. The police sent for him to come back to Drangan in order to get up prosecutions. They took him round to various tradesmen, selecting those they thought fit, and, when refused, they prosecuted four or five of these shopkeepers. The case was on all fours with the Killeagh case; there was absolutely no evidence whatever of conspiracy to compel and induce others. They were convicted and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. They appealed to the County Court Judge. Before the appeal came on the Killeagh case was decided. The County Court Judge reversed the sentences against two of them, and sustained them in the other two, without giving any reason for this distinction; and, in fact, there was no difference between the four cases. The convictions were all illegal; but there was no appeal from the County Court Judge. I say that in all these cases the police have acted as what the French call *agents provocateurs.* They have got up prosecutions; and have called on tradespeople, either alone or with some landlord, selecting the people they desired to prosecute, not wanting the goods, but simply bent on getting up prosecutions and getting convictions. I feel absolutely certain that in all the cases I have mentioned, save one, the convictions were illegal, and would have been quashed by the Superior Courts if they could have been appealed. What I desire is to point out three main points. First, the illegality of all these convictions. Secondly, that the accused were in all of them deprived of the power of obtaining a decision of the Superior Courts on the legal point. Thirdly, and not least, the use made of these prosecutions by the police and some neighbouring landlords to select for prosecution persons against whom they had special spite, or whom they thought expedient for other reasons to send to prison. I have to ask the Committee who was responsible for these proceedings and for the grave miscarriage of justice. I cannot but think that the Attorney General for Ireland was mainly responsible—it was he who directed the prosecutions; he must have had all the facts before him; he ought to have known that there was no evidence to justify the charges against these men for conspiring to compel and induce them; he ought to have known that the prosecutions were against the spirit of the Act and contrary to the intentions of the Government as assured to Parliament in the debates to which I have alluded; he ought to have been aware of the arbitrary and unjust selections that were being made by the police and the local officers for prosecution; and he ought to have been aware that the police were provoking prosecutions and using the Act oppressively and unjustly. The Resident Magistrates are not responsible for their own incompetency; but I think we had a right to expect that the Attorney General for Ireland should guard against a miscarriage of justice of this kind by not allowing all these proceedings. I ask the Committee to express an opinion on his action by proposing a reduction of the vote for his salary of £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Law Officers, be reduced by £500, part of the Salary of the Attorney General."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, he must say he thought the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), considered as an attack upon the Attorney General for Ireland, was a very remarkable speech, and for this reason. In the attack the right hon. Gentleman had made upon the Attorney General he had brought before the consideration of the Committee a number of cases directed by the Attorney General in which the prosecution had been success-

ful. That seemed to him (Mr. Madden) a most remarkable form of attack upon a Law Officer of the Crown. Let them consider what was the argument of the right hon. Gentleman. He first asked them to assume that, because the Court of Exchequer decided a particular case in a certain way, therefore in all the other cases mentioned to the Committee, had an appeal been possible to the Court of Exchequer, the conviction would have been quashed.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The circumstances of each case being similar.

MR. MADDEN: The right hon. Gentleman had assumed that the circumstances were similar; but, even if the circumstances were, how does his argument affect the Attorney General? The decision in the Killeagh case was a useful decision to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) no doubt deserved the highest thanks of his political friends for having unearthed it. It was a useful case, because it served as a means of attack, not only on the Resident Magistrates, but upon the County Court Judges, as well as the Attorney General. It was said that if the Resident Magistrates had followed the law as laid down in this case they would not have convicted; and, so far as the County Court Judges were concerned, it was said that they would not have confirmed the decisions of the Resident Magistrates if they had followed the case; and against the Attorney General the case was held up in proof of the erroneous and illegal character of his action in directing a large number of prosecutions. But this must be on the ground that he had deliberately directed prosecutions in cases in which he knew that the evidence was insufficient, with a view to having those prosecutions followed up by illegal decisions. This Killeagh case had done duty on the Vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary; it was now doing duty on the Vote for the salaries of the Irish Law Officers, and, no doubt, it would do duty again at a later stage on the Vote for the Salaries of the Resident Magistrates. The first remark he (Mr. Madden) had to make on this subject was that, after all, the Killeagh case was an isolated one. No matter into what topics the Committee wandered from time to time, this case cropped up again in debate after debate, discussion after discussion, night after night, being used against the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General, and the Resident Magistrates. He thought anyone who had been a student of the Dublin newspapers recently, and had taken note of the cases which had come before the Court of Exchequer, would not be suprised at the right hon. Gentleman opposite making so much of this isolated case, because they would have found in 14 consecutive cases which had come before the Court of Exchequer from Resident Magistrates during the last sittings, the decisions of magistrates had been confirmed in each and every one. Therefore, he was not surprised at the Killeagh case being made such use of, although it had happened so far back as January of the present year. He, however, gave the fullest credit for the discovery of the case to the hon. and learned Member for North Longford. He (Mr. Madden) and other Members of the Committee had had experience of Courts of Appeal dealing with the decisions of Inferior Courts, and he must say it would be difficult to find another instance where 14 consecutive cases were decided by the Court of Appeal in favour of the decisions of a single tribunal. He was afraid, however, that, notwithstanding that circumstance, they would hear over and over again of the Killeagh case. Well, he did not shirk the Killeagh case, although, as he had said, he invited the attention of the Committee to the fact that it was an isolated case. He rather liked the Killeagh case, because he thought it brought out very clearly the distinction which was to be drawn between that case and the other cases which ranged under what he called statutable conspiracy, by which he meant a particular kind of conspiracy, indictable at common law independently of the Statute, but which fell within the Statute, inasmuch as it enabled magistrates to deal with such cases summarily. The Killeagh case fell short of that, and ranged under another head of conspiracy which could be dealt with at Common Law, and which might be described in the words "refusing to deal with a person with the view of injuring him." He had examined into the circumstances of the Killeagh case, and he asserted that it contained this peculiarity—that

there was no proof in it of the existence of a Boycotting conspiracy. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite would take the trouble to examine the depositions in the case, he would find that there was no allusion to Boycotting from one end of them to the other. His view of the law was this—mere proof of refusal to deal on the part of a number of persons, even if it were proved that the refusal to deal was directed against a certain person, with a view of injuring his business or starving him, failed as a case of conspiracy summarily punishable under the Act of last year; but if it could be proved that in a certain neighbourhood there was a conspiracy for the purpose of Boycotting any individual, and if there was evidence that the refusal to deal was an act done in pursuance of a conspiracy of that particular kind, there would be evidence to justify conviction under the Act for an offence, which would not only be conspiracy to refuse to deal for the purpose of injuring, but a conspiracy to Boycott. The right hon. Gentleman would ask—"What do you mean by Boycotting?"

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): Is it in the Act?

MR. MADDEN said, he would rather give the opinion of a very high authority, the weight of which would be acknowledged by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had given a definition of Boycotting, which, he ventured to say, in legal accuracy, would have done credit to any Judge on the Bench. The right hon. Gentleman had said this—

> "What is Boycotting? In the first place, it is combined intimidation. In the second place, it is combined intimidation for the purpose of destroying private liberty of choice by the fear of ruin and starvation."

He (Mr. Madden) fully adopted that definition of Boycotting, and he maintained that if they could prove in any case that a man was told he was Boycotted, or could otherwise prove the existence of the class of conspiracy described by that word, as defined by the right hon. Gentleman, there was ample proof of the existence of conspiracy for the purpose of combined intimidation made use of to destroy private liberty of choice through the fear of ruin and starvation. There was no proof of such a conspiracy in the Killeagh case, and that was really the foundation of this decision—that there was no evidence to that effect. These cases were used as an attack upon the Attorney General. The argument must be that he was foolish enough, or wrong-headed enough, or malicious enough, to direct improper prosecutions against certain men, foreseeing or intending that the Resident Magistrates would be malignant enough or foolish enough to give effect to the Attorney General's directions in the absence of evidence. But, even if that were so, what about the County Court Judges before whom appeals had been heard? Did the Attorney General direct the prosecutions, foreseeing that the County Court Judges would be foolish and malignant and wrong-headed enough to give effect to them? The argument used in this connection was rather a roundabout one. The Attorney General ordered prosecutions in all important cases in Ireland, and he would assume that in the particular cases the right hon. Gentleman opposite had mentioned, the Attorney General had discharged that function and had directed the prosecutions to take place; but, seeing that those prosecutions had been successful, how the director of those prosecutions could be quarrelled with he failed to see, unless on the grounds which he had suggested. Before they could make the Attorney General responsible, they must consider the cases in which the County Court Judges had erroneously—it must be assumed—affirmed the decisions in the proceedings which the Attorney General had erroneously directed. There was an appeal allowed in certain cases to the County Court Judge, and appeals had been made in several of the cases mentioned. No doubt it would be said that the decision of the County Court Judge was wrong; but he found, on looking into the facts in the Kildysart case, that when the appeal came before the County Court Judge the appellants had all pleaded guilty. He had the greatest respect for his learned Colleague the Attorney General for Ireland; but to say that his learned Friend could have the prescience to know beforehand that the prosecutions, which he is supposed to have improperly directed, would succeed because these unfortunate creatures would come in and plead guilty was carrying argument, even in political

matters, to an extraordinary point. A number of cases had been referred to, and, perhaps, he might group them together for the convenience of the Committee. For instance, there was the celebrated boot case, and the case of the publicans of Miltown Malbay. The gravamen of the charges in those cases was that the cases were got up by the police. If the cases were got up by the police, he should be the very first to denounce the action of the police; but let the Committee consider for one moment the circumstances of the case. There was either a conspiracy to Boycott, or there was not. If there was no conspiracy, his argument on this point did not apply; but that was not the particular point on which he was addressing the Committee. Assuming there was conspiracy to Boycott, it was said that the police selected the persons who were to be convicted of conspiracy. Now, suppose the police went to a man who was not a member of a conspiracy. How could they get up a case against him? If a policeman went to a publican for supplies, and the publican supplied him, how on earth could the police get up a case against the man? It really seemed to him that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite were confounding two distinct matters—namely, getting up a case of conspiracy, and procuring evidence of acts done in pursuance of an existing conspiracy. It was utterly impossible to call into existence a conspiracy which did not exist. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned the Kildysart case and the remarkable case of Hannah Connell. Those cases went up to the County Court Judge. He reminded the Committee that the County Court Judge had the evidence which was given before the magistrates, and additional evidence given orally before the Judge, and not in the form of depositions. He was certainly of opinion that if they had all the details of the case before them the Committee would feel that they had satisfactory proof of a Boycotting conspiracy. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had fairly challenged him to state what additional evidence was given of a Boycotting conspiracy in the case of Hannah Connell before the County Court Judge. He had a distinct recollection of the facts of the Hannah Connell case, and there was evidence, in his opinion, to sustain the allegation which he submitted was the fundamental allegation in Boycotting conspiracies—namely, that there was a conspiracy to combine to intimidate. When the case came before the County Court Judge additional evidence was given, and, in particular, the evidence of the son of the Boycotted woman, who gave important evidence as to the nature of the conspiracy. Hon. Members, who were acquainted with the practice in the Irish Courts, would know that the depositions were taken in writing. The evidence before the Resident Magistrate was in the form of depositions, which were available and could be examined; but when the case went before a County Court Judge upon appeal, not only were the depositions usually put in evidence, but it was the constant practice to take additional evidence orally in open court. Therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman asked him to refer to the depositions in the Hannah Connell case, and to point to anything there to show the existence of a Boycotting conspiracy, he was bound to reply that they could not look at the depositions only, because, in addition to the depositions, there was evidence, not in the form of depositions, but in the form of oral evidence. He had informed himself as to the additional evidence given in this case, and he asserted that it conclusively proved the charge. It was proved, for instance, that Hannah Connell was told by several shopkeepers to go out of their shops because she was Boycotted. The conspiracy to Boycott was carried to such an extraordinary length that this poor woman would have actually starved had it not been for the action of a charitable neighbour. He confessed that, if he were lecturing law students upon this branch of the law, and wanted to illustrate the difference between a conspiracy which could not be proceeded with under the Act, and one which could, he should select, as illustrations, the Killeagh case on the one side and the Hannah Connell case on the other. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had been courteous enough to intimate to the Government his intention of moving this reduction. In his speech the right hon. Gentleman did not refer to what was known as the Killarney case; but in the notes which he supplied the

Government with that case was mentioned. That was a very remarkable case. It came before the Court of Exchequer, and the decision of the magistrates was reversed as regards Sullivan, one of the persons charged. There were five persons tried; but, although they were tried at the same sitting and before the same Court, they were technically tried separately—that was to say, the depositions were separately entered in each case. How was it that the decision of the Resident Magistrates was reversed? In the first case which came before the Resident Magistrates full evidence was given that Mrs. Curtin was Boycotted, but in the other cases, including Sullivan's, the evidence entered in the first case was treated as applicable to the other cases in which it had not been formally entered up. When the case came before the Court of Exchequer this defect was pointed out, and the conviction was quashed; but that was due to the informality of not repeating in each case the evidence as to Mrs. Curtin being Boycotted. Any person, however, reading the judgments of the Court of Exchequer, must come to the conclusion that if the evidence given of Boycotting had been formally entered against Sullivan, the decision would have been different. In the Drangan case the right hon. Gentleman asked them to draw a most extraordinary conclusion. In that case there was an appeal to the County Court Judge. It was well the Committee should bear in mind the nature of the attack made in this case—in the first place upon the County Court Judge, and through him upon the Attorney General, who had the hardihood to recommend the prosecution. In that case the County Court Judge confirmed the decision as regards two men, and quashed it in regard to two others. An hon. Member opposite said the Judge split the difference. But had it come to that, that such an argument was seriously addressed to the Committee? Indeed, the fact that the County Court Judge confirmed the decision in two cases and quashed it in the other two cases raised the presumption that he acted with great consideration and discrimination in the matter. The right hon. Gentleman would have the House of Commons infer—in a case where the Resident Magistrates had convicted, and where the County Court Judge, while reversing two of the convictions, had confirmed two others, the Attorney General was culpable in directing the prosecution. He had now gone through all the cases raised by the hon. Gentleman, and he felt bound, in conclusion, to remind the Committee that all these cases had been threshed out over and over again, and that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, in order to attack the Resident Magistrates and his learned Colleague the Attorney General, were obliged to go back upon what was somewhat ancient history.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland had stated that these cases had been threshed out over and over again. That statement was quite unfounded. One case, he admitted, had been threshed out, and that to the great disadvantage and detriment of the Government—namely, the Killeagh case. The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to the Killeagh case as a marvellous discovery. He (Mr. Clancy) did not know whether it was or not, but it certainly was a very fortunate case for the Opposition, and a very unfortunate case for the Government. The Killeagh case was certainly marvellous in this respect—that the Government did their very utmost to prevent the Court of Exchequer from having anything to say on the case, and that it was only in consequence of the ingenuity of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) that an opportunity was obtained of bringing the case before the Court of Exchequer, and of exposing the action of the Attorney General and of the magistrates as a gross outrage even upon the Coercion Act. The Solicitor General for Ireland had made a most extraordinary excuse for the Resident Magistrates, and, consequently, for the Attorney General for Ireland. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that he had examined 14 cases in which the magistrates' decisions had been confirmed, and he left the Committee under the impression that those 14 cases were all cases of conspiracy. [MR. MADDEN: Oh, no!] He appealed to the Committee whether what he had said was not the fact.

MR. MADDEN said, that he was then dealing with the use made of the Killeagh case to support an attack upon the

decisions of Resident Magistrates; and he remarked, that if they went back over the last 14 cases they would find that the decisions of the Resident Magistrates had been confirmed in every case.

MR. CLANCY said, they were talking about conspiracy prosecutions, and conspiracy prosecutions only; and when the hon. and learned Gentleman mentioned that the magistrates' decisions had been upheld in 14 cases, without mentioning that these were not conspiracy cases, he left every man in the Committee under the impression that he was referring to conspiracy cases only. The Committee would be surprised to learn that not a single one of those cases was a conspiracy case. On the contrary, they were entirely different from conspiracy cases, and it was a remarkable fact that since the Killeagh case neither the Attorney General had dared to direct a prosecution for conspiracy to Boycott, nor had the magistrates ventured to make a conviction. The Killeagh case had been referred to as an isolated case; but he remembered very well that when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) first called attention to this case last April, the Chief Secretary for Ireland was as cock-sure about it as the learned Solicitor General for Ireland was about other cases. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian asked the Chief Secretary whether, in the particular case of Thomas Barry and the others, there was evidence of the express conspiracy with which they were charged; and he was told by the Chief Secretary that there was evidence of that express conspiracy. On that occasion he (Mr. Clancy) asked whether, as a matter of fact, in that or any other case of conspiracy prosecution, there was evidence of anything except a refusal on the part of certain persons to supply goods; and in regard to all the cases, the answer of the Chief Secretary was that there was the additional evidence of conspiracy to compel and induce. In spite of the Government, in spite of the right hon. Gentleman, and in spite of the Attorney General for Ireland, the Killeagh case was brought before the Exchequer Division, and the Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice Andrews, and Mr. Baron Dowse flatly contradicted the statement of the Chief Secretary. The Solicitor General for Ireland to-night had made a great point of the fact that some of these persons pleaded guilty. It was very natural that they should. The reason was perfectly plain. Scores and scores of cases had been decided in defiance of the law, and the people very naturally considered it was no use for them to fight their cases. They felt that they would be convicted anyhow, and they thought that if they pleaded guilty, they might be let off. His wonder was that they had not even more people accused of conspiracy to Boycott pleading guilty for the express purpose of getting off. The Solicitor General for Ireland had expressed surprise that it had been stated that the police selected persons for prosecution, and he had asked how the selection was made. He (Mr. Clancy) begged to refer the hon. and learned Gentleman to the Leader case in the County of Cork. The landlord in that case was at war with his tenants, and he determined to punish the leaders, or the persons whom he believed to be the leaders of the agitation. It was proved in that case that, after consultation with the police, he visited some of the houses of the accused, some of which he had never visited before. It was proved that he selected some of the houses for visitation for the express purpose of getting up a prosecution, and not for the purpose of getting the goods for which he asked. It was proved, in the third place, that he did not want the goods he asked for, and that he did not tender any money when he asked for them. It was proved in the fourth place that he could have got the goods elsewhere in the very same town, and at the very same time. There was no doubt about all these facts; and now he came to the part the police had taken in this prosecution. District Inspector Jones, the chief prosecutor in the case, was asked if he had chosen respectable persons for the purpose of prosecuting them, and he had answered in the affirmative. When asked if he had been sent to these places by Captain Plunkett, he had refused to answer, on the ground that any communication made to him by Captain Plunkett was a privileged communication. Then, in the "boot case," hon. Members would remember that, in cross-examination, Constable Corrigan had declared that District Inspector Jones had not given him instructions to

obtain any specific pair of boots, but to get any boots in the shop, and had given him a sovereign to tender for the purpose. He acknowledged that the boots were not for himself. He was asked, amongst other things:—

"Is it the duty of a policeman to create crime?—It is not.

"Did you attempt to create it here?—No, I did not.

"Did you go with that object?—I did not know what the object was.

"Do you know it now?—I do.

"What was that object?—A prosecution."

It was clear that this case had been deliberately concocted by the police, and they had here a proof that the real conspirators in this case were the police and the landlords, who strove to injure the shopkeepers. The shopkeepers were the very persons who naturally would be the intimidated, and not the intimidators, as they were people between the upper and the nether millstones. If a tradesman refused to sell goods to Boycotted persons, on the one hand they were prosecuted by the Government, and, on the other hand, if they sold goods to Boycotted persons, they were Boycotted themselves, so that they were the very last people in the community who should be accused of intimidating. They were the intimidated. Instead of intimidating others they themselves were intimidated, sometimes by the action of the Government and sometimes by the action of the surrounding people. As to the case in which the name of the man Mitchell had been used, the Boycotted person had actually left the district and had no share in the prosecution until one of his neighbours had written him asking him to come down to Tipperary in order to institute a prosecution. As he had said before, the police seemed to him to have been the conspirators in all these cases. Who conspired in this case he should like to know? Evidently the police who wrote to Mitchell, for there would have been no prosecution but for that letter to Mitchell. They had heard a great deal to-night about the Sullivan case; but he (Mr. Clancy) was afraid they had not heard all they ought to have heard about it. The Solicitor General for Ireland had said that if certain formal evidence had been given in that case that was given in other cases the Court of Exchequer would not have convicted. If that evidence had been in the depositions it would not have made a bit of difference. The case was the most flagrant instance of illegality that could be brought before the Committee. What was the crime in that case? Why, that of intimidating certain smiths against shoeing Mrs. Curtin's horses; but the allegation was preposterous, as there were no smiths there to intimidate. As to the Miltown Malbay case, three smiths had on different days separately and individually refused, on one pretence or another, to shoe a certain person's horses; and on that evidence, and that evidence alone, these smiths were actually convicted by the Magistrates of conspiracy to "compel and induce" other smiths who did not exist in Miltown Malbay at all. As to the case of Hannah Connell, he challenged the Solicitor General to produce either the original depositions upon which the Magistrates convicted, or the additional evidence of conspiracy to compel and induce, which it was alleged had been produced before the County Court Judge. The hon. and learned Gentleman had a dozen times declared that he was going to produce this additional evidence, but he had never done so. He (Mr. Clancy) remembered that the very last time the hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken he had favoured them with a great deal more of it. On that occasion part of this additional evidence was that Hannah Connell's son went to a certain person and asked him to go fishing with him, which this person refused to do. The idea that everybody in Miltown Malbay was to fish with Hannah Connell's son on pain of being prosecuted for conspiracy to compel and induce other persons not to fish with him! Why, the thing was eminently ridiculous. He had listened very carefully to the hon. and learned Gentleman to-night, and had not been able to discover a single scrap of additional evidence. The hon. and learned Gentleman had talked of two convictions—first, that before the Magistrates and then that before the County Court Judge. Well, he (Mr. Clancy) was ready to produce to-night a copy of the depositions on which the Magistrates had convicted, and he maintained that there was not in those depositions one single scrap of evidence to do more than prove refusal on the part of these persons to deal. Would the Chief Secretary undertake to say that there was anything more than that in these depositions; and, if

not, could he defend, at any rate, the conviction before the Magistrates? As to the case before the County Court Judge, he challenged the Chief Secretary or the Solicitor General to produce a shred of additional evidence. Could anyone think of such additional evidence? The only thing he could remember was that some person had said to Hannah Connell that she was Boycotted. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in his argument, had simply smothered up the facts with a cloud of words; but would anyone venture in his waking moments to contend that to say to a person, "You are Boycotted," was evidence against the person using the words of taking part in a conspiracy to compel and induce others not to deal with the person spoken to? The thing was in the highest degree absurd. It had been said that this woman was starving; but, even if that were so, what had it to do with the case? If it were to be understood that in matters of this kind they were to proceed on moral considerations, he could understand that suggestion having some weight attached to it; but he had thought that the present Government was a law and order Government which held itself bound by the strict letter of the law. It now appeared, however, that in the absence of express evidence of conspiracy to compel and induce they were bringing in as proof of a particular conspiracy the fact that somebody was starving through some other conspiracy. If that was the argument of the Government, it seemed to him like the doctrine attributed to the Jesuites—namely, that one might do evil in order that good might come of it. Was that the argument of the Chief Secretary—was it that in order to keep this woman from starving they were to violate even the Coercion Act? He regarded that attempt to excite the sympathy of the British public for Hannah Connell as an impudent fraud, and whoever invented the story of Hannah Connell's starvation he did not hesitate to say was a liar. Starving, indeed, she having Mrs. Moloney's shop on the other side of the road, at which she had been dealing for years. This woman starving who it appeared had enough money to buy whisky with, so that she came on the witness-table drunk when she was examined. That woman starving whose son swore she had a pit of potatoes, which pit of potatoes had been seen by the hon. Member for West Clare (Mr. Jordan). Why, if she had been starving, the relieving officer would have attended to her, and the medical officer would have relieved her. On her examination this woman declared that when she went to look for the goods for refusing to sell which people were prosecuted, she passed by certain shops and went to others in Milltown Malbay. This whole story, concocted by God knows who, and taken up by the Chief Secretary some months ago, was a most impudent fraud, got up for the purpose of deluding the British public. All convictions for conspiracy under the Crimes Act were, as a matter of fact, illegal convictions, there not being a scrap of evidence to support the charge of conspiracy. There were two sorts of conspiracy which came under review in these cases—the conspiracy to Boycott, and the conspiracy to compel and induce other people to Boycott. There might be evidence in some of these cases—though he did not say that there was—of some sort of conspiracy to Boycott; but in a country like Ireland, where there was a class like the landlords, who were generally detested, it required no conspiracy on the part of the general public to refuse these people the courtesies of life. It needed no concert to establish in people's minds a desire to refuse these persons the courtesies of life; nevertheless he was willing to admit that in some of those cases there might be evidence of a conspiracy to Boycott. There was, however, not a single case which was not on all-fours with the Killeagh case, and which was not as destitute as was the Killeagh case of any scrap of evidence of conspiracy to compel and induce. In other words about 100 people had been imprisoned in Ireland against the law, against even the Coercion Act, under this single head of conspiracy alone. He challenged the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland to produce a single scrap of evidence to sustain this charge of conspiracy, and denied that any evidence had been adduced that night. Here were the depositions; if they were not all there it was the fault of the Government, they had been asked for by Irish Members and they had been refused; the House had been denied the means of forming a

judgment on the matter. But he had no hesitation in relying on the evidence he had himself collected, and in all these depositions there was not a scrap of evidence to sustain the charge of conspiracy to compel or induce to Boycott. There might be evidence of other conspiracy, but there was no evidence of this particular kind of conspiracy which was to be treated under two Resident Magistrates. He hoped the discussion would not be allowed to drop so soon as was anticipated by the hon. and learned Solicitor General. There was the most flagrant illegality about all these cases, and it was important that the matter should be thoroughly investigated to completely disclose this vile conspiracy on the part of the landlodrds, police, and Government against the shopkeepers of Ireland, who, in many cases he was glad to say, were the mainstay of the National cause. In the very nature of the case shopkeepers were the very last to be suspected of intimidation, for this was the class between the upper and nether millstone, between popular disfavour on the one hand and prosecution by the Government on the other.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) said, he only intervened for a few moments to defend the character of two defenceless women, who could not speak for themselves, from aspersions that were unworthy the character of Englishmen or Irishmen. He alluded to the widow Connell and Mrs. Moroney. During the Recess he travelled through Ireland to find out the truth of much that had been said as to the condition of things, and he found himself, though he did not know it at the time, travelling in the footsteps of the right hon. Gentleman who had spoken from the Front Bench opposite (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). The hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Clancy) said the case of the widow Connell was an impudent fraud, and that those who said this woman was Boycotted nearly to starvation were liars. Well, he did not hestitate to incur the risk of such a reputation in saying a few words on behalf of the widow Connell. She was described by one of the hon. Members opposite as a strong, vigorous woman of 50, who, on the floor of an Irish Court, appeared as a drunkard. He himself found the widow Connell living with her son, a man of 54 years of age, a woman with one foot in the grave and, apparently, of about the age of 80; a woman who bore no signs of intemperate habits, and who had about her in her cottage all the evidences of having been a thriving, careful, industrious woman; and the tale he heard from her, and which he found corresponded with the information he had collected in the neighbourhood, was that not only had she been Boycotted to the edge of starvation, but an attempt had even been made to deprive her of that first necessity of life, water; that her son had been prevented, forcibly and physically prevented, from obtaining a supply of water for her daily wants from the source where he was in the habit of obtaining it. He found that but for the charity of that much-maligned lady, Mrs. Moroney, this woman would have starved. It was well for hon. Members to say that she picked out and applied to certain shops in Miltown Malbay to plant upon them a charge of refusing to supply her, and that she must have passed scores of shops where she could have been supplied, but the Committee would be surprised to hear that Miltown Malbay scarcely possessed a score of shops altogether [*Cries of* "Hundreds." "Twenty six publicans."] He had no interest in misrepresenting what he found. He did not know if hon. Members would wish that an aged woman of 80 should go to a public-house to be supplied with the necessaries of life? He did not know whether there might be 26 hidden places where liquor could be supplied; he knew there was not outward evidence of them. At least he had no knowledge of Widow Connell, and spoke only from what he found from personal observation and inquiry, and felt bound in the interests of truth, justice, and common humanity towards a poor woman to say what he did. He had a word to add on Mrs. Moroney. The right hon. Gentleman opposite spoke of her in terms which were a disgrace to manhood. He found that the right hon. Gentleman had called on the lady, and from her he must have heard, and did hear, the other side which he kept back from the Committee, and which in common fairness he might have given.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had avoided expressing any opinion on Mrs. Moroney herself.

MR. KIMBER said, he understood from Mrs. Moroney that the visit of the right. hon. Gentleman had preceded his by about a week, and he must have heard from her, as he (Mr. Kimber) and another hon. Member who accompanied him heard, enough to show that the statement the right hon. Gentleman had made as regarded her dealings with the three blacksmiths, and her power to get served from other sources, was quite incorrect and unfounded. So far as he had been able to ascertain from inquiry, these three blacksmiths would have been very glad indeed to have been again summoned and prosecuted; it would have been the best justification they could have had for them to deliver themselves from the thraldom of the National League. The right. hon. Gentleman said, without a word of proof, that this lady could have have her horses shod at other places, but he found as a fact that Mrs. Moroney had to send her servant at dead of night to the distant town of Ennis to get her cart-wheels tyred that the daily work of the farm might go on. A most unfair attack had been made on this woman. He understood she was to be brought before the Royal Commission as a witness, and this most unmanly attack made upon her by the right hon. Gentleman—though he would not attribute to the right hon. Gentleman so unworthy a purpose as to say it was intended—would have the effect, if nothing were said on the other side, of prejudicing the woman's evidence. This was his justification for intervening in the discussion.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked, how the hon. Member knew Mrs. Moroney was coming forward as a witness for *The Times*?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he did not express any opinion on the conduct of Mrs. Moroney; he expressly refrained, as he had said, from doing so. Of course he had not been to the place without forming an opinion, and if necessary he would express it, but it was not necessary for the purposes of his argument to do so.

MR. KIMBER said, he certainly understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that Mrs. Moroney had justly incurred the indignation of the neighbourhood by the course she had adopted towards her tenants.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he did not know whether to admire more deeply the powers of observation or the method of reasoning of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. To deal first with his powers of observation. He said he collected his facts in the place, but he did not tell the Committee who were the persons with whom he communicated, he did not say whether he confined his inquiries and his interviews to one side, or whether he extended them impartially. It might be presumed that, like a great many other visitors of the same type of politics as the hon. Gentleman, he confined his communications to the landlords and the police.

MR. KIMBER said, he did not call on a single landlord.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member was a member of the Legal Profession and appreciated subtile distinctions. He was correct in saying he called on no landlord, but he admitted that he called on a landlady of the district, a large distinction perhaps to the legal mind, but not to a common-sense lay Assembly like the House of Commons. But as an example of the hon. Member's powers of observation, he said there was not a score of shops in the whole town, and yet the right hon. Gentleman opposite was able to prosecute no less than 26 publicans in the town. And then, to give a specimen of the hon. Member's powers of argument and logical inference. The question Irish Members had been endeavouring to bring before the Committee was this—that in this case it was the persons who had been intimidated who were convicted as intimidators, and among these persons in this district were the three blacksmiths alluded to. His hon. Friend said that these blacksmiths refused to shoe the horses of Mrs. Moroney, not because they wanted to intimidate her, but because they were afraid of the popular disapproval that would follow if they did this work. Therefore, these blacksmiths, he and his hon. Friends argued, ought not to be convicted as intimidators, because if there was any intimidation at all in the case, these persons were the victims. ["Hear, hear!"] The hon. Gentleman cheered that; his reason was still obfuscated. The hon. and learned Attorney General for Ire-

land entirely rebutted that statement of fact and justified the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and then the hon. and learned Gentleman, by way of backing up the argument of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, said that these persons described as intimidators by the Executive Government were really intimidated; in fact, he said they would have been glad to have been convicted twice, because they would then have been free from the thraldom of the National League. But these tyrants were sent to gaol for intimidation! This was the kind of reasoning by which Coercion Acts were passed and justified in Parliament. It was not at all surprising from these specimens of observation and reasoning that the hon. Gentleman should have misapprehended the whole point of the discussion during the evening. They had not been discussing the dealings of Mrs. Moroney with her tenants, though they were quite willing to discuss them if necessary, nor had they been discussing the age of Mrs. Connell. What they had been discussing was whether the statement was or was not correct that Mrs. Connell went to these shops, because if she were not supplied from those shops she would be starved. What answer had the hon. Gentleman given? He said the woman was Boycotted. Well, she may or may not have been; that was not the point. Irish Members said, and it had not been denied, that Mrs. Connell could have got every necessary of life from Mrs. Moroney, who had been keeping a shop to supply goods to persons in the position of Mrs. Connell. To say, therefore, that the woman was in danger of starving was an impudent fabrication on the part of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland to bolster up his case. Whether Mrs. Moroney was a good or a bad landlady might be properly discussed, but Irish Members had not raised that discussion; it had been raised by the hon. Gentleman opposite, though for the reputation of his powers of observation and inference he had better have avoided the subject.

MR. KIMBER said, he did not speak of Mrs. Moroney as a landlady at all.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked, as what did the hon. Member speak of her?

MR. KIMBER said, he spoke of her in relation to the three blacksmiths.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was afraid the hon. Gentleman's intervention did not remove their desire to be governed by the intelligence of their own people instead of by the ignorance and want of understanding of those who claimed to be members of a superior race. Mrs. Moroney as a landlady was not discussed, but she was discussed as a victim of the National League, with others, by the hon. Gentleman, but whom the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland said were intimidators. But he was not going further with that. There had been no reply to the convincing speech of the hon. Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy); perhaps because the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland happened to be absent during that speech, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had given those indications of physical fatigue he could appreciate, for he was in much the same condition. In mercy to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, the Committee, and himself, he moved that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he hoped the hon. Member would not think it necessary to press this Motion. He would feel that the discussion had strayed very wide indeed of the personal merits or demerits of the present holder of the Office of Attorney General for Ireland. Of course he was well aware that a large latitude of discussion might well be allowed on the Vote by hon. Gentlemen who wished to canvass the acts of the Government in Ireland; but he would suggest to them that a later stage of the Vote, or the Vote for Resident Magistrates, would afford opportunity. The Amendment now before the Committee, not the Vote itself, might very well be disposed of now. Subjects which hon. Gentlemen desired to raise could be raised with more appropriateness at a later stage, and a Division might well be taken on this particular reduction.

MR. DILLON said, he had no desire unduly to prolong discussion, but it was

utterly impossible to pass away from that point of criminal prosecutions in Ireland without raising serious questions, such as the manipulation of Irish juries—a matter entirely foreign to anything the Committee had been dealing with, and touching the liberty of the subject in the gravest possible way; and this was a matter for which the Attorney General for Ireland was solely responsible. There was no desire to prevent this Division being taken, but it must be understood that Members were not precluded from opening a subject of the utmost gravity and importance, the manipulation of juries and the transfers of venue under the Crimes Act.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not think that the hon. Gentleman's claim was at all unreasonable. The matter was entirely alien to that the Committee had been discussing, but it was germane to the Vote. He repeated the suggestion that a Division on the reduction of the Vote should be taken, and then the matters the hon. Gentleman referred to should stand over for another occasion.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he was disposed to accept the suggestion, if it was understood that by allowing a Division now to be taken they were not precluded from discussing other matters appertaining to the functions of the Attorney General for Ireland, that they would not be called to Order when resuming the debate.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this request was only reasonable.

MR. DILLON said, there should be a distinct understanding that Members were not precluded from raising other questions touching on the responsibility of the Attorney General for Ireland, if they consented to a Division now.

THE CHAIRMAN: A Division taken upon this proposed reduction will not preclude bringing up again the action of the Attorney General for Ireland in respect to other matters.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, there were matters exactly on all fours with that which had been made subject of debate in reference to various counties, and it would, he thought, be better, having these matters in view, to report Progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I intimated at the beginning that the discussion which has taken place would be more appropriately taken on the Vote that follows.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, the matter he desired to discuss had relation to the action of magistrates in County Kerry but it was not a matter properly pertinent to the Vote for Resident Magistrates.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not know if he was quite in Order, but he earnestly pressed upon the Committee to recollect that Christmas Day was approaching, and that the Committee had to consider, not merely the intrinsic interest of this Vote but the amount of time at their disposal, with a view to apportioning that time fairly among the various topics that claimed attention.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought, after the statement from the Chair, they might proceed to take a Division on this particular reduction, because perfect liberty of action would be left in regard to other matters. As to the right hon. Gentleman's remark that Christmas Day was at hand, he had occasion to recollect that more than others.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, before a vote was taken, he would like to say, in reference to the observations of the hon. and learned Solicitor General, that he had brought forward six cases, going at some length into two of them, of prosecutions under the Boycotting Clause of the Crimes Act. The hon. and learned Solicitor General had dealt with two of those cases only. One case he did not dwell upon, saying that fresh evidence might be forthcoming, but as to four cases the hon. and learned Gentleman had left his argument absolutely untouched, and the discussion, as it was left, was entirely favourable to the contention he raised.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 76; Noes 157: Majority 81.—(Div. List, No. 329.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. SEXTON asked, when the Vote would be taken again?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, at the next Sitting in the evening.

MR. SEXTON: At any hour?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the understanding was that for the present there should be no suspension of the Midnight Rule on Fridays.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) suggested that Irish Members were entitled to a night off. [*Laughter.*] It was rather an odd way of putting it perhaps, but the Government might be content with taking every night recently for Irish Business, and might surely devote the possible fragment of Friday's Sitting, after the Employers' Liability Bill, to other Business. It was a good principle to make a concession to opponents when it was possible, and Irish Members were entitled to some concession, and the Chairman stood in need of relief from his duties for one night.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Government to fulfil the pledge they had given, that after four days of Irish Estimates, Friday should be devoted to the Employers' Liability Bill. Indeed, he was given to understand that no arrangement had been arrived at in regard to that Bill, and that it would be fought through until 12 o'clock, there being no possibility of taking Irish Estimates.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) referred to several items on the Orders of the Day which required some discussion, and might well be disposed of on Friday night.

THE CHAIRMAN: Questions of this nature should be raised, not in Committee on a Motion to report Progress, but with the Speaker in the Chair on the Question when Committee should be resumed.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, there was a disadvantage then that Members could only speak once—an equal disadvantage to Members of the Government. A brief statement now might facilitate matters.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he doubted if he was in Order, but he might be allowed to say that he did not understand that any pledge was given that Irish Estimates should not be taken, if time allowed, on Friday. The Employers' Liability Bill would be taken first, and would probably occupy a considerable part of the evening, during which Members might take that repose he could quite understand they needed, for he felt the want of it himself. It would be inconvenient to put aside the Irish Estimates, having entered upon them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 348.]

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment made:—Clause 5, page 3, line 5, to leave out "reconsideration," and insert "revocation."

On Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, Clause 26 *omitted.*

On Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, the following Amendment made:—In Clause 29, page 9, lines 25 and 26, leave out "first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight," and insert "first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine."

Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENT OF WAGES (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 381.]

(*Mr. Randell, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Llewellyn.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Priority of debts).

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 15, to insert—

(4) "In the event of a landlord or other person distraining, or having distrained, on any goods or effects of the bankrupt or of the Company, or having received any payment or undertaking in consideration of not so distraining, the debts to which priority is given by this section shall be a first charge on the goods or effects so distrained on, or, as the case may be, on the money so paid, or on the money payable under any such undertaking.

"Provided, that in respect of any money paid under any such charge the landlord or other

person shall have the same rights of priority as the person to whom such payment is made."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Amendment of law as to landlords power to distress).

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Clause 2 *omitted.*

Clauses 3 to 6, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Short title).

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment made:—In line 39, leave out "of wages," and insert "of bankrupty."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

New Clause—

After Clause 1, insert the following Clause:—

(Amendment of Law as to conditions for presenting bankruptcy petition.)

"Notwithstanding anything in 'The Bankruptcy Act, 1883,' a creditor may present a bankruptcy petition against a debtor, although the debt owing by the debtor to the petitioning creditor, or the aggregate amount of debts owing to the several petitioning creditors, does not amount to fifty pounds,"—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) said, this clause seemed to be a good deal wider than the scope of the Bill; it seemed to deal with the general Law of Bankruptcy.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, the object of the Bill was to enable the wages of a servant to be paid. In many cases this was not possible, in the case of a servant to whom a small amount was owing, as the operation of the Bill might be defeated by a collusive arrangement made behind the back of a servant, and, therefore, this provision was proposed that, assuming the wages were due, there should be means of getting them paid by direct action of the creditor. It was to prevent collusive action. If a man could not pay wages up to £50, he ought to be made a bankrupt.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport) said, he objected; was not this a complete alteration of the Law of Bankruptcy for all creditors?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, his hon. Friend was right; it did alter the Law for all creditors, but it did not seem fair to make the alteration for one set of creditors and not for others. He thought it a desirable Amendment, to which he did not anticipate opposition.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE said, it seemed to him there should be some kind of sure ground established before making the alteration. It was a very large alteration indeed, and should be considered more fully than it had been or could be on that occasion, and, therefore, he must object to it.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, rather than sacrifice the rest of a useful Bill, he would not press the point. However advantageous it would be to have the clause, without it the rest of the Bill was worth having. He did not want to detain the Committee now discussing the matter, and would withdraw the clause.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) said, he hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General would not yield. He believed the general sense of the Committee was with him. Did the Board of Trade favour the clause?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, E.) said, he was certainly in favour of the clause, and should like to proceed with it if his hon. Friend the Member for Stockport could be persuaded to withdraw his opposition.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE said, he must certainly maintain his opposition, because even if this large alteration in the Bankruptcy Law was desirable, on which point he was not then prepared to express any opinion, it ought not to be made, without notice, in a Bill which dealt with another matter; and, further, he would appeal to the Chairman and ask if it was in Order and competent for the Committee, without an Instruction, to make such an alteration in the Bankruptcy Act in dealing with another and definite subject.

THE CHAIRMAN said, certainly there was a serious objection on that account, and to move the clause now was not in Order. If he might make a suggestion, it could be dealt with by the House on Report and by special Instruction.

MR. MUNDELLA asked if, by giving Notice of the clause, it could be introduced on Report.

THE CHAIRMAN said, it must be coupled with an Instruction. The Bill would have to be re-committed.

Schedule.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment made:—In column 3, leave out "section forty-two."

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

SAND-GROUSE PROTECTION BILL.

(*Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir George Trevelyan, Lord Charles Beresford, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Henry James, Mr. Richard Power, Sir Edward Birkbeck, Mr. Broadhurst.*)

[BILL 391.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Penalty for killing sand-grouse).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, there was an objection to this clause, though to the Bill he made no objection. But the clause created the offence immediately on the passing of the Act, and this was unreasonable, for there would be no notice given to anybody. Most certainly there ought to be a notice of, say, three or four months before making it a criminal offence to kill one of these birds. As the hon. Member would see, there were no means of persons knowing the contents of the Act.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said, the reason for the immediate application was the intensity of the evil the Bill was intended to remedy. It was growing day by day, and the only chance of making the Bill of practical value was to put it in force at the earliest possible moment. Should he make it the 1st of January? If made much later the Bill would not be of much use.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER suggested the 1st of February.

Amendment proposed, in line 11, to leave out the words "passing of this Act," and insert the words "first of February, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine."—(*The Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, of course there must be a further Amendment. Does the hon. Member propose the same date as for other grouse, making it illegal at all time?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said, that was his object.

Amendment proposed, after the words just inserted, to add the words, "and before the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two."—(*The Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

New Clause (Short Title) read a second time, and added to Bill.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURES—NAILERS AND SMALL CHAINMAKERS.

RESOLUTION.

MR. BROOKE ROBINSON (Dudley), in rising to move the following Resolution:—

"That the state of things revealed in the Report of the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade in reference to the present condition of the Nailers and Small Chain Makers in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire, requires the attention of Parliament at the earliest possible period,"

said, that under ordinary circumstances, after the assurances given by Her Majesty's Government that this matter was under serious consideration, with a view to bring forward, if possible, ameliorating legislation next Session, he should not have thought it necessary to trouble the House with any observations on this subject, but he now rose more than for any other purpose to afford the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) that opportuity for expressing his views which that hon. Member considered he was deprived of on Friday last. He could not therefore help expressing his surprise that the hon. Member was not now in his place. The hon. Member went down in hot haste by the midnight train to his (Mr. Brooke Robinson's) constituency to denounce him, and to denounce the proceedings in the House, because he was unable to bring the matter forward at his own time, and in his own particular way, but now that the occasion was

offered him he did not take the trouble to come down to the House. If this was the zeal, this the interest the hon. Member displayed in the subject, it did not appear to be very complete. He regretted the more that the hon. Gentleman was not present, because he observed in an evening paper a letter from the hon. Member, from which it appeared that he was under considerable misapprehension as to his facts. He seemed to imagine that the two trades, the nail making and chain making, were not connected the one with the other, whereas the state of things existing in the nail trade had brought about the present condition of things in the chain trade. The nail trade was the larger industry, employing some 15,000 persons, while the chain trade was, comparatively speaking, small, giving work to some 2,000 or 3,000. The nail trade had been destroyed mainly by the introduction of machinery, though to some extent it had been affected by the introduction of nails from abroad, and the result of the destruction of the nail trade now was that every nailer losing work in his own trade had, where he could do so, endeavoured to get into the chain trade, so it resulted that there were more chain makers than there was work for. When there was an excess of supply over demand, then it was quite certain there would be a diminution in price. This state of things, too, had been largely brought about by the course of trading among the Birmingham merchants, who were the principal chain purchasers; they put up every order to trade competition. Another statement there was in a letter from the hon. Member for North-West Lanark, published on Monday, to the effect that women worked with men at the nail and chain trades naked to the waist. Now, it had been his lot to have been, for more years than he cared to recall, among these people, and he could say that he never saw, he could say that no one ever saw, work carried on by women in this condition. The women were wives and daughters of the men engaged in the trade; they had their faults in common with the rest of humanity, but he could say most emphatically they were as modest and as virtuous as any class of women in the Kingdom. As he had risen after the assurance given by the Government, not for the purpose of claiming the attention of the House at any length, and since the hon. Member for North-West Lanark was not present, he had nothing more to say in support of his Motion. He would be sorry, however, to sit down without expressing his opinion that the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade in preparing his Report had, considering that he had no previous knowledge of the subject, performed his duty in an admirable manner, displaying much knowledge and discretion. He formally moved the Resolution of which he had given Notice, but as to withdrawing or proceeding with it, he was entirely in the hands of the House. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he thought as his hon. Friend the Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) was not in his place, and as he also had the audacity to visit——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! Does the hon. Member rise to second the Motion.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he seconded the Motion. As he had the audacity to visit the hon. Member's constituency on Saturday night, he might perhaps be allowed to say a word in defence of his hon. Friend in his absence. He was not surprised at what had fallen from the hon. Member for Dudley (Mr. Brooke Robinson) it was quite in keeping with his previous conduct, and just what might have been expected after the manner in which he behaved the other day, and the manner in which he prevented the Motion his hon. Friend gave Notice of coming on. He (Mr. Conybeare) was glad, at any rate, that the action of his hon. Friend had had some effect; it had galvanized into grim activity the hon. Member for Dudley. It was the first time the voice of that hon. Member had been heard in the House on any subject connected with these poor nail and chain makers in his constituency, although he prided himself on being their Representative. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that the people did not pride themselves on their Representative; and it was much to be doubted if they would trouble the hon. Gentleman again to occupy that position. He did not suppose the hon. Member was aware of the reason why his hon. Friend the Member for North

West Lanark was not present. If the hon. Member had been aware that his hon. Friend's absence was caused by the serious illness of Mrs. Cunninghame Graham, he presumed the hon. Member would not have had the brutality to attack his absent Friend. ["Order, order!"]

MR. BROOKE ROBINSON said, he was perfectly unaware of the state of Mrs. Graham's health, or the cause of the hon. Gentleman's absence.

MR. SPEAKER: The word "brutality," used as the hon. Member used it, should not be employed in debate, and I must ask the hon. Member to withdraw it.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he was preparing to do so. ["Withdraw!"] He had withdrawn; he obeyed the direction of the Speaker, not the Member who represented a portion of Manchester. He withdrew the expression, and explained that what he meant to imply was that, under the circumstances, if the hon. Member had been aware of them his conduct would have deserved the epithet. But he was glad to have the assurance that the hon. Member was unaware of them, and therefore the expression did not apply. He wished, at any rate, to explain that no other reason kept his hon. Friend from his post of duty. He did not think it was becoming in the hon. Member, after a Question had been put to him earlier in the evening, and considering the few occasions when he made his appearance in the House, to taunt his hon. Friend for not being in his place at an hour when nobody could possibly have supposed that this Motion to which he attached so much importance was likely to come on. The fact was the whole of this proceeding was with the view of plucking a brand from the burning, to save a seat at the next General Election. He understood thoroughly well what these tactics meant, and the people of the country understood also. The people of Cradley Heath understood, and they would understand more before many weeks were over. The hon. Member had chosen to accuse those who had taken some trouble to examine into the condition of these people of ignorance of the conditions under which they laboured? He had the assurance to state that the facts testified to by those who went to the place were not really facts; but he would suggest to the hon. Member that if he knew no more about the people in his constituency than his speech would indicate, then it was not worth while his getting up to champion their cause. He had told the House that young men and women, lads and girls, did not work together half nude in the hovels or the villages where this work was carried on; but he (Mr. Conybeare) could only say that he preferred to rely on the distinct statement of men of their own class, who had been constantly living and working among the people, and had more information of the state of things than the hon. Member had taken the trouble to acquire. He preferred to rely on the Government Report of Mr. Burnett, who testified to those things, rather than on the statement of the hon. Member.

MR. BROOKE ROBINSON said, Mr. Burnett's Report did not say anything about persons working in a state of nudity.

MR. CONYBEARE said, No; but Mr. Burnett explained why he did not. He said the reason why he saw nothing of the kind was that it was a cool time of the year. Here was the Report. The hon. Member went on to defend the moral character of those whom he chose to call his constituents from charges which had never been brought against them. Nobody had charged the people with immorality; nobody would have suggested such a thing until it was suggested by the defence the hon. Gentleman made. The hon. Member thought he alone knew anything of these matters; but probably he knew nothing of the statement in the pamphlet published under the name of Mr. Richard Juggins. [*Laughter.*] Yes, the name was not so aristocratic as that borne by many hon. Members below the Gangway opposite, but it was the name of an honest man, as honest as any man in that House—perhaps more so than some. This gentleman was the General Secretary of the Midland Counties Trades Federation, and his statement was—

> "Here you have youths and young girls working half-naked, side by side, at the forges, their lives paralyzed and debased by their low rate of wages that causes them to herd in styes unfit for pigs."

Then, see what he said of the married women—

"I have known women to work at the forges within 14 days of their confinement, and hammering away again 14 days afterwards."

How would hon. Members like their wives to go through such experience. ["Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member to control himself within the ordinary limits of Parliamentary decorum.

MR. CONYBEARE, continuing the quotation, said, it ran—

"I have known women working at forges at 9 in the morning, and at home, in bed, and confined by 5 in the afternoon."

The hon. Gentleman opposite posed in that House as the Representative of these poor people, but yet he had never referred to their case before. He never professed any sympathy with them previously to this, but now he got up in that House with a view to dragging this scandalous state of things before the attention of the country, and, at the same time, he chose to sneer at the hon. Members who had already moved in the matter. The hon. Member had taken up this attitude solely for electioneering purposes. But he need not think he had heard the last of this matter; a great deal more would have to be said about it; and he could only repeat that it was a disgrace to the civilization of this country to allow such a state of things to continue so long. According to Mr. Burnett's Report it had been going on over 40 years. The hon. Member now came down and complacently says, "I have lived all my life among these people;" and, at the same time, he censured the hon. Member who had taken so much trouble to lay the matter before the House. He (Mr. Conybeare) was charged with having had the audacity to go into the constituency. Well, he could only reply that the hon. Member for Dudley's constituents would never rest satisfied until they had eliminated him from that House.

Motion made, and Question proposed'

"That the state of things revealed in the Report of the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade in reference to the present condition of the Nailers and Small Chain Makers in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire requires the attention of Parliament at the earliest possible period."—(*Mr. Brooke Robinson.*)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I think I never heard a more remarkable speech in seconding a Motion than the one just delivered by the hon. Member for Camborne. A more unfair attack has never been made on an hon. Member of this House. The hon. Member has charged my hon. Friend the Member for Dudley (Mr. Brooke Robinson) with neglecting the interests of his constituents in this matter. Well, I should like to say I am quite sure that the hon. Member who has made that charge, and those who heard it, did not know the facts as to what the hon. Member for Dudley had done. Very early in the present Session my hon. Friend came to me and said he believed that the condition of these people—I may, I think, call them unfortunate people, for the circumstances of their industry are in many respects terrible—was very sad indeed, and he begged I would inquire into it, and that I would instruct the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade to report upon it. Why, my hon. Friend actually initiated the inquiry which has resulted in Mr. Burnett's Report, and without which the hon. Member for Camborne would have known nothing of the subject. Yet, Sir, he now has the audacity to get up in this House and tell the House that he knows all about the subject, and that he was the first to call the attention of the House to it.

MR. CONYBEARE: I never said anything of the kind.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I am speaking within the recollection of the House. He charged the hon. Member behind me with neglecting the interests of his constituents, and with only bringing this matter forward in order to catch votes. I think the House will judge of the fairness of the statements and charges made by the hon. Member. All I have to say upon this subject is this—I am sure that at half-past 2 in the morning even so important a matter as this unquestionably is cannot possibly engage the attention of the House as it deserves. The Government are fully aware of the importance of the subject, and of the necessity of dealing with it if there is any way in which Parliament can deal with it without inflicting on these people greater miseries by the destruction of their industry than those they now suffer from. It will have our earnest attention; and I trust that my [illegible]

hon. Friend the Home Secretary or myself will be able next Session to make some proposals to the House with regard to it. I hope that my hon. Friend will not deem it necessary to press the Motion, seeing that it is of so vague a character that I do not think it can be usefully placed on record in the Journals of the House.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he was sincerely glad that the expostulations addressed by his hon. Friend the Member for Camborne had really produced some effect, and that, at any rate, he had secured for it consideration from so important a Minister as the President of the Board of Trade.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member withdraw his Motion?

MR. BROOKE ROBINSON: I do, Sir.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I object.

MR. SPEAKER: The matter then stands over till to-morrow.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Is it possible for an hon. Member to object after a Motion has been made and debated?

MR. SPEAKER: The objection, if taken at any time, is fatal.

Further Proceedings *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 7th December, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at a quarter past Four o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 7th December, 1888.

MINUTES.] — NEW WRIT ISSUED — *For* Maidstone, *v.* Alexander Henry Ross, esquire, deceased.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [December 6] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Considered as amended* — Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen [145], *further proceeding adjourned;* Liability of Trustees [365], *debate adjourned.*

QUESTIONS.

INLAND REVENUE—TAXES ON SERVANTS.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If, having regard to the duties levied on those who give employment to indoor male servants, coachmen, grooms, stable helpers, gamekeepers, gardeners, &c., and the number now without occupation, he will consider the propriety of requiring a special "employment of foreigners' license" to be taken out by those who engage foreigners in the United Kingdom, whether in a clerical, industrial, or domestic capacity?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said, his right hon. Friend did not think such a distinction could be drawn as was suggested in the Question.

LABOURERS' ALLOTMENTS ACT, 1887.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he will grant a return of the number of cases in which representations have been made to Sanitary Authorities under the Allotments Act, 1887, asking them to take proceedings under the Act, and the number of cases (if any) in which the Sanitary Authorities have, subject to the provisions of the Act, acquired, either by purchase or hire, suitable land to provide allotments, and let such lands in allotments to persons belonging to the labouring population?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Looking to the period which has elapsed since the Allotments Act was passed, I think that at present it would be premature to present such a return as is suggested. It will be borne in mind that the time is only now approaching when Sanitary Authorities who desire to acquire land compulsorily can practically take steps for that purpose. I have been informed of a number of cases in which Local Authorities have provided allotments; but one of the chief

advantages which the measure has secured is the stimulus which it has given to voluntary arrangements for supplying allotments for the labouring population.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ACT — COUNTY GOVERNMENT — ELECTION OF COUNTY COUNCILLORS.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether in view of the increasing interest taken in the Orders of the Local Government Board in connection with the Local Government Act, he will have such Orders issued as Parliamentary Papers, so that they can be purchased by the public, or have them published in *The Gazette*?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The only Orders which the Local Government Board have issued under the Local Government Act since the number of County Councillors was fixed for the counties, excepting those which are of very limited local application, are the Orders as to the Returning Officer for the County of London, and as to the persons who are to act as Returning Officers in boroughs divided into wards which are not co-extensive with electoral divisions. The first has been published in *The London Gazette*; and, as regards the second, publicity has already been given to its provisions; but I will arrange that this shall be published in *The London Gazette* also. The other Orders have reference to the combination of particular electoral divisions; and full information as to the arrangements will be given in the notices of the elections.

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS—THE MILITIA LAW (GUERNSEY)—CASE OF W. H. SARCHET.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that on November 23 William Henry Sarchet was sentenced by the Royal Court, Guernsey, to six weeks' imprisonment, half hard labour, for assaulting an officer, the technical assault proved being that Walter Henry Sarchet had refused to accept service of, and had returned to the officer, a summons issued against Walter Sarchet, son of William Henry Sarchet, charged with absenting himself from Militia drill; whether numerous prosecutions are now taking place in Guernsey in connection with the compulsory Militia Service; whether a very strong feeling prevails in the Island on the subject; and whether the Government will take any action in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have received a Report from the Governor of the Island of Guernsey, who informs me that the charge against W. H. Sarchet was for assaulting the Queen's officers while in the execution of their duty. The officers came to his house to leave summonses on his son, who resided there, the son having been actioned before the Royal Court for not attending to his Militia duties. On two occasions the officers were met outside his house by the father, who on each occasion assaulted them and used threatening language. From a return which the Governor has forwarded to me, I do not gather that prosecutions for infractions of the Militia Law are in excess of the average of previous years. The Governor tells me that a strong feeling prevails that the laws of the Island should be respected and enforced. The Government do not propose to take any action in the matter.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL — CLAUSE 9.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he could consent to simplify the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill, and get rid of a number of Amendments, by omitting Clause 9 and the clauses relating to seamen?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) (who replied) said, it was not intended to drop the clause referred to.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, considering the obscurity which still

hangs over the Edlingham burglary case, in consequence of the absence of a public trial, on evidence of the persons now convicted on their own plea, and the proposal to give a large sum of public money to the persons who are understood to have been wrongly convicted at the former trial, he will make public the proceedings of the inquiry instituted by him, and lay them before the House with a view to their being printed?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The inquiry conducted by my directions was intended to satisfy my own mind, and the information obtained was confidential. I cannot, therefore, lay it on the table of the House. The two men recently convicted of the Edlingham burlary were publicly tried and pleaded "Guilty" under legal advice. Their previous admissions of guilt are, no doubt, recorded on the depositions taken before the magistrates, and those admissions are full and complete.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that an acute correspondence on the subject was proceeding in the local papers, and that the vicar had stated he believed that the first men were guilty. ["Order!"] He was in Order. When would the Vote for compensation to the men be laid before the House?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was quite aware that there had been considerable correspondence in the local papers upon the subject; but so far as he had seen that correspondence it appeared to him to be conducted for the most part by people who had not taken the trouble to inquire into the facts.

THE TRUCK ACT—DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES AS FINES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can now communicate to the House the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown with reference to deductions from wages as "fines" when such deductions are other than the stoppage of unearned wage; and, whether he will issue a Circular to the Inspector of Mines and Factories giving instructions on this point?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): (who replied) said, he had no objection to state that, in the opinion of the Solicitor General and himself, deductions from wages as fines other than as the stoppage of unearned wages was illegal. It would require an examination into the facts of each particular case before it could be decided whether deductions were or were not illegal.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS — DUTCH CATTLE — THE FOREIGN ANIMALS ORDER.

MR. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Vice Chamberlain of the Household, Whether Dutch cattle are at present free from disease; and, whether, in view of the fact that the Dutch Government has prohibited the importation through Holland of German sheep for transit to Great Britain, the Committee of Council on Agriculture is now prepared to take Holland out of the Schedule under the Foreign Animals Order?

THE VICE CHAMBERLAIN (Viscount LEWISHAM) (Lewisham): As before stated, an application from the Netherlands Government to allow the landing of cattle without being subject to slaughter, on the ground that the country is free from disease, is still under consideration. Questions have arisen which render it necessary to obtain further information before a decision is arrived at.

NAVY ACCOUNTS AND EXPENDITURE.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact that orders have already been given for guns and ammunition for the Navy about £800,000 in excess of the amount placed in the Estimates and voted by this House; whether a corresponding excess has also occurred over the amount estimated for gun mountings in Vote 8 of the Navy Estimates; whether a large proportion of these excess amounts will become payable during the current financial year, probably to the amount of £500,000 at the least; whether this sum will be provided out of savings upon other Votes; and, if not, whether it is intended to introduce a Supplementary Estimate? The hon. Gentleman also asked, If the noble Lord can state to the House what was the amount voted by this

House for shipbuilding and repairs during the year ending 31st March last, and which was not so expended; how far this result was due respectively to over-estimating, to delays in delivery by contractors, and to failure to carry out the year's programme at the Dockyards; whether, during the current year, the amount expended will similarly fall below the amount voted for shipbuilding; and, whether, looking to the requirements of the Navy, and the costliness of hurried preparations, sufficient continous supervision will, in future, be exercised to insure that the sums annually voted by Parliament for shipbuilding purposes shall be so expended, and the expense of hurriedly making up for arrears be thus avoided?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): In Appendix No. 26, page 171, of the Navy Estimates, 1887-8, it is shown that it was proposed to expend in the course of the year, out of the sum of £4,850,600 contained in Votes 6 and 10, on new construction, £3,058,255; on repairs, £670,931—total, £3,729,186. The difference between the original Estimate for the distribution of labour and material on new construction and on repairs for the year 1887-8 is set forth in Appendix No. 26 of the Navy Estimates; and the expenditure as ascertained is stated in detail in Parliamentary Paper No. 231 of 1888 (Dockyard Expense Accounts and Shipbuilding Transactions), together with explanatory remarks giving reasons for the difference between estimate and expenditure for each ship under construction and repair. Further information bearing on the same points is given in a series of Papers laid before the Committee on Navy Estimates by the Director of Dockyards, printed at pages 500 to 520 in the Appendix to their fourth Report. It would not be possible to classify the causes for the difference between estimates and expenditure under the heads suggested in the second question. The delays in the delivery of materials and guns by contractors necessarily affect the realization of every part of the year's programme for new construction. So far as was possible, with due regard to the economical employment of the maximum number of men considered desirable to be borne in the Dockyards, the programme was approached. Certain important repairs which had been originally contemplated were, on further consideration, postponed, thus causing a reduction in the amount spent under that head. In round figures, the expenditure fell below the original Estimate as follows:—(*a*) New construction, £310,000; (*b*) repairs, £105,000—total, £415,000. Of the £310,000 deficit in the expenditure on new construction, about £180,000 relates to the Dockyard transactions, and about £13,000 to contract work. The amount voted, and the the amount expended, during the present financial year will closely approximate, and I estimate no surrender on these Votes. No supervision can insure that the sums annually voted for shipbuilding shall be also expended within the financial year; as the greater part of the disbursements made for these purposes are to contractors, whose delivery of the orders given them cannot be controlled by the Admiralty. The inconvenience attending the surrender of large unexpended sums at the end of the financial year, especially when they have been voted for contract work which has not been completed, is very great. The liability for the contract remains, though the money voted to meet it is no longer available, and the financial balance of the next year and subsequent years is disturbed. Her Majesty's Government have the matter under consideration, and they hope shortly to be able to make some proposals upon this subject. That which regulates the Ordnance expenditure for the Navy is not merely the amount of orders given, but the rate at which they are executed. For the past financial year there was a very large saving on the Naval Ordnance Vote, on account of the uncompleted contract work. To prevent a similar occurrence this year, I directed that the amount of orders to be given should be increased. I am informed that there may be an excess of expenditure upon this Vote; but up to the present time, which is two-thirds of the financial year, the expenditure is only £697,000 out of £1,863,000 voted for the whole year. There is no likelihood of an excess of expenditure upon the Gun Mounting Vote. If there is ultimately any large excess upon the Ordnance Vote a Supplementary Estimat

will be necessary, as it cannot be met out of savings on other Votes.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—PAYMENT OF SCHOOL FEES.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Commissioners of Education have refused to supply to the Very Rev. B. Murphy, Manager of the Mullaslin National School, County Tyrone, the Minute of Observations from the District Inspector's last results' Report; and, if this refusal has been caused by the contradictory nature of that Report, and the previous Report of the Head Inspector Seymour; if it is a fact that Mr. Seymour some time since instructed the Very Rev. Father Murphy, as Manager of the Dromogue (County Tyrone) National School, to expel such pupils as did not regularly pay school fees, and if such an instruction or recommendation is legal; and, if the Board of Education will cause inquiry to be made into the conduct of Inspector Seymour?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Commissioners of National Education inform me that in lieu of the brief summary of the District Inspector, which they considered was not sufficiently detailed, they furnished to the manager a comprehensive statement of the result of the Inspector's examination. The Head Inspector's Report in no way influenced the matter, his Report not being made previous to the District Inspector's, as alleged in the Question, but subsequent to it. The Head Inspector states that he never gave any such instructions to the manager as those indicated in the second paragraph, though he may have casually mentioned to him that he thought it was in his power to exclude children applying for admission to the school, whose parents were able to pay schools fees, but refused to do so. However, upon the manager applying to the Board on the subject they informed him that they could not sanction the exclusion of children; but in the event of non-payment, it is open to the teacher to sue the parents for the amount. The Head Inspector having long since furnished an explanation, the Commissioners do not consider it necessary to pursue the point further.

Lord George Hamilton.

INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT — THE STAFF.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will state the number of collectors, Inspectors, and supervisors of Inland Revenue who are of, and upwards of, 40 years' service and 65 years of age; and whether they will be called on to retire upon superannuation as officers of the subordinate ranks in the same Department have been?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): There are six collectors, one Inspector, and no supervisor of 40 years' service and 65 years of age in the Inland Revenue Department. Some of these gentlemen have been requested to remain on account of their great usefulness; but others have been, or shortly will be, called upon to retire.

PUBLIC HEALTH—NOTIFICATION OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES IN TOWNS—PREVENTION.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has under his consideration a scheme for publishing weekly Returns of sickness (infectious diseases) supplied to him by the Sanitary Authorities of certain towns in England and Wales; and, if so, whether he hopes to be able to carry out the scheme at an early date, and the number of towns likely to be included in the Returns?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Local Government Board have received communications from several towns in which the system of compulsory notification of disease has been adopted, suggesting that the Board should undertake the collection and issue of weekly Returns as to cases of infectious sickness in the towns in which that system is in force. I cannot state definitely what number of Sanitary Authorities would undertake to furnish the Returns; but the number would probably be about 30.

In reply to a further Question by Sir WALTER FOSTER,

MR. RITCHIE said, I would point out to the hon. Gentleman that the Act is not at present compulsory; and there might be very considerable danger of defeating the ends of the hon. Gentleman if we were prematurely to publish

accounts as to the condition of infectious diseases in towns. But I hope that we may be able to legislate on this subject next Session, and then all reasons for not publishing the Returns will have ceased.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND)—COURT OF APPEAL—"HASSAN *v.* CHAMBERS."

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (Londonderry City) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the decision of the Court of Appeal in Ireland, in the registration case of "Hassan *v.* Chambers;" whether the effect of that decision is to disfranchise all sailors in the United Kingdom who, between the 20th of July in one year and the 20th of July in the next, go on any voyage in pursuance of articles; and whether the Government intend to take any steps this Session to prevent such a result from this decision?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) (who replied) said: My hon. and learned Friend's attention has been called by the Question of the hon. Member to the case referred to, and I have obtained copies of the case stated by the Recorder of Londonderry, and the Judgment delivered by the Court of Appeal. I am advised that it appears that the claimant had signed articles of agreement on the 26th of June, 1888, by which he bound himself to serve as a sailor on board a ship on a voyage from Londonderry, the probable length of which would be 12 months, and that under this agreement he was compulsorily absent for several months from the 26th of June. The Court of Appeal (affirming the Recorder) held, following previous decisions both in England and in Ireland in the case of Militiamen absent for a short period for training, that as the claimant had, by the agreement, deprived himself of the power of returning to his dwelling-house whenever he pleased during the period of his absence at sea, he was not an inhabitant-occupier during the whole of the qualifying 12 months. The effect of the decisions in "Hassan *v.* Chambers," and previous cases, is that all sailors in the United Kingdom who, between the 20th of July in one year and the 20th of July in the next, go on any voyage under an agreement depriving themselves of the power of returning when they please to the dwelling-houses out of which they claim, are not entitled to be registered.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, that as the answer of the right hon. Gentleman practically meant the disfranchisement of all sailors in the country who went on a week's voyage, he would ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he would not consider the desirability, during the Recess, of taking some means to prevent this large class of the community being wholly disfranchised?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, it was possible that the cases of soldiers and sailors might require to be considered; but the hon. Member appeared to be mistaken in his view of the law. It was only, as he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) understood the matter, that when a voyage which a sailor had contracted to perform covered the whole period between the 20th of July in one year and the 20th of July in the next year, any disfranchisement could occur.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF C. BERTRAM, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Has his attention been called to the following Report, in *The Cornish Times* of October 20:—

"At the Stonehouse County Court on Wednesday, before Mr. J. Giffard, Judge—

"Mr. F. W. Skardon applied that the order for the release of the debtor Bertram, formerly of Carbeale House, Torpoint, might be suspended for a day or two, on the ground that the official receiver was going to institute a prosecution. It will be remembered that Bertram has been in prison since January. His Honour said that a Petition had been made to the Home Secretary for Bertram's release on the ground of ill-health. The Home Secretary had communicated with him (His Honour), and upon this he had ordered the debtor's unconditional and immediate release. Mr. Skardon then asked that the order for release might be so altered that Bertram would be out on bail. His Honour said he had signed the order, and had no longer any jurisdiction;"

had this prisoner been committed for contempt of court; and did the Home Secretary interfere, as stated; and, if so, under what powers?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the fact that one C. Bertram was adjudged a bankrupt by the late County Court

Judge Giffard, under the following circumstances—namely, that he took a house at Torpoint, fitted it up with furniture for which he never paid, and was afterwards arrested as an absconding debtor with goods in his possession which did not belong to him; whether he was subsequently committed to prison for contempt of Court in not filing proper accounts when ordered to do so by the Judge; whether on October 16, an order for his release was made by the same Judge, in spite of an application to suspend the granting of such order for release, for the purpose of communicating with the Board of Trade, and because a prosecution was intended; whether the Judge refused to suspend the order for release, stating, as his reason, that he had received a communication from him requesting the release of Bertram; can he state at whose instance, by what authority, and for what reason, he made such a communication; and, did he advise Her Majesty in this case to exercise her Prerogative of Mercy towards the said Bertram?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E): I will answer the Question of the hon. Member for North Longford and that of the hon. Member for the Camborne Division at the same time. I have no information as to the particulars which led to Mr. Bertram's bankruptcy. All that I know of the case is as follows:—The prisoner was committed in January last on suspicion that he was about to go abroad to avoid examination, or otherwise embarrass the proceedings in bankruptcy. He was ordered to be kept safely till the Court may order. On October 2 he petitioned me for his release, on the ground of failing health and long imprisonment. The Prison Medical Report supported his statements. Following the usual practice, I sent the Petition and Report to the Judge for such directions as he might be pleased to give, it not being a case in which the Secretary of State had jurisdiction. On October 14 the Judge informed me that he had signed the order for the prisoner's release. The Official Receiver in bankruptcy opposed the discharge strenuously. I am not able to say, on the information before me, whether this objection was made after the discharge of the prisoner. The Judge only tells me that, under all the circumstances, he did not think fit to accede to the representations made by the Receiver; and he points out that the discharge will in no way prevent the prosecution of the debtor.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, how the right hon. Gentleman reconciled his statement that he had no information as to the particulars of committal in this case with the statement made by him on Thursday, that he could not advise the Crown to exercise the Prerogative of Mercy in interference with an order of attachment to enforce another order, and that the exercise of that Prerogative was confined to definite penal sentences?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was not aware of the circumstances as to the delaying of the bankruptcy proceedings; but he was, of course, aware of the circumstance attending committal.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, was this, then, a case of committal in order to enforce an order, otherwise a committal for contempt; and, if so, why did he state that in such cases the Home Office never interfered?

MR. MATTHEWS said, it was not he who interfered. It was the Judge who ordered the release.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would call attention to this matter on the Estimates.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, whether it was not stated in Court that the Judge was requested by the Home Secretary to release the prisoner?

[No reply.]

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Chief Secretary, Whether, having regard to the practice which appeared to exist in England of forwarding Petitions received by the Home Office alleging the ill-health of a prisoner committed for contempt of Court to the Judge who committed him, the same course would be taken in the case of Moroney?

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary, whether the Government were taking steps to carry out the pledge given during the debate last week—in giving the most generous consideration to Moroney's case?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Everything that the Government can do to facilitate the release of the man Moroney, if he is proved to be in ill-health, will be done. The exact position of the Moroney case is this. I understand that Judge Boyd says that if a motion be made for the release of Moroney he will sit to hear it at any time, whether it be made by Moroney or any one on his behalf. He further says that the motion will be made publicly in open Court; and, supposing it be proved that this man is suffering from ill-health, Judge Boyd will at once order his release. There is, therefore, no ground for the fear expressed by some hon. Members yesterday that Moroney might not be in a fit state of health to apply personally.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, whether he would conform to what the Home Secretary had now admitted to be the practice at the Home Office in England, and call the Judge's attention to the fact that Moroney was suffering from ill-health?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: All the facts have already been brought to the notice of the Judge.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): What is the latest information in the hands of the Government as to the condition of Mr. Moroney's health? And I wish also to ask whether the Chief Secretary will allow all the Papers and Prison Reports on the subject, including the Medical Reports, to be open to any person desiring to make an application in the case?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am only able to give the statement which Judge Boyd made publicly, that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of anyone making an application for Moroney's release.

MR. CONYBEARE asked, whether any motion was required to be made in Bertram's case?

MR. MATTHEWS required Notice of the Question.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the Government have any objection, in view of the necessity for making an affidavit in the case of an application, to allow Members of this House to have access to the Papers which are stated to have been laid before the Judge, and which will, I presume, include the certificate of the medical officer?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not give that undertaking.

MR. SEXTON: Will not the reported statement as to the health of Moroney be open for inspection by Members?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot make that promise, considering that they are of a confidential character, and ought not to be made public.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, whether his attention has been called to the Judgment delivered in Moroney's case in the Bankruptcy Court on Tuesday last, in which Judge Boyd said—

> "What is the act Moroney has been guilty of? It is not contempt of Court; it is no insult to me; it is simply disobedience to the Act of Parliament. The penalty is fixed by the Act; and I must take it that Moroney knew the penalty when he refused to take the oath, and he must suffer the penalty for it;"

and he wished to ask the Solicitor General under what authority, judicial or statutory, did the Law Officers for Ireland advise that the Queen's Prerogative of Pardon did not extend to sentences of imprisonment inflicted for disobedience to an Act of Parliament?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): My attention has been called to the Judgment referred to in the Question of the right hon. Gentleman. There is no Statute nor, so far as I am aware, judicial decision on the subject; but the Advisers of the Crown in Ireland, as well as in England, are of opinion that the Prerogative does not apply in the case of a sentence, not of a punitive character, inflicted in respect of continuous disobedience to an Act of Parliament. The language of the Question is somewhat wider in its terms than the proposition which I have stated.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): How can it be contempt of Court when the Judge of that Court states that there was no contempt?

MR. MADDEN: I did not use the words "contempt of Court" in my answer. On the contrary, I described the offence, with regard to which the sentence was inflicted, as continuous disobedience of an Act of Parliament.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: But let me ask the Solicitor General for Ire-

land upon that, whether he can state any authority for the proposition that the Crown has not the power of release in all cases except those which are properly contempt of Court.

MR. MADDEN: What I endeavoured to convey was that it is the opinion of the Law Advisers of the Crown, both here and in Ireland, that where the punishment of imprisonment is awarded for a continuous disobedience to an Act of Parliament, the act of disobedience continuing from day to day, the Prerogative of Mercy, by way of pardon, is inapplicable.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, whether, in forming that opinion, the Law Advisers took into consideration the fact that under it a sentence of perpetual imprisonment might be inflicted without the power of the Crown to intervene with the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; it would be perfectly impossible that anything that could fairly be called a sentence of perpetual imprisonment could be inflicted in the cases to which my answer applies; because in all these cases the person has merely to cease his disobedience in order to terminate his imprisonment.

FISHERY HARBOURS (IRELAND)—LEADING LIGHTS.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will procure before next Session from the following Bodies Estimates as to the cost of carrying out the following recommendations of the Royal Commission on Irish Public Works with regard to Fishery Harbours, and communicate such Estimates to Parliament:—From the Commissioners of Irish Lights, as to leading lights, &c., for existing harbours; from the Local Harbour Boards of Rosslare and Fenit, as to proposed pier extension; from the Harbour Authorities of Clogher Head and Carrigaholt, now in course of construction, as to proposed pier extensions; and, from the Harbour Authorities of Buncrana, which is in close proximity to, and Foynes, which is already connected with, an existing railway, as to proposed pier extensions?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The Commissioners of Irish Lights are not responsible for leading lights; but I have no doubt that my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade would ask them to assist any Local Harbour authority in deciding upon lights to be erected, and their nature and cost. We already know how much is required to be spent to make Rosslare available for traffic; and I believe there would be no difficulty or delay in obtaining estimates for the other places named if definite scheme have been decided upon; but, at the present time, I think such estimates would be of little value, as no schemes have been settled.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—ENFORCEMENT OF ARREARS—THE SALTERS' COMPANY.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Salters' Company are enforcing payment of promissory notes for arrears given before the sale of the Magherafelt Estate; and, if any such action on their part is in accordance with the Land Purchase Act?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): It is the fact that, in certain cases, the Salters' Company are endeavouring to enforce payment of the promissory notes referred to. As regards the second paragraph, four test cases are now before the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, as to whether these arrears can be legally recovered. I may add that these cases refer to the early days of the Ashbourne Act, and Rules are now laid down which render their recurrence impossible.

LAW AND JUSTICE—COURT HOUSES—ACCOMMODATION FOR PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL.

SIR UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH (Lancashire, Clitheroe) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether any steps have been taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee, recently presided over by Mr. Justice Wills, on the subject of providing separate compartments and female officers for female prisoners in the Police Courts of London and in the Petty Sessional Courts of

most of the large towns and populous places in England and Wales?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I have already effected arrangements whereby increased cell accommodation will be provided for prisoners at the Metropolitan Police Courts which have police-stations contiguous to them. In some cases structural alterations are required; but I have given directions for the work to be done with the least possible delay. Where new cells are necessary the plans will, I hope, be shortly settled and approved. With regard to female officers at the police courts, their employment and payment have been already sanctioned, and steps are now being taken to appoint competent attendants. In the case of the improvements reported by the Committee to be necessary in certain Petty Sessional Courts in England and Wales, I am able to state that the Local Authorities have responded in a very satisfactory way to the request addressed to them for improved accommodation; and in several cases the necessary works are now being carried out in accordance with plans approved by the Home Office.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TECHNICAL SCHOOLS.

MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In what way the £1,000 voted last year to establish a Spinning, Weaving, and Dyeing School in Donegal, has been expended; whether the school is opened, and how many scholars attend it, and under whose management the money has been spent, and the school is being governed; whether it is the case that the Munster Dairy School does not know what to do with the special grant of £2,000, voted to it last year, and has invested it until they can find something to spend it on; whether this is in accordance with his intentions when he obtained the grant; and, whether, as the money has not been spent, it should, in accordance with regular custom, be returned to the Treasury?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): With regard to the Donegal grant of £2,000, granted last year, I am able to inform the hon. Member that by its aid teaching centres have been established at three places in the county (Carrick, Gweedore, and Milford). The Winter Session commenced on the 15th of November with free classes for lessons in weaving and dyeing. There has not been time since the Question appeared to get Returns of the number of the persons attending. In addition to Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Hart, the Committee of Management includes the Countess of Aberdeen, the Earl of Leitrim, the Roman Catholic Primate, the hon. Member for Hanley (Mr. Woodall), and others. With regard to the Munster Dairy School, I cannot give full information; but I may remind the hon. Gentleman that it appears from the Report of the Commissioners of National Education that the facilities afforded by the school have been increased. There is no foundation for the contention contained in the last paragraph, since a grant-in-aid is not governed by the Rule to which the hon. Member alludes.

PRISON RULES (IRELAND)—TREATMENT OF PRIESTS AND CLERGYMEN.

MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Rules he has laid down for the treatment of Roman Catholic priests in prison regarding their dress apply also to Protestant clergymen and ministers who may also be imprisoned?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, before the right hon. Gentleman answered the Question, might he ask whether he had ever had a case of a Protestant Minister imprisoned?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I was going to reply to the hon. Member (Mr. M'Laren) that when such a case arises I shall be glad to consider it.

MR. M'LAREN asked, whether the Rules laid down covered such cases?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: To answer that I should have to consult the General Regulations laid down. I apprehend they do not.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has given any instructions that priests, when arrested, are to be treated

with exceptional disrespect? I understand that Father Kennedy, while in his dressing room this morning at half-past 8, was arrested by a Head Constable, who broke into his bedroom by getting through the window for the purpose.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no information regarding the allegation made in the Question of the hon. Member; but I can assure him that the instructions do not direct any such action.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman give a definite answer to the Question to-morrow?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I shall be glad to telegraph to Dublin for information; but I do not know whether I can give it to-morrow. On Monday I shall be able to do so without doubt.

CRIMINAL LAW—YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND BAIL.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following observations of Mr. Justice Mathew, at Chelmsford Assizes on Tuesday, upon the acquittal of a lad charged with striking another lad with a piece of iron in a fight:—

"It is most discreditable that this boy should have been locked up since his committal. Bail should have been accepted for him. It is a desperate punishment to inflict upon a boy of 16 to be shut up even for a week in almost solitary confinement. Over and over again the Judges keep imploring the magistrates to grant bail to persons who are charged under circumstances like these;"

and, whether, in view of these observations, and of the large number of children committed to prison, he will issue a Home Office Circular upon the subject?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have seen the remarks of Mr. Justice Mathew in regard to the prosecution of a boy. In the case of boys or girls under 14 committed for trial, it has been the practice of the Home Office to urge the committing magistrates to allow bail. This boy being 16 would not fall within the rule. There is no objection to a Circular pointing out the expediency of allowing youths committed for trial to go out on bail; and I will have one issued accordingly.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSION, BALLYCASTLE, CO. ANTRIM.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state when the next sitting of a Sub-Commission will be held at Ballycastle, County Antrim, to hear the fair rent applications entered from Ballycastle Union prior to November 1, 1887; and, whether, considering that there are considerably upwards of 3,000 tenants in the County of Down who are obliged to continue to pay the old rent, though entitled to the benefit of the fair rent from May, 1887, arrangements will now be made to have the County Down Sub-Commission sitting there continuously in order to dispose of these applications?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Land Commissioners report that, in accordance with their present arrangements for next year, one pair of lay Assistant Commissioners will sit continuously in County Antrim throughout the year, commencing at the town of Antrim on the 9th of January. They will take the several unions in rotation, so that they will reach Ballycastle probably about April. And two pairs of lay Assistant Commissioners will sit continuously in the County Down.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND)—DISQUALIFICATION.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he is aware that it was decided at the last Parliamentary Revision Sessions held in Belfast, and in other places in Ireland, that, where a week's notice to quit has been served on a weekly tenant, and the tenant remains, even for one day, there, after the expiration of the week, and then goes directly to other premises, though in all other respects qualified to be registered as a voter, he is deprived of his right, because the notice to quit determined the tenancy, and he is considered to inhabit neither as "tenant" nor "owner" after the expiration of the notice; whether he is aware that a large number of persons were in this way deprived of the franchise at the last Revisions Sessions in Ireland; whether charges have been

made that rent agents frequently serve these notices to quit, and supply lists of the names of the tenants so served, with the view to disfranchise tenants who are opposed to them politically; and, whether, considering that the right to be registered as a voter has been preserved by "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887," in the case of a tenant served with a notice of eviction, he will advise such an amendment of the law as will similarly preserve this right to a person who has to remain in occupation of a house after the expiration of a notice to quit?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): My attention has been called to the decisions, which are correctly stated in the first paragraph of the Question. I have no information as to the matters of fact alleged in paragraphs two and three. As to paragraph four, I am advised that it cannot be admitted that the provisions of the sections of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887, afford any precedent for taking the course suggested by the hon. Member. The section preserves the right of tenants who remain in possession after the service of an eviction in proceedings of non-payment of rent, and has no analogy to the case of a person who merely retains possession for a time after the termination of his tenancy by notice to quit, and ultimately gives up possession.

COAL AND IRONSTONE MINES — DEATH RATE IN NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE MINES.

CAPTAIN HEATHCOTE (Staffordshire, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is aware that in 1880 the death rate per 1,000 men employed in coal and ironstone mines in North Staffordshire was 6·61, the death rate for Great Britain and Ireland being only 2·72, and that in 1887 the death rate for North Staffordshire was reduced to 1·35, as against 1·89 for Great Britain and Ireland: also that in 1880 only 55,546 tons were raised in North Staffordshire per life lost, as against 122,509 tons raised in Great Britain and Ireland, whilst in 1887 263,733 tons were raised per life lost in North Staffordshire as against 173,919 tons in Great Britain and Ireland; and, whether, considering these circumstances, he will disregard mere official seniority, and, in accordance with the strongly expressed wishes of both the employers and employed in North Staffordshire, appoint to the vacant Inspectorship the Sub-Inspector under whose management this remarkable improvement has taken place in the death rate of the peculiarly difficult and dangerous coal-field of North Staffordshire, instead of appointing an Inspector whose experience has been gained in a coal-field of a totally different character?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The figures given are correct, and are very satisfactory; but the improvement shown cannot be attributed exclusively to inspection, as my hon. Friend would seem to suggest; and it certainly would not be fair to attribute it solely to the inspection of the Assistant Inspector, and not at all to that of the Senior Inspector in charge of the district, who is about to retire, an able public servant of long service, to whose great experience, and to whose exertions against the use of blasting powers, it has been largely due that the district has, happily, been so free from explosions of recent years. Mere official seniority constitutes in itself no claim for promotion; but when conjoined with efficiency and aptitude, it constitutes a claim which I should not be justified in passing by. I am fully aware of the good services of the Sub-Inspector of the district; but the gentleman I am about to appoint is not only six years his senior, but is recognized as one of the most able mining engineers on the Home Office staff; and I have full confidence that, with the co-operation of the Sub-Inspector, who will remain in the district, he will efficiently safeguard the interests of both employers and employed.

CAPTAIN HEATHCOTE asked whether the gentleman about to be appointed had had experience in the North Staffordshire coal-fields?

MR. MATTHEWS: He has not.

IRELAND—THE KILLARNEY BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—RESOLUTIONS.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the report in *United Ireland*, 1st December, 1888, of certain resolutions passed at the

Killarney Branch of the National League—

"Resolved, that we hereby condemn the unpatriotic conduct of Patrick Cronin, James Brosnihan, John Cronin, and John Breen, of Killarney, and of Paddy Slattery, of Tralee, in taking grass lands from Lord Kenmare, and thus enabling his Lordship to stock the evicted farms on his estate. That we also condemn the action of J. Carthy, of Killarney, and 'Davy' Lynch, of Fossa, in grabbing farms on the Kenmare property from which the late occupiers were unjustly and harshly evicted.' The members next took into consideration the action of certain persons who sell cattle to Lord Kenmare's agent (Mr. Leonard) to graze the evicted farms on his property, especially those from which Mr. D. Shea, of Cleeney, Mr. Matt Horgan, of Knockmanagh, were evicted;"

and, whether adequate protection will be given to the men whose names are mentioned in the Resolution set out therein, as well as to others who may incur the hostility of this or other branches of the National League for acting in defiance of its Resolutions?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): In answer to my hon. Friend, I have to say that I have not had time to make the necessary local inquiries to enable me to answer fully the first portion of his Question. As regards the second portion, I can assure him the Government will take care that adequate protection shall be given to all who are engaged in legal undertakings.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to ask whether the Killarney branch of the National League is not a thing of the past?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know that the Question of the hon. Member arises out of the Question on the Paper. If he will put it down I shall be glad to answer it.

NATIONAL EDUCATION OFFICE, DUBLIN—PROMOTION OF COPYISTS.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will cause inquiry to be made into the present state of the cases of the copyists recommended for promotion in the National Education Office, Dublin; and, if he will have a reply sent as soon as possible to the communications of the Education Commissioners on the subject?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Inquiry has been made into the cases of the copyists in the National Education Office. There is, however, a difference between the Treasury and the Education Office as to the possibility of avoiding increase of charge by some re-arrangement of work. I think the difference can only be removed by a special inquiry into the Office; and, in the meantime, the Treasury would not be justified in adding to the public charge.

INDIA—THE COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE—COLONEL MARSHALL—THE NIZAM.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, with reference to Colonel Marshall's pecuniary dealings at Hyderabad, Whether the subjoined is a correct quotation of the Rule in force under the Government of India regarding pecuniary transactions of officials within the limits of their jurisdiction—

"All covenanted civil servants, statutory civilians, uncovenanted officers who hold gazetted appointments, and military officers in civil employ, are prohibited under pain of dismissal from taking loans from, or otherwise placing themselves under pecuniary obligations to, persons subject to the official authority or influence of such Government officers, or residing, possessing property, or carrying on business within the local limits for which such Government officers are appointed;"

whether Colonel Marshall's alleged lending of a large sum of the Nizam's money to his own brother-in-law is an infringement of the said Rule; and, whether, having regard to the fact that no Report on the matter has been made to the Government of India by the Secretary of State, he will call for a Report, and inform the House what action has been taken in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The rule is correctly stated. The Secretary of State is in possession of no information or evidence in reference to the alleged loan. The Secretary of State cannot call for Reports from the Governments of India unless some evidence is furnished to him upon which a reference to India can be based. If such evidence is furnished he will immediately call for a Report.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Am I to understand that the India Office in London is the only Body in the world which is not acquainted with these notorious facts, and that the hon.

Gentleman does not think there is ground for asking for a Return on the subject?

SIR JOHN GORST: If any Gentleman will lay before me any *primâ facie* evidence which will justify me in making any reference to the Indian Authorities I will do so.

HOSPITALS (INDIA)—THE CAMA HOSPITAL—LADY DOCTORS.

MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of the Surgeon General with the Government of Bombay, dated June 15, 1887, on Civil Hospitals, in which he speaks in the highest terms of the Cama Hospital for Women, under the management of lady doctors —namely, Dr. Edith Peechy and Dr. Ellaby, and further he says that Dr. Edith Peechy has now, in addition to known high professional attainments, the claim to be regarded as successful in hospital administration; and, whether, in consequence of this Report, he will take steps to induce the Bombay Government to make the appointments of these lady doctors permanent, in the same manner and degree as similar appointments for male doctors, instead of only for five years, and to carry out the recommendation of Viscount Cross, sent in a despatch to India, that women should be put on the same footing as men in the Indian Medical Service?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has considered the Report of the Surgeon General of Bombay on Civil Hospitals, which is of a most satisfactory character as regards the services of the lady doctors. It was decided, in 1886, that the appointments in the Cama Hospital should be temporary only, and should be revised at the end of five years, in the light of the experience gained and the progress of medical education in India. The Secretary of State does not propose to shorten the period of probation which was then decided on.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONSTABLE EDWARD SWINDELL.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the Attorney General for Ireland, having determined to enter a *nolle prosequi* upon the finding of a verdict of wilful murder by a Coroner's Jury against Police Constable Swindell, will send up a bill in the case to the Grand Jury at the Munster Winter Assizes?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Attorney General for Ireland states that he does not intend to send up a bill against the constable at the present Winter Assizes; that such a course would be most unusual, the proper and usual proceeding in such cases being to bring the accused before the magistrates, and have the depositions taken in his presence and have him committed for trial. This course the Attorney General will be prepared to take, should he consider there is evidence to justify him in doing so; but, having regard to the circumstances of the case and the proceedings at the inquest, he will not give directions until after a full investigation.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—RETIRED OFFICIALS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the three clerks of the Central Office, Courts of Law, retired on re-organization in the spring of 1888 on £513 per annum, are different from the redundant clerks retired in October; and, if so, what was the occasion of retiring the former three at the ages of 33, 36, and 46 respectively; if he would explain what was the occasion of retiring three officials of the Board of Trade in 1888, on re-organization and abolition, on pensions amounting to £1,086, and whether there has been a saving on the whole establishment of the Board of Trade; and, what was the occasion of abolishing upon pension a draughtsman of the Ordnance Survey in 1886, and whether the operations of that survey have really been contracted?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The answer to the first Question is, Yes. As to the second Question, the clerks were retired in compliance with the recommendations of the Committee of 1887. In answer to the third Question, two of those officers were retired by the Board of Trade on a re-organization of the Patent Office, effected after Departmental inquiry; the

third (Seamen's Registry) in compliance with the recommendation of a Committee which has this year inquired into the Office, and has recommended measures of reform whereby the salary list will be reduced from £19,000 to £10,000 a-year. The salary list of the Board of Trade, with its subordinate Departments, for 1888-9, shows a reduction of about £4,000, and a still larger reduction may be anticipated next year. The draughtsman served in the survey from 1866 to 1875, when he was transferred to the service of the Cape Colony, and was paid from Colonial Funds. In 1886 his Colonial office was abolished, and he became entitled to a pension on his whole service under the Colonial Pensions Act, 1887, Section 2. Of this pension the Colony pays the portion applicable to the Colonial Service, and also the addition awarded on the ground of abolition. The Superannuation Vote is only charged with the amount of the retiring allowance to which the man was entitled at the date of transfer in 1875.

LAW AND JUSTICE — THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR—"EVANS *v.* MORGAN."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that Mr. Justice Butt, on the 13th of June last, in a case of "Evans and another *v.* Morgan," directed a certain document propounded as a will to be impounded, and that the matter should be brought before the Director of Public Prosecutions, with the view of prosecuting the defendant for uttering a forged will; whether the matter was, on the 17th of June last, duly brought to the notice of the Director of Public Prosecutions; and, whether any, and what, proceedings have been taken pursuant to the directions of the learned Judge?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I have made inquiries into the case of "Evans *v.* Morgan," which Mr. Justice Butt directed to be brought before the Public Prosecutor, and have ascertained that there has been the greatest difficulty in obtaining the evidence of the necessary witnesses. Every effort has been made to procure their attendance. I will make further inquiries into the matter, with a view to the necessary proceedings being taken.

BANK HOLIDAYS ACT—THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

MR. W. BECKETT (Notts, Bassetlaw) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he is in a position to state whether it is his intention to alter the next Bank Holiday from the 26th to the 24th instant?

MR. MAPLE (Camberwell, Dulwich) asked, If the right hon. Gentleman is able to communicate to the House the result of his inquiries respecting the proposed alteration of the date of the Bank Holiday from December 26 to December 24; and, whether he is aware that in commercial circles the proposal is widely condemned?

MR. MURDOCH (Reading) asked, Whether there is any intention of altering the date of the Bank Holiday from Wednesday, December 26, to Monday, December 24?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am asked three Questions upon this subject, which is of very considerable importance to a large number of people. After having endeavoured to ascertain what are the views of the trading classes and mercantile community generally on the subject, the Government have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable to make an alteration with regard to Bank Holiday. Such an alteration would involve very considerable difficulties with regard to the payment of bills and financial transactions generally, and would probably interfere with a very large number of arrangements which have already been made for that holiday.

EGYPT—SUAKIN—THE PAPERS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked, When the Papers relating to the communications with the Egyptian Government with regard to Suakin would be laid on the Table?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I will inquire, Sir, in the course of the evening.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III—LAW AND JUSTICE—VOTE 21—LAW CHARGES AND CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS (IRELAND).

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Man-

chester, E.): I think it is due to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) that I should state publicly that I made an error of fact from information supplied to me, and which I gave to the House yesterday, being erroneous. It relates to the case which I called No. 6 of those in which loss of life occurred in consequence of collisions with the police in Ireland. I stated with reference to that case that no action had been taken by the Crown, but that it had been taken by the relatives of the man killed. I find that statement is erroneous, and that the Crown did take action before a single Resident Magistrate, Mr. Harvey, and the case went no further. In justice to the official who supplied me with the information, and who made the error, I ought to say that the excuse for it is that the next-of-kin were mixed up with the case, but their evidence was got up on their behalf by a certain clerk.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I have to thank the right hon. Gentleman for his courtesy in making the explanation.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I may, perhaps, now refer to the Question which was addressed to me by the right hon. Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) with regard to the Scotch Estimates, and also to make a statement as to the course of the Estimates generally for the next few days. We hope to be able to reach the Irish Estimates again this evening, and to proceed with them to-morrow and on Monday. We propose to place distinct Votes on the Paper for each day as the first Votes to be considered, in order that hon. Gentlemen who are specially interested may have an opportunity for fully preparing themselves for any particular Vote. We propose to take the Scotch Estimates on Tuesday and on Wednesday next, if it should be necessary to continue them on Wednesday. It is necessary we should obtain a Vote or Votes for the Navy on Thursday; and we propose, therefore, to proceed with the Navy Estimates on Thursday, beginning with Vote VIII. On Friday morning we propose to take the Army Estimates; and on Saturday to conclude the Navy and Army Estimates, if they should not have been concluded on the Friday. On Monday in the following week—that is, the 17th—we propose to take Class V. of the Civil Service Estimates, and on Tuesday the 18th the Revenue Estimates. I think it is desirable I should make this statement to the House, in order that hon. Members may know beforehand the order in which the Votes shall come on; and I may once more appeal to the House to give such assistance as may be necessary to enable us to complete the Business of the House before necessary holidays are taken. I have now added 10 days to the 32 already occupied in Supply; and when it is understood that these Estimates will again have to be considered within the next three or four months, hon. Members will see that they will have a speedy opportunity of again raising any question in which they may be interested; and I trust they will concur with those who desire to give fair but not excessive consideration to the questions raised in endeavouring to bring the Business of the country to a conclusion.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): What sort of a Sitting is it to be to-morrow? Is it to be like a Wednesday Sitting? And what is the arrangement with regard to the debate on the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I understood that the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. J. C. Stevenson) accepted the proposal I made—that we should have an Evening Sitting on Friday the 14th for the consideration of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill; and with regard to to-morrow, it will be like a Wednesday Sitting. It is for the convenience of the House that the Sitting should not be unduly protracted; and I hope that that which is for the convenience of the House will also be for the advantage of Business.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was proposed to pass the Appropriation Bill before Christmas; and, if so, when it would be introduced? He also wished to know whether they were to understand from the right hon. Gentleman's references to next year's Estimates that this was a pledge that those Estimates

would be introduced early in the Session and then proceeded with?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have endeavoured to give the House every assurance which is in my power. It is the intention of the Government to ask the House to consider the Estimates at the earliest possible period next year. No one is more sensible than I am of the inconvenience of delaying them till the end of the year; and, undoubtedly, so far as it is possible for me to give a pledge to that effect, I give it without any reservation whatever. The introduction of the Appropriation Bill must depend on the conclusion of Supply. It is just possible, according to the arrangements I have foreshadowed, to pass the Appropriation Bill before Christmas.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): Will the right hon. Gentleman make a statement with regard to the Universities (Scotland) Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am afraid I cannot add to the statement I have already made. I have accepted the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), that the Universities (Scotland) Bill shall be discussed *pari passu* with the Appropriation Bill. But it cannot be taken before that time.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is the case that he has received a Memorial signed by a number of Scottish Members strongly expressing the opinion that it is inexpedient to proceed with the Universities (Scotland) Bill this Session?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, Sir; it is perfectly true that I have received a Memorial to that effect. I have received a Memorial signed by 22 Scottish Members asking me to proceed with the Bill, and a Memorial signed by 21 Scottish Members asking me not to proceed with it.

MR. HUNTER: The right hon. Gentleman has reversed the numbers. There are 22 Members against, and 21 for, proceeding with the Bill this Session.

PARLIAMENT—THE ISSUE OF WRITS.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there was any precedent, having in view the fact of the late period of the year in which the House was sitting, for a Writ for election being issued in December? The reason for his objection was that persons who would be eligible to vote on the 1st of January next, and who were already on the register, would be debarred from exercising that privilege if the election were to take place now, and even those who now voted must have occupied their houses for two-and-a-half years—since July, 1886. No doubt, if Parliament were not sitting, the Writ would not be issued until the new electorate came into the possession of the franchise.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have had no intimation from the hon. and learned Gentleman that he intended to ask me this Question, and I can only speak from the impression I have in my mind. I believe we have no alternative. The Statute requires that the Writ should be issued as soon as the fact of the death is known and certified to the Speaker. It may be that the hon. and learned Gentleman is accurate in his statement as to the new voters. No doubt, if the House were not sitting the Speaker would issue the Writ in due course.

MR. T. M. HEALY gave Notice that when the Writ was moved for he should move that it was inexpedient to issue the Writ until the new electors were able to exercise the franchise.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE IRISH ESTIMATES.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Perhaps it would be for the convenience of the House if, with regard to the statement made by the First Lord of the Treasury, I made a brief statement as to the Irish Estimates to-morrow and Monday. I shall be glad to have any suggestion from hon. Members opposite; but what I would suggest is that we should take first the Votes which have nothing to do with the more controversial aspects of the Irish Question. I would suggest that to-morrow we should take first Public Education and Land Commissions. After that, if we do not dispose of it to-day, we would on Monday take the Constabulary Vote and other Votes in their order.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) inquired at what time the First Lord of the Treasury would propose to report Progress on the Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, looking at the importance of the Bill, the Government hoped that it would not be debated at any great length. He understood that the House desired that the measure should pass into law this Session. The Government would see how the debate proceeded, and would take such steps as they might deem expedient after ascertaining the views and feelings of hon. Gentlemen on both sides.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—NEW WRIT FOR MAIDSTONE.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS) (Kent, St. Augustine's), moved that a new Writ be issued in the room of the late Major Ross the Member for Maidstone.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he hoped what he had said would commend itself to the House. He thought a distinct injustice would be done if the election took place on the old register. There had been no less than 3,000 removals, so that, practically, there would be this number of new voters in January. It was so short a period that he did not think there could be any objection; more especially as the new Member could not be expected to take his seat in the Autumn Session. He thought the proper course would be to move the Adjournment of the Debate; but he preferred first to hear the answer of the right hon. Gentleman.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have listened with great attention and respect to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member. It may be perfectly true that there is a number of persons who will be qualified to vote in January who are not now qualified or entitled to vote; but, on the other hand, there are persons now qualified to vote who will be disqualified in January. The hon. and learned Member asked the Government to exercise their discretion in the matter. I think no worse thing could happen than that the Government should at any time exercise their discretion on a question of this kind. It is always a question of degree, for the hon. and learned Member who objects to the issue of the Writ on the 7th of December might object to it at the end of November or the end of October. The best plan is to adhere to the plain direction of the Statute, and to follow the usage and practice of Parliament when an event which we deplore happens. There is no doubt that if this unfortunate death had occurred in the Recess, the Speaker would have issued a Writ that would have brought about an election before the end of the year. Under all these circumstances, I trust the hon. and learned Member will refrain from calling on us to exercise a power which it would be most undesirable we should exercise in the public interests intrusted to us.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked, whether there was any precedent for issuing a new Writ before the late Member was buried?

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS said, the interment of the late Member had already taken place. The ordinary course had been followed in regard to the proposed issue of the Writ. He had given the usual notice to the Opposition Whip, who had made no objection to the action he was taking.

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.—[BILL 145.]

(*Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Forwood.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended by Standing Committee, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now considered."

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.), in rising to move that the Bill be considered upon that day three months, said, he regretted the position he was compelled to occupy. His Motion on the face of it appeared to be obstructive and directed against the whole scheme of the Bill. Those who were committed to this Motion did not take up this extreme position of their own

accord. They had sought interviews with the Government to submit Amendments to Clause 3, and they had had reason to believe that their objections to it would be removed and the Bill passed; but as the Government had made no further statement as to Clause 3 that hope was dispelled, and the only alternative left was to try to defeat the Bill. If the Amendments had been accepted, it would have removed nearly all the difficulties in their way, and would probably have enabled the Bill to be got through its present stage within a few hours; whereas, as matters stood, it was doubtful whether any other Business would be reached either that night or on the following day. The responsibility he was taking was, he was aware, a great one, but he took it without hesitation, as it was the direct outcome of long consideration on the part of the only Body that had the right to express a collective opinion on the subject—the organized trades whose members would be affected by it. They desired to see the Bill pass, but the Government rendered it impossible that it could pass with the support of the trades; and if it were passed as it stood they would immediately commence an agitation for another measure which should be more just and equitable to all the parties concerned. The opponents were willing that a clause should be inserted recognizing the insurances of the London and North-Western, the London and Brighton, and all Railway Companies and firms, only preventing new contracts after the Bill had become law. The Government gave great hope that they would accept the suggestions made to them; but they declined at the last moment when the trades had relaxed their efforts. It would have been better to put the Bill off till next year, by which time the Government might have relented and drafted an equitable Bill that would do justice all round. The subject had been under discussion ever since the passing of the Act of 1880, and there was a Select Committee upon it in 1886. This Bill was introduced before Whitsuntide, and, after a restricted discussion, was sent to the Standing Committee on Law, where the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary sat like a stone wall and paid little or no attention to anything that was advanced on behalf of the workmen. The Bill had been kicked and cuffed from pillar to post till within a few days of Christmas, and now, with a Parliamentary pistol held at their heads, they were asked to pass the Bill in one night—in order that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury might proceed with the belated Estimates—or else take the responsibility of defeating the Bill. Well, they did accept the responsibility, for they were convinced that unless the Government accepted the suggestion that had been before them for the last week the working classes would a thousand times prefer to remain under the Act of 1880 for the present rather than commit their liberty for the future to such an ill-considered and partial measure. There were one or two improvements in the Act. One was the advance of the limit to £250; but that limit had no logical basis, and it would not be insisted upon in the case of any other class of the community. Then there were the clauses dealing with sub-contracts and the inclusion of seamen, and when he had mentioned these three points, he had referred to the only parts of the Bill which were of any advantage at all to the workmen. There were other portions of the measure which were directly disadvantageous compared with the Act of 1880, and they would rather sacrifice the advantages than have them with the clauses which they condemned. The workmen were not asking for a new law, or for any special favour. What they asked was that an exception in the law which excluded working people should no longer be allowed to exist, and that there should be one law for the employer and his workman and no special protection for either class. Why should not working men be treated in the same way as their employers? They were of the same colour; they were not Hottentots or black men; and there was no reason why they should be any longer ruled out of the law of the land. [An hon. MEMBER: You are not.] He maintained that they were, by the doctrine of common employment. If a workman by his negligence caused a person an injury, the employer was liable to pay compensation to the injured man; but if a working man, five or 10 minutes after he had obtained employment, received a fatal injury through the negligence or inca-

pacity of a fellow-workman, the next of-kin had no case whatever against the employer. There would be no case for compensation, because the workman had been, perhaps, for only 10 minutes in common employment. This, he submitted, was not right or just. Lord Esher said in his evidence before a Committee in 1877—

"If you alter a whole law with regard to everybody, then I should say that nobody ought to be liable for anything but his own negligence or want of care or skill; but as long as you maintain the general law, I think that the general law ought to be applicable in regard to the liability of the master for injuries to his servants."

That was all the workmen wanted. They would be prepared to accept the law which was provided for other classes. Less than that they would not be satisfied with. It had been stated that if Parliament altered the law in the way in which they had suggested, an employer might be ruined by any great catastrophe at his works. He did not say that that might not be so; but what he did say was that the employer, if made liable for the effects of that catastrophe upon other people, should also be made liable for the injuries which it inflicted upon his workmen. In the Committee on the Bill he gave an instance of how the law worked. Within a niche of that House a workman was injured for the rest of his life through the negligence or incapacity of a fellow-workman. No recompense was made to that man, who was ruined for life, and his family were left to the tender mercies of the world, because the injury was inflicted by an incapable or careless workman whom he had probably never seen before, and whose action he could not control. The Government had never listened to the working men's case; and if they did them a good act in one part of the measure, they more than counterbalanced it by the harm done them in some other part of the Bill. He asked the attention of the House to Clause 3, on which centred their main objection, and which had determined them to make a firm stand against the further progress of the measure. They had offered a perfectly honest and reasonable compromise to the Government, who had, however, rejected it at the instance of a mere handful of people —in fact, at the mere instance of the London and North-Western Railway Company and half-a-dozen proprietors of large works who had interviewed the right hon. Gentleman. The title of the Bill was misleading, and he hoped that someone would move to amend it. It should be called an Insurance Bill, or a London and North-Western Railway Protection Bill, or by any other title except that of an Employers' Liability Bill. The whole scheme was devised to relieve employers from that liability in regard to their workmen to which at Common Law they were subject in regard to every member of the community. Clause 3 would destroy the value of every other part of the measure. It was an attempt to impose on the working people of this country the German system of compulsory insurance. The right hon. Gentleman was greatly enamoured of the German system, but he would tell him that they were not Germans; that they did not want the German system; and—what was more—they were not to be drilled or dragooned into that system. One of the objects of the measure was, no doubt, to strike at the root of trade unionism. The proposition had been made more than once during the last 30 years to separate the benevolent fund from the trade purposes fund in their trade combination. It had been made there, in the Press, and on the platform. It had always failed. They saw what was the little game in connection with that 3rd clause and they intended to meet it. Trade unionism had in the past defeated Ministers as great as the right hon. Gentleman, and it would in the future defeat Ministers and Governments, if they struck one blow against it or made that insidious attempt to undermine the foundations of their trade associations. Clause 3 brought in operation the Secretaries of State and the Board of Trade, who were to tell them when they were justly dealt with by their employers; but they thought they could manage those small affairs of theirs without assistance of that kind. They were of opinion that the Board of Trade and Secretaries of State especially, judging from recent experience, had quite as much as they could do to manage their own affairs successfully without undertaking to interfere with the affairs of organized Trade Societies. The whole of those Bodies, however much they might differ on any other subject, would

certainly unite on that question and do their utmost, if that proposal became law, to render it perfectly inoperative; and they would, as long as they were allowed, continue to oppose its progress in that House. Clause 3 of the Bill proposed to convert the whole adult male population of this country into domestic servants; and if it were operative, working men would not be able to move hand or foot without the permission of their employers. The workman who had invested 10 or 15 years' subscriptions in the fund of any particular firm of employers, and who was then too old to join any club or association, must remain under that firm on whatever conditions they might impose on him, otherwise he must leave and be for the rest of his days without any provision against sickness or old age. There were, besides, several limitations in the Bill to which he objected. In Clause 5 the workmen were limited to three months' notice of action; in Clause 6 they were compelled to begin the action within six months; in Clause 12 there was an allowance of 12 months' grace in case of the death of the injured person. Why should there be those limitations? They did not exist by the Common Law. He hoped the House would sympathize with the claims of the workmen, and that they would have the aid of hon. and learned Gentlemen on his own side of the House, in order to see whether they were right or not, and to give them some guidance in the legal questions which would arise in the later stages of the Bill. Then Clause 9 proposed a limit of £250 as compensation to all workmen in case of fatal injury or death; but why should there be this limitation? He objected to any limit whatever, and he hoped hon. Members would sustain him in that objection. Clause 12, again, limited the present Common Law right of workmen. It gave them the opportunity of going into a County Court under certain conditions, the first being that they should proceed under the restrictive rules laid down by this Bill. He certainly took serious objection to that limitation, and would ask the opinion of the House on the matter. Clause 13 related to seamen, and he understood that if any objection was made to it the Government were disposed to lighten the Bill by withdrawing the clause altogether. But their objection to the clause was on the ground that it was so limited in extent and so safeguarded as to leave seamen without protection or compensation on the part of the shipowner. The clause stated that the seaman was to be entitled to compensation provided the accident occurred "when the ship last proceeded to sea from a port in the United Kingdom." But if an accident was caused to a seaman through lack of gear or defective repairs on the part of the owner or his agent when the ship was coming back to the United Kingdom, why was the seaman not as much entitled to compensation as when leaving the United Kingdom? This was one of the extraordinary anomalies which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to make law, and he should be glad to hear an explanation of it. While the Bill was before the Committee upstairs the right hon. Gentleman made no attempt to explain the point, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would agree to remove that portion of the clause in respect to which he had given Notice of Amendment on Report stage. This was a question involving the future weal or woe of the working people of the country, and he appealed earnestly to the House to discharge the Bill for the present Session. The Government could then reconsider the whole subject, and if they could not propose a better measure, then they ought to leave the question alone altogether, merely continuing for the present the Act of 1880 until such time as Parliament had made up its mind to do justice to the working classes by passing a complete measure for their benefit. He appealed to the Government not to attempt to score a Parliamentary success at the expense of the welfare of the working people, to disregard the views of one Railway Company, and do an act of justice to the working classes by withdrawing this sham, misleading, mischievous Bill, than which a worse one had never been presented to the House. The hon. Member concluded by moving that the Bill be considered that day three months.

MR. JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street), in rising to second the Amendment, said, that although he could not speak for the labouring classes with the same authority as his hon. Friend (Mr. Broadhurst), yet he could speak as one who had been a large employer of labour for a long time, and as his num-

ber of *employés* at the present time was between 3,500 and 4,000, he thought he could speak with some degree of authority. He had not been so fortunate as the hon. Member to be placed on the Committee which dealt with this question, nor was he fortunate enough to be called on to speak, although he tried several times to address the House on the second reading of the Bill, and, therefore, he thought he was entitled to say a few words. He agreed in the main with what had fallen from his hon. Friend. He thought that too much alarm was being felt and had been felt in regard to the effect of this measure. He remembered that when the 1880 Act was introduced there was quite a panic among the employers of labour, and he believed that one hon. Member who addressed the House said he believed it would depreciate his property to the extent of 50 per cent. All these prognostications had been proved to be fallacious. He had himself had only one case under the 1880 Act, and he thought his experience was pretty much the same as the experience of all employers of labour. He, therefore, did not look with any degree of alarm upon extending to some extent the provisions of the Act of 1880. He found, in going through his constituency, which was a constituency composed of working men engaged in industrial pursuits chiefly, that there was no question which created so much interest as the extension of the Act of 1880, and he confessed that, with regard to common employment, there was not so much to be said. What they did seem to think was that provision should be inserted in this extended Act to prevent employers and workmen contracting themselves out of it. He was in hopes that the negotiations which had been taking place between Her Majesty's Government and the deputations representing both the workmen and the employers would have tended to have removed the difficulty in the way of passing this Bill, and he must express his regret that the Government had not seen their way to strike out the 3rd clause altogether. It was the 3rd clause to which his strongest opposition was directed, and it was the 3rd clause which induced him to second the Amendment of his hon. Friend. He believed that the working classes had the same dread of this contracting out of the Act as they had in connection with losing their votes under the Ballot Act. In his part of the country the working men were so well organized that they could take care of themselves, and required no assistance from the Legislature; but there were many parts of the country where these organizations did not exist, and where the impression was that working men were to some extent prevented from exercising their free will in regard to voting. He thought it would be better, where the difficulty existed, that there should be compulsion—that employers should not be allowed to take advantage of their position to compel men to contract themselves out of the Act. The Legislature intended to give all working men the benefit of this Act, and he thought the employers had no right whatever to deprive men of a benefit which existed. He held that, on the whole, the measure which was before the House was a very moderate measure, and he was amazed that Her Majesty's Government had not endeavoured to settle this question. There could, in his mind, be no settlement which contained such a clause as Clause 3, and in dealing with questions of this sort the aim of the Government should be to settle the question fairly and reasonably. He believed if the Government were to delete this 3rd clause it would take away a great deal of the opposition to this Bill, and it would be a settlement which would be considered fair and reasonable by the bulk of the working classes in this country. They heard that a deputation, which considered that it represented the working classes of this country, agreed to the insertion of a clause to enable such Companies as the London and North-Western Company, which had already an insurance fund which in their case took the place of compensation to be given under this Act, to be exempted from its operation. He failed to see on what grounds the Government had not endeavoured to come to terms with them on the subject. He believed that when the matter came to be dealt with in the future, those who were now against the insertion of this clause would find that such a settlement would be a much more reasonable and fair one for the working classes than the settlement which was contained in this Bill. He hoped, therefore, that Her Majesty's

Government, in order to save the time of the House, and in order to get this measure passed into law this Session, would intimate to the House their willingness to give this concession and to strike out the 3rd clause. In his own district they had miners' relief funds, and to these funds the bulk of the coal-owners contributed something like 20 per cent upon what was contributed by the working men of the district. He regretted to say that since the Act of 1880 was passed some of the owners had withdrawn their contributions, notwithstanding that their loss under the Act must be very much less in some cases than their contributions used to be when they gave 20 per cent. But, in spite of these losses, he thought the working men of his district were as strong as ever they were in their opposition to contracting out of the Act. He hoped, therefore, the Government would agree to what he believed to be the desire of the bulk of the working classes.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," in order to add the words "this day three months."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he felt very much the responsibility which rested upon him for the course he was about to take, because it would put him in conflict with nearly every allegation of fact and of principle that had fallen from the hon. Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst), and also in conflict, he was afraid, with one or two other hon. Members whose opinion he valued very much. But he could not regard which was the Party in power in introducing this or any other Bill. Each Bill must be dealt with on its actual merits. He had heard this Bill described as "a sham, misleading, mischievous—a worse Bill was never introduced into this House." [MR. BROADHURST: Hear, hear!] He should be sorry if that were true, for he was one of those who were responsible for every suggestion adopted by the Government in this Bill, save one, which he would explain presently. The whole Bill, except so far as it was in the Act of 1880, was the result of the Report of a Select Committee made in 1886, on which Committee there were 18 Members—11 Liberals and 7 Conservatives. As the hon. Member for West Nottingham read the Report two years ago, he might have given them the advantage of his criticisms at a time when they might have prevented the Government from being misled. However, they did not obtain the assistance which he, in writing, sought from the hon. Member, who rightly enough claimed to represent the organized trades, from whom the Select Committee might have expected, at least, the fullest information. The Committee did the best they could. They received great assistance from Gentlemen representing the mining constituencies, and they also had assistance from one great Trade Union. But they were left to form their judgment without any help from the hon. Member, although it was asked for more than once in writing. If the Committee had led the Government into erring, it was much to be regretted that those who represented the only authorized organization in this country did not at their great Trade Congresses put the facts in regard to this measure accurately before them and give the Committee the benefit of their experience. It was true that the hon. Member spoke with authority, but it was authority given on a statement of facts which utterly misled the Congress as to the nature of the Bill. He wished to say a word or two with reference to the intimation of the hon. Member for West Nottingham—that if the Government had accepted certain proposals there would have been no need for the opposition that evening. He held in his hand the print of the Amendment which the hon. Gentleman referred to as having tendered as a compromise. Would the House believe that that would have left everybody to be forced to contract out till May 1 without any kind of remedy, would have left the worst evils upon those who could bear them the least, and would have been a very fiction of a compromise if the Government had thought right to accept it? He should have regarded that compromise with great regret. He should have regarded it as an unfortunate concession, exceedingly mischievous to the men, and only useful to the worst class of employers. He must address them at some length, as the Chairman of the

Select Committee, Sir Thomas (now Lord) Brassey could not speak in that House, and as the bulk of the work of settling the Bill fell upon the shoulders of the Chairman and himself. It was a little grievous to him to hear, after the lapse of two years, insinuations made against the Government which he must either patiently listen to in silence, leaving the Government to be accused of treachery to the working men because they adopted what he moved and carried in the Committee, or else he must speak against men with whom he would prefer to work. He would take the straightforward course, believing that that would, in the long run, be the best. He was not quite sure that the hon. Member for West Nottingham accurately represented the feeling of the working men of England in reference to this matter. He had spoken on the Bill, on the Amendment, and on the speeches of the hon. Member for West Nottingham in 20 large centres of population, and he had seen no sign of support given to the special views of the hon. Member; but he had found overwhelming support given to the claim that the House should do nothing to destroy associations of thrift which, imperfect though they were, and capable of improvement, had done vast good. He desired to be perfectly fair, and although he was afraid that the skilled lawyers who had framed agreements between masters and men had sometimes turned the arrangement more against the men than they should have done, yet, on the whole, these arrangements had conferred a benefit far exceeding any trumpery relief the men might otherwise have received by means of actions at law. It was not true that the vast majority of the people looked on this Bill as an insidious attempt by the present Government to bring the German or any other system into this country. He had taken pains to explain over and over again what the hon. Member for West Nottingham never even told the Congress, how much of this Bill was due to the Report of the Committee, and how little to the Government. He had no special liking for the Government, but he had tried to be fair to them. He had said this was not a Conservative measure; it was a measure practically initiated and drafted long before the present Government came into Office. But he had also said that so long as Party strife was introduced into the whole discussion of our social reforms no real progress would be made at all. The hon. Member for West Nottingham had declared that he and his Colleagues would have abandoned all opposition to the Bill if their proposal had been accepted by the Government. The hon. Member who had seconded him (Mr. Joicey), probably not having seen the proposal, spoke of the Bill as a proposal to safeguard the London and North-Western Railway, and appealed to the Government to drop Clause 3. The Bill had been spoken of as a Bill for the protection of the London and North-Western Railway. Now, he liked that Railway Company even less than he liked the Government, as they had always tried to prevent his election; but he never allowed his private judgment of persons to govern his opinions. He said this statement was not true. There were numerous thrift associations all over the country, and if the Government left out Clause 3 entirely, the London and North-Western Railway Company would be in the same position as now. Clause 3 did not help them. Clause 3 might put difficulties in their way and compel them to submit for judgment the contract they made with their men. At present they were all-powerful and made what contract they pleased. If Clause 3 were left out, they might continue to do so, and Clause 3 gave no help to the powerful organizations which existed. There were a number of small ones which were affected, with which he would presently deal. There was another part of the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for West Nottingham, and which would have bought off his opposition—that was, that this Act was to come into force on the 1st of May next year, so that between now and then the compulsion of which the Committee had evidence, and which they wanted to prevent, would have been unaffected by the proposal of the hon. Member for West Nottingham, which would have benefited no one except the worst employers—he meant the class of employers of whom one gave evidence before the Committee, and who thought it was valuable consideration enough for a man to contract himself out of the Act, that the employer should give him work at all, and who said that if the man did not

accept he might go away and starve. He believed this evidence affected the employers on the Committee as much as they did himself, and promoted the recommendation which was now embodied in the Bill. He would remind the House that the Committee had two Bills before them. In that which bore the name of the hon. Member for West Nottingham, there was no proposal to abolish the doctrine of common employment. He was not in favour of that doctrine; but it was a doctrine which the Liberal Government in 1880 found to involve too many interests for them to propose to repeal it. But they modified it, and gave a little, not being able to give all. He did not think the doctrine was a good doctrine; but it was not a question of what he thought, but of what was possible. The present Bill went a little further than the Act of 1880, and that was its only merit. Prior to 1880, when injury was suffered by a workman from the negligence of another in a common employment, no right of action accrued. The Act of 1880 made exceptions to this doctrine. The Bill which the House was asked to pass, and which he hoped they would pass, went further on behalf of the working man in extending those exceptions. He knew it was difficult for the Government to pass any opposed measure; but he could promise them his support and the gratitude of the working classes if they did pass it. He had never been a member of a Trade Union, because he knew no trade; but he always felt that the more labour was organized the better it was for the workman, and he had earnestly advocated the extension of Trades Unions. His recommendations to the Committee were most certainly not made with the object of destroying Trade Unions. As the hon. Member did not propose—in 1886, when he was associated with the Government and brought in a Bill—to abolish the doctrine of common employment; he could not have then found out that it was mischievous and wicked not to repeal that doctrine. The hon. Member did not then even propose to touch the London and North-Western Railway. The hon. Member should judge what was best for those whom he represented, irrespectively of what Party might happen to be in power; and for the hon. Member to say that the Bill was the worst Bill ever presented to Parliament was a form of words which recoiled on the person who used it, as an expression employed for the purpose of influencing those who had not read the Bill. The Government had been asked to adjourn the Bill till next year. Now, these matters had been before the Trades Unions since 1886, and the question might have been brought forward in 1887 or 1888 in the way desired by the hon. Member for West Nottingham. The Committee had modified, as far as they could, the doctrine of common employment, not in the interest of employer or employed, but in the interest of the industries of this country. Nothing but harm was done by those who, pretending to speak on behalf of the workmen, tried to set the employed against the employer. There was, therefore, no ground for the hasty condemnation of the Bill, which had been pronounced in a single sentence by the hon. Member. He did not profess to quite understand that part of the Bill which dealt with seamen, and it was to be regretted that more evidence in regard to this branch of the subject was not brought before the Committee, but he had been assured by representatives of the seamen that though the Bill was not all that they wanted, yet that it did something for them which they were glad to get. He could not agree with the ridiculous description of this part of the Bill which the hon. Member for West Nottingham had given to the House, and which could only be excused on the supposition that he had not read it. With regard to that part of the Bill which allowed employers to contract themselves out of the Act under certain conditions, he admitted that there were grave objections to referring matters of this kind to a Government Department. The evidence before the Committee, however, showed that men were sometimes unfairly compelled to contract themselves out of the Act, and the Committee were agreed that this ought to be prevented. But it was very difficult when one escaped from economics to make legal backbones for some men. The Committee came to the conclusion that it would be of advantage to allow men and masters under certain conditions to contract themselves out of the Act. He was sorry to find the hon. Member for West Nottingham, who complained so bitterly of the right hon.

Gentleman the Home Secretary laughing at him, should think that his (Mr. Bradlaugh's) poor speech was only worthy the same rebuke.

MR. BROADHURST: I beg pardon. I can assure the hon. Gentleman that I was not laughing at all. On the contrary, I was on the point of going to sleep.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, no doubt each sentence of that interjected clause was equally true; but he was surprised to hear that the hon. Gentleman should think of going to sleep while this matter, in which he assumed to be so deeply interested, was under discussion. The Committee upon examination found that in a very small percentage of cases of injuries sustained by workmen had they any legal remedy against their employers—the percentage being fixed at about two per cent. The Committee therefore thought that if the workmen could be protected against all accidents of every kind—or, in other words, entitled to compensation in every case of accident, whether or not he was entitled to legal remedy—he would be placed in a much better position than under this or any other Act of Parliament. The Committee therefore considered that employers and employed might be allowed to contract themselves out of the Act where this insurance against all accidents was secured to the *employés*. This was the provision contained in the Bill. The hon. Member for West Nottingham seemed to think that an employer ought under no circumstances to be allowed to insure against accidents to his workmen. But why not? All men were allowed to insure against accidents to themselves, and there was no foundation, as was shown by the evidence given before the Committee, for the assertion that the system of insurance was calculated to make employers more careless. At the Bradford Trades Congress, in the presence and hearing of the hon. Member for West Nottingham—unless, too, he was then asleep—it was objected that an employer ought no more to be allowed to insure against accidents than was the speaker against breaking windows. But the Trades Congress should have been told by the hon. Member that everyone can insure against broken windows even negligently broken so long as the damage is not wilful, against fire so long as the burning is not arson, against accident to person even resulting from that person's carelesssness. To legislate against insurance by employers was to legislate exceptionally to the injury of manufacture. He agreed that the reference to the Home Secretary or the Board of Trade to examine and certify on the fairness of contracts was objectionable if it could be avoided. The less the individual was compelled to actual contact with the Government the better. The recommendation of the Committee was that the fairness of the insurance scheme should be referred to a "competent authority." Where were the Government to find this competent authority if not at the Home Office or the Board of Trade? No doubt, if there were Boards of Conciliation throughout the country, they might be competent tribunals, but, unfortunately, there were few such boards, and he regretted to say such speeches as they had heard that evening from the hon. Member for West Nottingham were not calculated to lead to their establishment. If this matter of the fairness of the insurance scheme was not referred to a Government Department, or to some other "competent authority," it would have to be referred to the Courts for decision in each case by Judge and jury, with consequent costs to attorneys. This could scarcely be the object of the hon. Member, for at the Congress, where he wielded such influence, a resolution was passed that solicitors should only get the fees allowed by the other side. If this was not to be left to the expensive tribunal of a Judge and jury, the only alternative seemed to be a Government Department, as the Bill proposed. With regard to the limit of time within which notice of action must be given, he thought that if any notice of injury was insisted on, three months in ordinary cases was very reasonable. In the Act carried in 1880 by the Liberal Government the limit was fixed at six weeks. In the present Bill this was extended to three months, with the additional provision that the Court might dispense entirely with notice where the Court considered that the justice of the case required it. With regard to damages, he did not think that there should be any limit at all, other than the judgment of the jury; but in the Act of 1880 the damages were much

more limited than in the Bill before the House. There the limit was to three years' estimated earnings; but in cases of apprentices this had operated harshly, and the present Bill extended it to the three years' estimate or £250, whichever should be larger. On other points as to superintendence, the Bill extended the Act of 1880 in favour of the workman. At any rate, the present Bill could not be described as the worst and the most mischievous ever introduced, because it was a considerable advance on previous legislation. Upon one point he hoped the Government would give way. It would be unfortunate to give even the semblance of an excuse for the statement that an injustice had been done to a class. He believed that in Clause 12 the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had intended to do what the evidence showed was done in Scotland—namely, enabling the workmen, when it was doubtful whether their right was a Common Law right or a statutory right, to include both in one statement of claim—a thing which could not be done according to the practice of the English Courts. He should be glad for this to be done, and he hoped the Government would take out the words in Clause 12 "and shall not be brought otherwise." It was not right, under cover of doing right to a man, to take away the Common Law right that he already possessed. He would not press this, because he hoped that the Government would accept the point, and that the House would be with him upon it. He appealed to the Government not to allow the Bill to be dropped in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of men whom he had addressed during the last three or four months. He asked them not to ruin the arrangements which employers and workmen together were ready to make. Clause 3 had overwhelming troubles connected with it for any Government which had to decide whether the contracts were fair or not. But if Clause 3 were dropped every employer might contract out of the Bill. The hon. Member for the Chester-le-Street Division of Durham (Mr. Joicey) had called the Bill "A London and North-Western Protection Bill." The hon. Gentleman would no doubt be astonished to hear that he had over and over again received during the last three months from workmen not under the influence of their employers objections to the London and North-Western and the Lancashire and Yorkshire schemes, which he had urged them to put before the Board of Trade when the time came, and who could know when the time would come if the Bill before the House were dropped?

MR. JOICEY said, that the whole of his argument had been against employers contracting out of the Bill.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he wished to point out that if the clause were allowed to stand so as to prohibit employers contracting out at all, the result would be that all the workmen's insurance associations would be destroyed. In 1886 the hon. Member for West Nottingham actually proposed to legalize such contracts out of the Act as then existed. The measure was not perfect, but it was an attempt in the right direction.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): It is true that the hon. Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst) does not in his speech represent the working classes. It would be lamentable to think that any real Representative of the working classes should, for the sake of denouncing the Government to which he is opposed, take upon himself the responsibility of rejecting a measure which, by the admission of all those who have taken the trouble to understand it, confers at least some advantage on the working classes beyond that which they possess at present. The hon. Member has thought fit to empty all the vials of his invective upon our heads and upon the Bill. But he forgets, or is pleased to forget, that the Bill, as the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) has pointed out, is nothing but a transcript of the Report of the Committee which sat in 1886. It is an endeavour faithfully to translate into legislative language the proposals — not always very explicit and clear—that proceeded from that Committee. Who are responsible for the appointment of that Committee? The Government of which the hon. Member was himself a Member—and it was composed mainly of his political friends and of those who largely represented labour. That Committee has certainly not lacked industry or interest; they have collected a vast

quantity of evidence, and have issued a Report which was undoubtedly a valuable document. I told the House when I introduced the Bill that its object was to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee. If the hon. Member had wished to treat the Government with the common good faith due even to opponents, he should have elected to say whether we fulfilled our pledge or not before he denounced us. He says that the Bill is a sham and misleading. What is "sham and misleading" about the matter is that warmth of interest for the working classes the hon. Member is supposed to represent which leads the hon. Gentleman to delay and defeat the Bill if he can.

MR. BROADHURST: I do not know, Mr. Speaker, whether it be in Order for an hon. Member to accuse another of taking a "sham and misleading" interest in the working classes.

MR. MATTHEWS: I consider the language of the Member was most violent. I am quoting his own words. He charged me with introducing a "sham and misleading measure." What I am telling him is that his opposition is "sham and misleading." He told the House there was scarcely a just clause in the Bill, and that it was the worst and most mischievous measure that has ever been introduced to the House. That was the language which the hon. Member, in order to damage political opponents, had thought fit to apply to a Bill drawn on the lines of the Committee's recommendations. The hon. Member has raised a number of radical objections to the Bill. Well, just let me test the value of those objections. He says that the limitation of the amount that can be got in the County Court in consequence of an injury, apart from his objection to Clause 3, would justify him in rejecting the measure. The hon. Member admitted that he has within the last few days made to the Government proposals which, if they had been accepted, would have wiped out every one of his objections, and that he would be prepared to accept the Bill.

MR. BROADHURST: I never said so.

MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. Member told the House that if the Government had only accepted those reasonable and legitimate Amendments, further discussion on the Bill would have been stopped.

MR. BROADHURST: What I said was that if the Amendment of Clause 3 had been accepted, the House could have gone into Committee or Report on the Bill, and have disposed of the other questions in three or four hours.

MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. Member said that the other objections to the Bill would have disappeared and would not have been insisted on. It was perfectly true that the hon. Member, as representing an organization of which I desire to speak with all possible respect, laid certain proposals before the Government, and the Government have done their best to put them into the shape which best expressed their sense, and the Government have given the fullest consideration to those Amendments. He (Mr. Matthews) had no feeling in fathering this Bill beyond the desire to carry a measure which might be useful to the class for whom it was intended. He should have been glad to carry it, but when they came to consider the Amendment of the hon. Member, the Government felt it impossible to accept it, even for the sake of carrying the Bill without further discussion. What was this "reasonable proposal" of the hon. Member that would have made all things easy? It was that there should be a sort of free time till the 1st of May, or whatever date was fixed for the Act coming into force, during which free time any contract upon valuable consideration might be made between an employer and his workman, and once so made, that contract should continue for all time, binding not only present but future workmen under it for all time. Was that a London and North-Western clause or not? The hon. Member told this House that that was the consideration on which he was willing to accept Clause 3 and all the other objectionable features of this Bill. Why, the hon. Member's proposal, as compared with Clause 3, was mischievous and dangerous to workmen in the highest degree.

MR. BROADHURST: Mr. Speaker —[*Cries of* "Order."]—

MR. MATTHEWS: No, I will not give way again; and I must ask the hon. Gentleman not to interrupt. I did not interrupt the hon. Member. I begin to think the hon. Member never really understood Clause 3. That clause prohibits an employer for all time from con-

tracting out of the Act unless he confers on his workmen a benefit equal to that which the workmen could get under the Act. The clause specifies the quality of the only contract of exemption which it permits to be made by which an employer can get rid of his liability under the Act, by which protection is afforded against every accident to the workmen, and by which the benefit derived is as great as any the workmen can get from the Act itself. But the hon. Member has actually the courage to assert that that is so odious and detestable a thing that he preferred any contract whatever, although it did not secure the workmen, and gave them no benefit whatever, save "some" valuable consideration. The hon. Member prefers that, provided it is made before the 1st of May or the coming of the Act into operation. He is thus willing to create this absurdity and anomaly, that he would have had two classes of employers in the country, one the class who, before the commencement of the Act, had contracted with their workmen, excluding them from the benefit of the Act, and substituting "some" valuable consideration; and another class who for all time would be prevented from contracting out of the Act on any terms whatever. Therefore, the hon. Member suggests an Amendment by which a monopoly will be created. Clause 3 is, at any rate, an honest attempt to deal with the recommendations of the Committee on which the hon. Member for Northampton has worked so ably and strenuously for the benefit of the workmen. The Amendment teems with absurdities and anomalies so great that, anxious as the Government are to accept any terms that will lead to peace, they feel that they cannot accept it. As to Clause 12, one of the great evils connected with legislation of this sort is that the greater part of the compensation which the workmen get goes into the pocket of the lawyer. If you give one right of action by Common Law and another by Statute, the result will be that double actions will be brought, and that, surely, would not be for the advantage of the workmen. I think that, as drafted, the provision that there shall be only one action will avoid the temptation to lawyers of bringing two actions, and render the workmen liable in double set of costs. Personally I would vote for the retention of that provision, but I am quite prepared to accept the decision of the House on that matter. I do not propose at this period of the debate to enter into details connected with the Bill. I only want, at the earliest possible moment, to point out what the opposition of the hon. Member for Nottingham comes to. The hon. Member was willing to forgive every one of the defects of the measure, provided the Government accept an Amendment which, on the face of it, is wholly irrational, and will lead to consequences perfectly absurd.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said, it would be impertinent of him to attempt to follow the very eloquent address delivered by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh); but there were one or two points in that speech which those who claimed directly to represent the interests of labour in the House could not pass over. His hon. Friend said that the opposition to this Bill was based upon the fact that it was introduced by the Party opposite, and that he, at least, was not disposed to give a vote contrary to his convictions, simply because the measure was brought in by his political opponents. He (Mr. Fenwick) thought he might safely say, without fear of being charged with egotism, that he was prepared, equally with his hon. Friend, to act up to his convictions, and if he opposed this Bill—which he did—and took the full responsibility which that opposition might bring, he claimed that he was as honest in his conviction, and that his vote against this Bill would be as honest as that which was promised to be given in support of the Bill by his hon. Friend the junior Member for Northampton. He could not but regret the reference which his hon. Friend made to some of them who had long stood at the head of large labour organizations in the country, who had long been recognized as Trades Union leaders, and had been called upon from time to time to tender advice, often unpalatable, and advice that was rejected even by the men whom they proposed to lead. He could not but regret that his hon. Friend—to the great delight of the Party opposite—should so far go out of his way as to make the remarks he did. His hon. Friend said there were some of them who pretended to

speak for the workmen, but who only succeeded in setting workmen against their employers. His hon. Friend must have spoken in complete ignorance of circumstances that have taken place within the last 18 months or so, else he must have known that some of them, at least, had been placed in situations of exceeding difficulty and responsibility—that they felt it their duty to the men whom they served to give advice which was unpalatable to them, and when they were deliberately charged by the men with having more regard to the interests of the employer than the interests of the workmen. He, for one, could not understand how the hon. Member should have found it necessary to make such a vicious insinuation against many of his hon. Friends and himself. The hon. Member admitted that the insurance clause was bad; that the doctrine of common employment was bad; and that there were many important defects in the Bill; yet he said he should support the Bill and render the Government all the assistance he could. He expected just so much from his hon. Friend, and was not disappointed in the course he had thought fit to take that evening, because, when the Bill was before the Grand Committee, there was scarcely an Amendment moved by those who represented the working classes which was not opposed by the hon. Member for Northampton. The hon. Member voted against the principle of contracting out of the Act in Lord Brassey's Committee in 1886, yet, in the Grand Committee on the Bill, he had voted in favour of the Government. He said that, if contracting out of the Act were prevented, injustice would be done to the small societies which had grown up under the Act of 1880. But the effect of the Amendment which the hon. Member proposed in the Select Committee of 1886 would have been precisely the same so far as those societies were concerned. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) earlier in the evening said justly, that this was a very important measure, but he showed the importance which he attached to it by expressing the hope that it would occupy very little of the time of the House. Surely the right hon. Gentleman had forgotten the scant time that was allowed for discussion on the second reading. It seemed to him, so far as the debate had gone, that the hon. Member for Northampton and the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) entirely missed the point of the opposition to the Bill. The opposition which he and his Friends entertained towards the Bill was based principally on the third clause. Neither the hon. Member for Northampton nor the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had given a single fact or figure to show what the effect of insurance outside the Act would be upon the life and limb of the working classes of the country. He (Mr. Fenwick) should not content himself with any mere polemical or sentimental opposition. He would submit to the House certain figures which were unassailable. They were taken from the Inspector's Report of the branch of industry with which he was most familiar, and for which he might more especially claim to speak. In his opposition to this Bill he should not travel outside of any real and special knowledge that he might have. Their opposition to the insurance clause of the Bill was that an arrangement outside of the Law had the effect of weakening the security that was given to the workman in the industry in which he was employed. His contention was, and always had been, that where they had an arrangement outside of the Law, there they lacked the care that was necessary for the proper conducting of the business—there they had invariably inefficient management and inferior security for the life and limb of the workman. He took the number of persons employed in coal mines in the United Kingdom, and, from the Inspector's Returns in the last four years, he found that the average of persons employed for every life lost throughout the United Kingdom was one in every 520. But if they took those districts where an arrangement had been made between employers and employed, by which the provisions of the Act of 1880 had been set aside, or if they took—which was the more fair way of putting it—those districts where the workmen had been compelled to set aside the provisions of the Act, there they found that the proportion was considerably greater. In the Liverpool district, for example, which comprised the district of West Lancashire and North Wales, he found that the average

for the same period was one life lost for every 455 persons employed. If they took the district of South Wales, where workmen in large numbers were compelled to contract out of the Act of 1880, the proportion was still greater, being one life lost for every 333 persons employed, and last year's Report showed a loss of one life in every 319; and to that significant fact the Inspector had called attention in his Report. He would take now the districts where there had been no contracting out of the Act, and where the employers had met the workmen fairly and honourably. He took, for example, the case of Yorkshire, and there he found that for the last four years there was one life lost for every 630 persons employed. In the North Riding of Yorkshire, in Westmoreland, and South Durham the proportion was even more favourable to the workmen, for there there was only one life lost for every 706 persons employed. In his own county—the County of Northumberland—they had only one death for every 770 persons employed. In this county, let the House bear in mind, there had been no attempt on the part of the employers to coerce their workmen under the provisions of the Act. All these figures he had quoted completely demonstrated the principle for which he had been contending—namely, that workmen should not be permitted to make an arrangement with their employers outside of the Act. The hon. Member for Northampton complained that when information was sought from the hon. Member for West Nottingham no assistance could be obtained from him. But when the labour Representatives tried in the Grand Committee to get assistance from the hon. Member for Northampton, in relation to the difficulties by which they found themselves beset on the question of contracting out of the Act, no assistance could be got from the hon. Member. They appealed, but in vain, for any assistance. He was prepared to take his full share of responsibility for the course he and his Friends were taking. Borrowing a phrase coined by the Party opposite, they refused to be any party to this conspiracy on the part of the Government with hon. Gentlemen who represented the interests of *employés* to "compel or induce" the workmen to accept an arrangement, proved as he had shown by experience to be injurious to their safety. It had been said again and again that the Government were persisting in this course in the interests of the London and North-Western Railway Company, and he thought the House had very great reason for coming to such a conclusion. First, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary said, "I will," and then he said, "I will not," and ultimately it ended "I will not."

MR. MATTHEWS: Will the hon. Gentleman be good enough to say when I said "I will"?

MR. FENWICK said, that if the right hon. Gentleman had only waited till he finished the point he would not have had any necessity to rise. The right hon. Gentleman received a Deputation from the organized trades of the country, who pointed out their objection to contracting out of the Act, and he left the distinct impression on their minds by his remarks, that their representations should have a fair consideration by Her Majesty's Government. A few days later a Deputation, headed by the hon. Member for the Hexham Division of Northumberland (Mr. Mac Innes), and pretending to represent the *employés* of the London and North-Western Railway Company, waited upon the right hon. Gentleman, and to them, without taking time for consideration or conference with his Colleagues, he declared that he would abide by the clause, and that he would use all his influence to carry it into effect. With regard to the constitution of that Deputation, he found it denied in *The Railway Review* that it was the outcome of any spontaneous action on the part of the men of the London and North-Western Railway Company; but, on the contrary, it was appointed and arranged for by the Directors without the men being in any way consulted in the matter. The delegates of the insurance societies, as was further stated, were summoned by the Company to meet at Euston Station, and were called upon by the Directors to vote in favour of a policy which had been already cut and dried for them. He (Mr. Fenwick) and his Friends opposed, and they should continue to oppose, this principle of assurance or arrangement outside the Act, because they considered it to be injurious to the highest interest of the workmen. They did not ask the

Government to give them any monetary consideration. They never sought an Employers' Liability Bill for monetary gain, but to insure the greatest possible amount of immunity from suffering and death to the workman in the pursuit of his calling. The figures he had submitted to the House clearly showed that where they permitted an arrangement outside the provisions of the Act the amount of risk and danger was directly increased, and it was because the tendency of such an arrangement was in that direction that he and his hon. Friends opposed, and should continue to oppose, the Bill so long as they had the faintest chance of ultimately defeating it.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) said, he would not have spoken but for a reference to what had occurred in the Wigan district. In the statement the allegation was that in the disastrous strike of 1881 the employers forced the workpeople to contract themselves out of the Act. Mr. Hewlett, who was the manager of one of the largest collieries in the district and treasurer of the relief fund, gave a report to the Committee in 1886, in which he stated that the question as to making arrangements out of the Act had wholly disappeared from the discussion before the strike terminated. The strike went on some time on the question of wages which was at issue during the continuance of that unfortunate struggle. There was one good result of that struggle—the payment of wages weekly instead of fortnightly, which improved the condition of the arrangements finally made to the advantage of the workpeople. One other remark. Where they had these societies and funds and the heavy loss of life, the reason was that where there was the greatest danger there was the greatest inducement to form these societies of a provident character. As they all knew, in the concerns of life, where there was the least danger, there was the least inducement to take precautions. The Central Permanent Relief Society had 227,000 members, a revenue of £181,000, and an accumulated fund of £252,000. This arrangement was a voluntary and a beneficial arrangement, and it would be a great hardship, injury, and wrong to both employers and employed, with one rude shock, to do away with these associations. He desired a workman to have entire freedom to come and go, and to make any arrangement he pleased, whether under the shelter of the Common Law or under such a Bill as that under discussion. That was a vital principle. In making these remarks he certainly had the support of the working colliers. They wished every collier to have the liberty to take advantage of the Act, or not to take advantage of the Act, according as he thought best for himself and the prosperity of those who depended upon him for their daily bread.

MR. W. PRITCHARD - MORGAN (Merthyr Tydvil) said, he had given some consideration to the questions between employers and employed, and he could not accept the arguments that had been urged in favour of contracting out of the Act. He apprehended that the Bill was intended for the express purpose of protecting and providing for the men and not for the masters; and, subject as the men naturally were to undue influence when in want of work, they ought not to be permitted to renounce advantages which Parliament considered that they should enjoy. If this principle were extended, it might be argued that men should be allowed to contract themselves out of other laws—the marriage laws for instance. Were the Bill to pass in its present form, it would become the general thing for a master or his agent to get men to sign a form contracting themselves out of the Act, and they, being the weaker party and in need of employment, would have no alternative but to consent. It was said that the men could enter into an insurance scheme; but this would really be a burden on the men. Whoever actually paid the premiums, these would ultimately come out of the pockets of the men, whose wages would be reduced to recoup the masters. Unless Clause 3 were omitted, he, as an employer of labour, thought it would be far better that this Bill should not be further proceeded with, as he did not consider it afforded sufficient protection to the men.

MR. DUGDALE (Warwickshire, Nuneaton) said, he did not rise to prolong the discussion, being quite willing to rest the case in favour of this Bill on the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), which was full of logic and common sense but he desired to read a letter he had

received from a *bonâ fide* working man, strongly urging that the Bill ought to be passed with the power of contracting out retained. The letter was as follows:—

"26th November, 1888.

"Dear Sir,—The *employés* of the London and North-Western Railway have an Insurance Society which provides them with a weekly allowance in cases of accident, or a sum in case of death by accident. The first class pay 3*d.* per week, in case of accident receive 21*s.* per week, and in case of death the widow or representative receives £100; the second class pay 2*d.* per week, and in case of accident receive 14*s.* per week, and in case of death the widow or representative £80. These sums are paid without any expense or trouble to the recipient, and the general part of the *employés* are satisfied, and feel they cannot be better provided for by the Liability Act.

"At a meeting held at Nuneaton Station to-day, a vote of 20 to 1 was passed in favour of our Society against the Liability Act.

"We, the London and North-Western *employés*, beg your support in maintaining a clause to be inserted in the Bill about to be brought before Parliament, to enable the above *employés* to stand contracted out of the Act and receive the benefits of the aforesaid Society, as a satisfactory settlement of any claim against any accident that may occur to any of the aforesaid *employés*.

"I am instructed by my fellow *employés* to ask your kind compliance with their wishes, to support the aforesaid clause being inserted in the Bill for their welfare and interest, and you will confer a favour on your humble servants, on behalf of whom, as chairman of the meeting,

"I beg to remain, dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"Robert Williams,

"Carriage Inspector, Nuneaton Station.

"J. S. Dugdale, Esq., M.P.,
Nuneaton Division."

He would only add that he hoped the House would do everything in their power to pass the Bill into law.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) said, his hon. Friend the Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst) had been charged with making this Motion in a Party spirit, and for the purpose of stirring up class against class. He extremely regretted that these imputations came first from their own side of the House. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had told them that he had no great love for the Tory Party; but he thought the hon. Member might have been better employed than in raising the cheers of the Tory Party by imputing utterly unfounded motives to those who sat on his own side of the House. The measure in its present shape was opposed by those who were especially sent to that House to represent the views of working men; and he, bearing in mind equally the interests of employers and employed, coincided in their views, and felt constrained to support the hon. Member for West Nottingham. He (Mr. Donald Crawford) was in favour in legislation of this kind of accepting almost any instalment, and if it was a real and substantial instalment, he would think twice before rejecting it, because he believed the clock did not often go back in politics, and that if they could gain an inch to-day they might gain a foot to-morrow. He was particularly tempted to take that view of the present Bill, because it contained a clause which the Committee were good enough to accept at his instance, reforming the procedure of these actions in Scotland, and enabling them to be tried by jury in the Sheriff Court. He believed that that benefit, which would be confined to Scotland, was the one good point in the Bill except the extension of the amount of liability from £150 to £250. As a lawyer, he should like to put before the House the legal aspects of this question. The objections which had been stated to-night against the Bill were, first, the doctrine of common employment; second, the maintenance of the system of insurance, contracting out of the Act in the third clause; and, third, the provision in the twelfth clause, which placed all actions by workmen against employers under this Act, and consequently imported into every action the same limit of liability—namely, £250. It was not a right principle that the master should be responsible for accidents to everybody else, but not to those persons who were in his employment, and who might very fairly be considered to be under his special care. It was the hardship of that principle that made any Employers' Liability Bill necessary. It was an acknowledgment that that principle was not sound and did not work fairly that caused Parliament in 1880 to pass the Act of that year. The acknowledgment, however, ought to be not partially but fully made, and the workmen should be put upon the same footing as the general public, and the responsibility of the master ought to be equal as regarded both. The Act said that the master should be responsible for those he

placed in situations of superintendence, and he was to pay damages up to a certain limit if the accident was caused by the negligence of these persons, although it were not his own negligence. Section 3 of this Bill said that they were not to contract out of the Act except in certain cases, and then came those provisions of insurance to which they objected. Parliament had already said that the master had a certain responsibility to the *employé*. If that were so, why should the right of the *employé* be bartered away? Why should any arrangement be acknowledged which would deprive him of what was no more than his just position of right? This system of insurance established a subjection on the part of the servant to the master from which the former could not release himself. A man remained in a particular employment for, say, 30 years. The master was practically the insurer, because he had to guarantee any failure on the part of any other insurance that might be, consequently the master was the insurer; and the workman, in the case he had supposed, had out of his savings been year after year paying a hard-earned sum for the purpose of his insurance. This placed him in the position of having to elect between complying with any terms which the master might make and losing all his money. If he left that master's employment he left behind him the savings of 30 years. That, he considered, was a most unfair position in which to place any workman. The third objection they had to the Bill was contained in the twelfth clause. The House would remember that the only reason that could be given for limiting the liability of the employer under the Act of 1880 was that the thing done was not his fault. If the accident had been the personal fault of the employers, of course there would have been no excuse. But this Bill dealt precisely with those classes of cases in which the fault was that of the master himself—cases in which the workman had an action against the master independently of the Act of 1880. It might be cases of malicious and criminal fault, and yet by putting these in the same category as the other cases they imported into them limitation of liability.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth): There is no limitation in these cases. If the hon. Member will look at Section 9, he will find that the limitation is only with respect to compensation recoverable under this Act. The limit does not apply to compensation recoverable outside the Act.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD said, he was glad to hear that expression of opinion. But, with the greatest possible respect, he would ask that that should be made plainer in the Bill. These being the three objections to the Bill, they had to choose whether they would take such an instalment or wait for a more satisfactory arrangement. The argument of the Home Secretary was not entirely directed against the substance of these objections, but against the terms of the compromise which was proposed by, or with the approval of, his hon. Friend (Mr. Broadhurst). He ventured to say that was not a serious way of meeting their objections to the Bill. He knew nothing of the proposed compromise, and the only important effect of the offer of it appeared to him to be that it proved the eager desire of his hon. Friend and those who supported him on that side of the House to come to terms with the Government, and to avoid any appearance of factious opposition. What his hon. Friend said about the conduct of the Bill was but too true. He acknowledged that the Home Secretary had intended to approach the subject in no spirit of Party or class interest; but he endorsed and repeated the charge of his hon. Friend, that no attempt was made by the Government to meet half-way those who were, in one capacity or another, entitled to speak on behalf of the working classes. No concession was made. He further charged this against the Government, that, whenever they pressed for concession, and adduced strong arguments in favour of it, after a short period of hesitation and vacillation, the Home Secretary had always ended by throwing himself into the arms of two or three gentlemen who supported the interest of the employers alone. It was impossible to extract any concession from him. In his (Mr. Donald Crawford's) opinion, that spirit of impartiality and even holding of the scales between interests was not successfully maintained throughout by the right hon. Gentleman. Therefore, while he very fully appreciated the gravity and responsibility of

opposing a Bill of this kind, which professed to confer substantial benefit upon the working classes, he felt that the objections he had stated were so strong, and so impossible to get over, that he had no alternative but to vote with his hon. Friend.

MR. AINSLIE (Lancashire, N. Lonsdale) said, the hon. Member for West Nottingham seemed to be under the impression that the Select Committee of 1886 arrived at its conclusions without sufficient investigation. He maintained, in opposition to this view, that anyone who read the evidence could not fail to arrive at a contrary opinion, and to see that the Committee devoted long and earnest attention to the consideration of many points. The Home Secretary had taken up the recommendations of that Committee, and he trusted that no consideration would induce the Government to consent to the withdrawal of a Bill which had occupied so much time in a Select Committee and in a Grand Committee. He contended that no bias had been shown by the employers on that Committee against the claims urged in favour of the workmen. The object of their work was to arrive at a fair and equitable arrangement between employers and employed. He could not see how the hon. Member for North-East Lanark (Mr. Donald Crawford) calculated that with the third clause left in the Bill the sum of £100 for a fatal accident would be reduced to £2, because the percentage of accidents for which an employer was liable had been proved to be only two per cent of the accidents that happened. It was to such misleading statements, made without any foundation, but unfortunately read and listened to by the unthinking public, that they were brought under the condemnation and lash of public opinion. Reference had been made to the deputation which waited on the Home Secretary the previous day. He acknowledged that the opinions of the members of that deputation were somewhat divided as to what course should be adopted with reference to the proposal of the hon. Member for West Nottingham. The Government, however, had come to a decision in agreement with his own view. He believed that if the proposal of the hon. Member were adopted it would result in perpetuating the conflict on this question throughout the country. If those who represented labour in that House would honestly meet the employers in an endeavour to settle this question, there need be no difficulty about it. He had no desire to contract himself out of the Act, and neither in his neighbourhood nor in the division he represented (Lonsdale) was there such a desire. But if there was a reasonable ground for founding a society to enable the employed and employers to arrange for the benefit of the workmen he would support it. He had very excellent authority for stating that there was a railway company running to London which did not contract out of the Act, and which boasted of saving money by that action. No proof was given before the Committee that contracting out of the Act was injurious to the workmen, and he felt that the Home Secretary had done his best to meet the views expressed by that Committee. If they were to abandon the whole Bill because Clause 3 was unpalatable to hon. Members opposite, what was the object of the work of the Select Committee, and what had been the use of the work which Parliament had done up to the present in respect to the measure? The whole of that labour would be lost. He would go so far as to say that if there had been a fault in the matter it had been that Parliament had already delayed too long to carry into effect the recommendations of the Select Committee. He did not think those who were opposing the measure were working in the interests of those whom they professed to represent. They were working in the interests of the Trades Unions, for whose existence they were becoming afraid. They knew Trades Unions were not altogether those free communities which they represented themselves to be. The employers would seek freedom for the men who were under the thumb of the Trade Unions, just as they desired themselves to be free from the action of those Trades Unions.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby), as the Representative of a constituency composed almost wholly of working men, wished to explain why he should have to vote, very reluctantly, against the Amendment. The object of the Amendment was not really to defeat the Bill, but to secure the striking out of one of the clauses. The hon. Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst)

did not object to many points of the Bill, and his remarks were almost entirely confined to one portion of it. No one had a higher opinion than he had of Trade Unions, including the Plan of Campaign. Therefore, he in no way indorsed the opinions expressed by the last speaker, who stated that this was a question as between the Trade Unions and the employers of labour. A great deal had been said, especially by his hon. Friend the Member for one of the Divisions of Durham, against the course pursued on the London and North-Western Railway. Three of the men in the employment of that railway at Rugby came to him about two years ago, as a deputation from their fellow-workmen, to represent to him their views upon this question; and a day or two ago the leader of that deputation sent him a letter in which he said, "Our men at Rugby are to a man in favour of the clause which enables them to contract out of the Act." When he saw that morning that the hon. Member for West Nottingham was going to move the rejection of the Bill, he telegraphed to the head of the deputation at Rugby, and received the following reply:—"If Clause 3 is rejected, the Bill is of no use to us." He had made casual inquiries at other stations on the line, and found that without exception the *employés* of the North-Western Railway were in favour of continuing the present arrangement. He did not say that they were in favour of the clause exactly as it stood, and did not desire to see others protected who were not in as strong a position as themselves. He had never voted with a Conservative Government before, but, as even the hon. Member for West Nottingham admitted that in some respects the Bill was beneficial, he would not vote against it because one clause might be objectionable. The North-Western Railway would not be affected, though the object of the Amendment was to put an end to arrangements between employers and employed. Why should not the men of that railway be allowed to keep the advantages which they now enjoyed, and which were two or three times better than they would have under the Act? He was told that on the Midland Railway, where no arrangement had been made between the Company and the men, accidents to the men were more common than on the North-Western. If the Bill did not do all that was desirable, it was a step in the right direction, and was an improvement on the Act of 1880. On that ground he felt bound to vote against the Amendment.

MR. AIRD (Paddington, N.) said, he would appeal to the hon. Member for West Nottingham to withdraw his Amendment, and to the Government to persevere with the Bill. He hoped the hon. Member for West Nottingham, to whom the working classes owed so much, would not stand in the way of a Bill which did so much to benefit them simply because it did not do more. Apart from arrangements between masters and men, where now existing, nothing would be obtained by the personal representatives of a man who was killed unless negligence could be proved, whereas, if Clause 3 remained, the benefits of those agreements were received in all cases and whether there was negligence or not. Hon. Members who objected to the Bill said that it would induce carelessness on the part of the employer, but he would suggest that this difficulty might be overcome if a penalty clause was inserted, so that if it should be proved to the satisfaction of a Coroner's Jury, or other competent authority, that the death or injury was brought about by the carelessness or the negligence of the employer, that then the employer should be compelled to contribute a further penalty to the fund formed for the benefit of the family of the deceased or the injured person.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Glamorgan, Rhondda) said, he earnestly hoped that this Bill would not be allowed to pass with the third clause. In its present shape, instead of being a Bill for the benefit of working men, it would be a Bill for the protection of insurance societies. He did not desire to attribute unworthy motives to hon. Gentlemen; but, whatever their intention might be, that would be the effect of the Bill—not to protect the lives and limbs of working men, but the financial interests of insurance companies. This third clause, it was said, would secure compensation to workmen; but compensation was only a secondary object. The main object was not compensation, but protection. They wanted the Act to be a terror to evildoers, and thus to secure greater

safety to life and limb. Some hon. Gentlemen spoke a great deal about freedom of contract; but he and some of his hon. Friends could speak from personal experience as to the amount of freedom that existed on the part of workmen walking the streets in search of employment, and who were refused it until they signed certain conditions. Under the Act now in operation there were numberless cases in which men had been forced to contract themselves out of it. In Lancashire alone there were 30,000 miners who were compelled as a condition of employment to sign an agreement that they would become members of a certain insurance society, and look only to it for compensation in the event of accidents, however caused.

MR. F. S. POWELL said, if the hon. Member referred to the Wigan district he was mistaken, because—— [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is proceeding to make a speech.

MR. W. ABRAHAM asked, what, in the face of such a fact as that, became of freedom of action on the part of the employed? He would call the attention of the House to another point. A deputation had waited on the right hon. Gentleman—a deputation the integrity and representative character of which could not be doubted. When that deputation had placed before the right hon. Gentleman the opinions of a large number of working men, he had told them that their position as laid before him was a very serious one, and that the Government would consider whether or not they would proceed with the Bill. Afterwards another deputation had waited on the right hon. Gentleman, and after what had transpired at that interview it was justifiable to designate the third clause of the Bill as an insurance fund protection clause. As to the *bona fides* of the second deputation a good deal might be said. That deputation had been appointed, according to one of the greatest authorities among the railway servants of this country, without the men having been in any way consulted. The delegates of the insurance societies had been summoned by the London and North-Western Railway Company to a meeting at Euston Station, and had been called upon by the directors to vote for a policy already cut and dried for them. Therefore the deputation might be said to have been led to the Home Office, and so far from its members being the representatives of the men employed they were mere tools in the hands of the directors. The right hon. Gentleman had only heard from that deputation the views of the insurance companies. The right hon. Gentleman had said that it was in order not to destroy arrangements such as had been mentioned to him by the deputation that he introduced into the Bill the third clause, which was to enable these insurance societies still to exist. Therefore the House would be right in rejecting the clause, because they knew that it was not what the representatives of the working men wanted, but that it had been inserted in response to the demand of the representatives of the insurance societies. The House must decide whether it was its duty to legislate for the working men or for the insurance societies.

MR. MAC INNES (Northumberland, Hexham) said, that the whole interest of the Bill centred in the third clause, to which there appeared to be two main objections—first, that it was dangerous and inimical to Trade Unions, and, secondly, that the Bill seriously affected the safety of life and limb among working men. He had wished not to say a word about the Railway Company with which he was connected, for, though he was always ready to defend that Company, it might be said that in this case he was not impartial. But twice he had been challenged, and twice had attention been called to a deputation which had waited upon the Home Secretary. He was sorry that the *bona fides* of that deputation had been called into question. If it only represented the insurance societies, who composed the societies? More than 50,000 working men. And who had chosen the delegates? The working men themselves. It had been stated that the whole affair was promoted by the railway officials; but, as a matter of fact, no single director except himself had known anything of the deputation or had had anything to do with it. He had received a letter from the secretary of the insurance societies asking him to arrange a deputation, and the Home Secretary had kindly granted

an interview. He had met the men about an hour before they went to the Home Office and had arranged with them what delegates were to speak, so that the Home Secretary might hear men from all parts of the country. He wished that hon. Members below the Gangway had been present to hear the men speak for themselves, and had heard them cheer one another when remarks had been made about the insurance clause. They would then have had no doubt that the men were speaking their own honest convictions. As for the statement that the men had come to Euston Station and that the Directors had told them what to do, there was not the slightest foundation for it. It was said that working men did not care for compensation, but only for safety. That was a very serious matter. How did it stand? Those who had studied the extremely interesting Blue Book which embodied the results of the Committee of 1886, could not but have observed that all the objections to Clause 3 came mainly from men not engaged in railway work but in mining operations. Objectors acknowledged that the dangers to which miners were exposed were different from those of railway servants; that there was far greater publicity given to railway accidents than to mining accidents, and that if the insurance scheme were a good one the men might be in a better position than if they took the benefit of the Act. Surely the men themselves were the best judges. Purposely avoiding all reference to the railway with which he was connected, he would call attention to the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway. He would ask hon. Members to read the evidence in the Blue Book to which he had referred, given by Mr. Laing, the Chairman of that Company. In one year the Company had given £6,691 towards the insurance societies, and out of 9,000 men only two rejected the scheme. We were told that no employer would be likely to contract himself out of the Act unless he were likely to benefit by doing so, but he would not support the Bill if he did not believe it was for the common benefit. It would be to the advantage of the employer that there should be *esprit de corps* among the men, and good feeling towards himself. Every accident which occurred under those insurance systems was felt by the employers as well as the employed. In some of the insurance societies there was no regular contribution; the men arranged it themselves, and they always took care to have a balance of £1,000 at their bankers'. When an accidont happened, if the money was not sufficient to meet it, they made a call, and that call fell equally upon them and their employers. Therefore the employers had the most selfish motives for trying to prevent accidents. Many hon. Members wished that the Amendment which had been proposed within the last few hours had been placed on the Paper, so that they might have had full opportunity of considering it. He hoped that those who were endeavouring to stir up the men on this question would take care to tell them the facts of the case. Two years ago, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was in power, a Committee was appointed on which Liberals out-numbered Conservatives. In that Committee no question of Party politics arose, and anyone who read their Report must feel how exhaustive was the inquiry. Many came before them who were able to speak for the workmen. The secretary of the Railway Servants' Amalgamated Society gave evidence, and was helped in doing so by the admirable questions put by the hon. Member for East Donegal. Not one word was said by that witness as to any question of safety. Many questions were put with the endeavour to show that the men were not free agents. Happily or unhappily, we had no system of State insurance; and was it not better that the men should accept the insurance offered them by the Railway Companies? The representatives of the Trade Unions said that the Railway Companies were afraid of accepting the responsibility which the law would impose upon them, and that, instead of taking care of the lives and limbs of their workmen, they would endeavour to escape, from sinister motives. The outside public little knew how anxious railway officials were for the safety of the employed, and how greatly an accident pressed upon them. He hoped that, even at this late period of the Session, the Government would find it possible, if the House were to sit still longer, to carry this Bill to a successful

issue, and not to let all the time and labour of the Grand Committee come to an end without any definite issue.

MR. PICKARD (York, W.R., Normanton) maintained that what was contained in the first and second clauses of the Bill was neutralized by the third clause. The first and second clauses gave the workmen protection in the sense of making the employer liable for injuries, but in the third clause they had an opposite principle laid down, so that what the first and second clauses sought to secure was destroyed by the third. While the workmen throughout the whole country were asking to be protected from injuries arising through their employment, the third clause simply undid the protection given under the first and second clauses. That was exactly the position now taken up by the Government as he understood it. Something had been said in reference to what took place with respect to a deputation that had waited upon the Home Secretary, who gave the House to understand that it was a spontaneous deputation. Now he (Mr. Pickard) could promise the right hon. Gentleman that he could find any number of persons who would be willing to take part in such a demonstration for the sake of a trip to London in a saloon carriage and the "et-cæteras" when they got there. It had been stated that the men were not free agents. They were coerced into doing what they had done. Now something had been said about the Railway Companies, and he (Mr. Pickard) would ask the House to consider that there were only two of those Companies that had approached the Government with a view of obtaining facilities which would enable them to contract out of the Liability Act. They had not heard that the Great Northern, the Great Western, the Midland, and the North-Eastern Companies had gone to the Government to ask for protection against the Employers' Liability Act, and the rights to insure out of that Act. All honour to those Companies for trusting to their workmen rather than come to the Government for protection against this Bill. The two Companies mentioned preferred to pay a few sums every year so as to keep their workmen quiet rather than accept the principle of non-contracting out of the Act. They all knew how these arrangements were carried out by the Companies, and how the men were kept quiet. With regard to the London and North-Western Railway Company he might mention that he had been looking through some statistics that had been issued for the nine months ending September last. Comparing the Midland Railway Company with the London and North-Western Company, he found that the number of fatalities among the workmen of the latter company was 1 in 1,300 and the injured 1 in 153. The Midland Company, which was not insured heretofore, had 1 man in 1,600 fatally injured, while the non-fatal injuries stood in the proportion of 1 in 661. He asked the House to draw their own inference from these figures. If a Company such as the Midland made arrangements so as to prevent loss of life and injury to their workmen in this way, he thought the House would take time to consider whether they would allow other Companies to contract themselves out of the provisions of the Employers' Liability Act, especially when, in cases where there was no contraction out of the Act, life was preserved and bodies were kept whole. Now the workmen had never asked for compensation, but only for protection, and they asked for protection. He (Mr. Pickard) wanted matters to be arranged so that the men could safely go down in the pits and have a chance of supporting their wives and children, rather than that the colliery owner should be allowed to use the mine and the miner in such a way that it would be possible to have him killed, with a mere pittance doled out to his wife and children to keep them from starvation. He was surprised to find the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) making such terrible attacks upon himself and his Colleagues, for he did not think the hon. Member had any grounds for them. He did not understand how the hon. Member could say that they had sought to set the workmen against the employers. As far as regards his own county, and he thought he might speak for the employers generally, they had not asked to be allowed to contract themselves out of the Act. They felt they need not fear the Employers' Liability Act so long as they carried out the provisions of the Mines Act. He commended them for not seeking the protection of the Home Secretary. He (Mr. Pickard) was ashamed of the Lon-

don and North-Western Railway Company for sending a deputation to the Home Office, and to make statements which, as far as he knew, had no value whatever. The hon. Member for Nuneaton (Mr. Dugdale) and himself had had letters sent to them from Railway Societies, all deprecating any contracting out of the Act, and desiring that the House should pass into law an Act such as he (Mr. Pickard) and his friends advocated. Now, was it really the employers of the country who were trying to contract themselves out of the Act? ["No, no!"] He maintained it was not. The Committee upstairs never sent for the Midland people, nor for the North-Eastern, or any other great body of employers so far as he knew. They had many representative men before the Committee, and they one and all deprecated contracting out of the Act. The Government were using very bad tactics in sheltering themselves behind the third clause, nor could they continue to pose as the friends of the working classes so long as they maintained their present attitude with regard to that clause. Was it not a monstrous thing that one man could contract, not only himself, but a thousand others, behind their backs too, out of the clause? The Home Secretary might shake his head, but that was what the right hon. Gentleman had told him while the Committee was carrying on its inquiry.

MR. MATTHEWS said, this was altogether imaginary. In the Bill as it stood before the Grand Committee, the decision of the Board of Trade was that a particular form of contract for one kind of railway servant of an equitable kind would be good evidence that it was a fair contract for other railway servants of that sort.

MR. PICKARD, proceeding, went on to say that for one man to contract all others in the same employment was such a monstrous thing that he refused to believe it could become law. He objected altogether to this insurance business, and he and his friends would not rest satisfied even if the Government, with its willing or unwilling majority, carried the Bill through, and would not accept it as a settlement of the question.

MR. MILVAIN (Durham), as a Member of the Grand Committee on Law which considered the Bill, expressed considerable surprise at the spirit which was now being manifested in the opposition to the Bill—a spirit which was in marked contrast to the proceedings in the Grand Committee. He was not going to suggest why they had been now met in the spirit evinced during the evening. Some persons might suggest that self-preservation was the first law of Nature, and others might suggest that continued agitation was necessary to justify a continuance of existence. He adopted neither suggestion; but he rather thought that it was the intention of those who professed to be the Representatives of labour in the House—their honest intention—to do their best to obtain the greatest possible immunity for sufferers, and assistance for those who succeeded men who died in discharging their duty. It was not necessary to discuss other points of the Bill than Clause 3, for that was the kernel. The hon. Member for West Nottingham could not have been serious in his contention on the doctrine of common employment, for until recently absolutely nothing had been heard of it; nor did the Bill introduced by his political friends embody that doctrine. What was the reason of this continued opposition to what was called the permissive effect of Clause 3? They were told that unless the principle of the Act of 1880 was made compulsery, large employers of labour would be negligent of the lives of those whom they employed. He could not and would not believe it. He could not help thinking that the compulsory clauses of this Bill were the best, the surest, and the most speedy for giving the greatest possible immunity for sufferers. Hon. Members opposite apparently were under the impression that everything had been done in the interests of the employer; but if they compared the present Bill with the Act of 1880 they would not find a single provision of that Act modified in the interests of the employer; but, on the contrary, the Bill operated in every particular to the interests of the *employé*. He objected, however, to treating the question from the point of view of the benefit to the employer or the benefit to the workman. He wished to see everybody benefited, and he should not support the clause if he had not satisfied himself that it was for the common benefit. He considered that their object should be to promote good feeling between employers and employed, and to avoid

litigation, and he believed that object would be best attained by the insurance system. Instead of the risks now run under the first section of the Act of 1880, workmen would find, if their employers insured under Clause 3, that the insurance would be paid promptly and without expense, and he could not help thinking that that would be more to the advantage of working men than the provisions of the existing Act.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) said, he did not think the discussion of this measure should be confined to Members representing those connected with collieries, mines, and railways, because, from the numerous communications he received, he was sure there was a widespread interest in the subject among other classes of workmen. If he believed they could get a Bill next year to which no possible objection could be made, that would be a sufficient ground for him to vote against it to-night; but he was certain they would not obtain that, because this was one of those questions towards the end of which they must advance step by step. But the present proposal, although he thought it was of very doubtful value indeed, was admitted even by those who opposed it as some improvement on the existing Act. Its chief result that would follow its passing was one which the Labour Representatives had not noticed. The Bill appeared to be expressly designed for the benefit of lawyers. Take the case of sailors, who under the 136th clause had the benefit of the Act extended to them while their ships were in port in this country. But when ships were in port in this country the sailors were not on board; so that the advantage to them seemed to be of a very microscopic character. The benefits which the Bill proposed to give to sailors when they left this country were of no service whatever, because no sailor could possibly make out a claim against a ship after he left here, unless he did it by a process which would insure every farthing of the claim, if established, going into the hands of the lawyers. Indeed, it was doubtful whether he could enter on any action at all. He denied that compulsory insurance compelled a man to stay in a particular employment or lose part of the money he had contributed. He denied that could be the case unless the workmen paid too heavy a premium. And the Bill provided that the bargain might be reducible by the Home Secretary, who would see that the workmen never paid a premium which more than covered the risk they incurred by the bargain. He objected strongly to indefinite liability. That was entirely wrong. The effect of that would be ruin to many of the employers of labour in the country. There were many employers whose whole capital was not £1,000 or even £500. He was surprised at the gaiety of manner with which some hon. Members had spoken on this subject of leaving the claim indefinite, which amounted to granting fresh facilities for the speculative attorney and no one else. He would make one suggestion. The Bill was of doubtful value, although an improvement on the present law. There was no finality in the Bill. But if it was limited in time—for three years, say—then he thought it might be accepted, although it would be no great step in advance. The limitation in time would compel the Government of three years hence to reconsider the question, and this would lead to further improvements to the benefit of the workman.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) said, he saw so many Members anxious to address the House that he could well have remained silent were it not that he was associated closely with this measure, which had excited a very great amount of interest among large bodies of workmen with whom he was connected. He supported the Motion for the rejection of the Bill. He was quite sensible that that was a strong course to take, and he felt great responsibility in assuming that position. With regard to the Employers' Liability Act now in operation, that measure was a valuable measure, and one of the best of the kind. In fact, it was the best of the kind that had been passed, and a great amount of benefit had accrued, undoubtedly, from that Act. It had done much to prevent the sacrifice of life. That was the main object with which the labour Representatives advocated the making of employers pecuniarily responsible for the negligence of their servants. The Act, however, was from the beginning a very imperfect one; it was a compromise, and was never accepted by the representatives of the workmen as a final settlement of the

matter. He had always been opposed to the doctrine of common employment, and he asserted that no satisfactory settlement of the question would be arrived at until one of two things happened—either a bad law was repealed or workmen were placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the rest of the community. The hon. Member opposite began by deprecating Party spirit being infused into this debate, but he thought there was quite as much of that on the other side as on his. The tone of the hon. and learned Member who had spoken in opposition to his hon. Friend who moved the Amendment reminded him of the line "Willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike." He had for himself carefully avoided all personal imputations. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had advocated the Bill with more than his usual ability and eloquence, and seemed to take quite a paternal interest in it; and had made comparisons between the Bill and the Act of 1880, much to the disadvantage of the latter. He did not deny that the Bill was, in many respects, better than the Act now in force. But it was not good enough. In making the comparison they ought to remember the change of time and circumstance. There had been a large extension of the suffrage; in 1880 there were only two Representatives of labour in the House, whereas there were now nine. Then the Bill of 1880 was an experiment, a new departure, and was opposed with the characteristic timidity of wealth by the large employers of labour. Exactly the same fears had accompanied every measure of progress. With regard to contracting out of the Act, the associated workmen were practically unanimous. The Miners' National Union, of which he was president, had unanimously passed resolutions against it. In Lancashire the general opinion of the men was the same. In addressing a meeting in Durham of 50,000 or 60,000 men, at which his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton was present, he had protested against contracting out of the Bill and of allowing a system of insurance to form part of any Liability Bill. Reference had been made to the various Miners' Permanent Relief Funds. But these societies, as well as that connected with the North-Western Railway, were independent of any Act of Parliament, and had existed long before the Act of 1880 was passed. The Northumberland and Durham Miners' Fund was begun so far back as 1862. The North Country coalowners subscribed to this fund, but did not ask their men to contract out of the Act. He should hesitate to oppose a national system of insurance, but he objected to the question of insurance being smuggled into an Act like this, with the object of relieving employers of obligations which Parliament imposed upon them. Believing that a better Bill would be brought in either by the present Government or another Government which would, he hoped, be in power before long, he took on himself the responsibility of supporting the Amendment.

SIR GEORGE ELLIOT (Monmouth, &c.) said, that he had co-operated with the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) in every step and movement which aimed at the improvement of the miners of this country, and for seven or eight years they had sat together as members of the Association of Miners. He was, therefore, sorry to find himself in antagonism to his hon. Friend. He wished to speak especially with reference to the 3rd clause of the Bill, and upon that point he was sure that those who were interested in mining would not accuse him of taking a strong Party interest against the miners. In all Bills of the kind he had constantly studied the interests of the miners, from which class, even in that large House, he was not ashamed to say he had risen. He was, therefore, not likely to do anything against their interests. He would be sorry to take any step that would interfere with their rights or privileges. He felt great reluctance in taking up the position he had assumed, because he felt he was speaking against those who represented the miners in particular, and that was painful to him. He had, however, the strongest convictions on the point, and he declared that if the withdrawal of that clause were carried out—if they were to declare that all the employed in the Kingdom were incapable of making any arrangement with their employers—it would be cruel and mischievous, and a proposition which ought not to be listened to. After listening to the many speeches that had been made, he had not the audacity to get up and say that all the arrangements between

employers and employed should be put a stop to. Why were they going to nurse them and put a collar round their neck? Why were not the employed—men on colliery or farm—to be allowed to make an agreement that they should have such and such wages, and that in sickness they should have certain help? What had happened to the world that they wanted to destroy the individuality of every working man, as they would do if they passed an Act providing that no working man should be able to make an arrangement with his employer. [*A laugh.*] What were hon. Members laughing at? He declared in the name of a population principally mining that they were proposing to destroy the sympathy and support that existed between the employer and employed. When he said that he knew what he was talking about, but many people did not know what they were talking about. They must not put a collar round the workman's neck, and allow him to be guided entirely by Trades' Unions. He had the honour of being the first employer who co-operated with a Trades' Union. They were most useful institutions, but there must be a limit to their power. They ought not to be allowed to absorb all the individuality of the working men of the country by depriving them of freedom of action in this matter. The 3rd clause was, in his mind, essential to the Bill, and they should stand or fall by that.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) said, it was generally felt that the great interests affected by this Bill ought not to suffer by the display of Party tactics or the collision of individual feeling; and if the Representatives of different sections in that House approached the question from different standpoints, he, for one, would believe that they were interested in equal measure in endeavouring to effect the benefit of those who were dealt with by the Bill. But let them recollect what was the question before the House. When the first Order of the Day was read out that evening, the question was whether that Bill should be discussed or should be thrown out. Now, it so happened that he had had to bear in some degree the responsibility of framing and carrying through that House the measure of 1880 on that subject; and the view he took as the result of the experience which he had had in the matter was that that question above all others was one which had to be dealt with most cautiously, and which also of necessity must be dealt with by degrees. When the Cabinet in 1880 and those who formed the Committee of that Cabinet were called upon to help in considering what measure should be proposed to the House on that subject, they found how difficult it was to deal with it unless they proceeded with the greatest care and deliberation. But no doubt the principal object they then had in view was to make better provision for the safety of the working classes of this country. They accepted the view which had been expressed that night by the hon. Member for Wansbeck (Mr. Fenwick), when in a speech full of practical knowledge he said that that was not a monetary question; that it was the safety of the working classes and the protection of life and limb which they had first to consider in a measure of that kind. That object, however, could not be best attained by arbitrary legislation. They must carefully consider the interests they had to deal with; they must remember that they could not throw burdens on those who found capital and on the employers without also affecting two other interests —namely, those of the employed, and those of the customers and consumers, on whom both the employer and the employed depended. If they treated capital unjustly, if they put upon it undue burdens which it had never calculated would be placed upon it, those burdens would ultimately have to be borne, not only by the capitalist, but by those whom he employed and those who consumed what he produced. They ought, therefore, to approach that question without any trace of Party tactics, and simply with a desire to secure what was best for interests which, rightly viewed, were not different, but really identical. Would that end be best attained by rejecting the present Bill or by allowing it to be examined? The more that question was discussed, the more they allowed opinion to affect it, the more they would re-assure those who might be somewhat frightened at the burdens to be imposed by legislation. In 1880 they had to consider those who sat around them as employers of labour, some of whom painted pictures of the

ruin that was likely to ensue if they touched the safeguard of the doctrine of common employment. Predictions were then made of the perfect destruction of all industry, and of the impossibility of capitalists bearing the burden that would be cast on them by their measure. They then did all they could to re-assure them, but they were answered that they were mere theorists and knew nothing of the subject. Well, eight years had since passed, and experience had shown that the burdens imposed by the Act of 1880 were as nothing upon capital, and that capital was perfectly able to bear them without any interference with the proper relations which ought to exist between those who employed labour and those who existed by it. Now they had another Bill introduced on that subject which made great advances that were justified by experience. It made an advance in respect to the degree in which common employment should affect responsibility; in respect to the amount which the workman could recover; in respect to the time in which the action could be brought; in respect to introducing the responsibility of the sub-contractor; in respect to including seamen within the benefit of the Act; and also in respect to there being no appeals from the decision of the County Court Judge. Was it not better that those advantages should now be secured to them rather than that they should reject that Bill? But he should not be satisfied by simply taking the Bill as it stood. If that Amendment had not been moved they might have considered the Bill, and obtained a still further advance. He did not understand the Government to say that they would make no further concession in regard to that Bill. If they were only allowed to discuss it in a calm and practical spirit they might be enabled to render it almost, if not quite, a perfect measure. They would have got rid of the notice of action, the limitation of time, and other points objected to, and would have had an opportunity of dealing with the question whether a person should have the power to contract himself out of the Bill. He thought that subject would have received full consideration from the House, and an independent vote would have been obtained upon it. Even supposing that they had not been able to sweep away at once the doctrine of common employment, a great advance would have been made by its discussion. The House would have discussed the question in a manner which would have led, if not to-day, certainly at some future time, to a solution of it. The doctrine of common employment was introduced from Scotland in 1837. Those who wanted to get rid of this doctrine as a means of defence asked why any difference should be made between an employer and his servant and a Railway Company and passengers who met with accident owing to the negligence of railway servants. Railway Companies had always traded with a knowledge of that liability. If an employer had invested his capital with such a liability, he must have full notice before the liability was imposed. The result of such a liability might be to reduce wages or to increase charges. The House had before it a measure which was a great advance on the Act of 1880, and he regretted that they had not been allowed to deal with the question practically, and to proceed so as to amend the Bill. If it were possible to obtain one long day in order to discuss it, he would earnestly ask the House not to recede from the duty of endeavouring to make still greater progress in the solution of this question, and not to shrink from dealing with this Bill as a stepping-stone to further improvement and as of benefit to the working classes of the country.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, he acknowledged that they were in a difficult position with reference to this important measure. He would not say a word which would import into the discussion anything of a Party character. He had never regarded this Bill as one which ought to be so treated, and his hon. Friend the Member for West Nottingham and the hon. Member for Morpeth knew well that throughout the whole of this Session, in the discussions he had had with them, he had always urged that everything should be done to pass the Bill into law. He confessed that until 24 hours previously he had the fullest hope and expectation that the Bill might have easily been passed through the House. His hon. Friends who honourably represented the labouring classes led him to believe in the early part of the previous day that the

Government were willing to consider proposals which had been made and which would have facilitated the progress of the Bill. The Home Secretary had spoken with scorn of the Amendment that was suggested as absurd and impracticable; but he believed that Amendment had been in his hands for several days. [Mr. MATTHEWS: No, no!] At least the right hon. Gentleman had not expressed an unfavourable or decisive opinion against it. But, unfortunately, he found, as appeared from *The Times*, that while those proposals were in the hands of the Government a certain meeting took place. The following announcement appeared in *The Times* of that day, under the heading, "The Employers' Liability Bill." The paragraph stated that—

"It is understood that a deputation of Members of Parliament and others had an interview with Mr. W. H. Smith in his private room at the House of Commons last evening, with reference to the Employers' Liability Bill. With the First Lord of the Treasury was Mr. Matthews, and among those present were Messrs. Ainslie, M.P., Barnes, M.P., Tomlinson, M.P., F. S. Powell, M.P., Sidebottom, M.P., Aird, M.P., Captain Heathcote, M.P., and Colonel Blundell, M.P. Strong representations were made in favour of retaining Clause 3 in its present shape, and it is stated that Mr. Smith announced the determination of the Government to oppose any Amendment having for its object the alteration of the clause in the direction suggested by the workmen. In these circumstances the labour Members will use their utmost endeavours to oppose the further progress of the measure."

He should say that the Government had been caucussed by the employers of labour, and here was a declaration that the Government had pledged themselves that no alteration should be made in the 3rd clause. An attack had been made on the hon. Member for West Nottingham for the course he had taken, but he must point out that under the new Rules it was impossible that the question in its integrity could be brought under consideration in any other form of Motion. His hon. Friend had been subjected to an acrimonious attack by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). He thought that that attack was wholly unjustifiable. The Member for Northampton ought to have some compassion for humbler people, as they could not all assume to know better than everybody about everything. It was only natural that his hon. Friend the Member for West Nottingham should speak warmly in the interests of those whom he particularly represented. From the way in which the Motion was supported, the bitter censures the House had listened to would fall on the Mover lightly, and leave him unscathed. There was no doubt that this was one of the most difficult subjects which Parliament could consider. He entirely agreed with the views of his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), who thought that the Bill in all its material points ought to be altered. His right hon. and learned Friend's opinion, like his own, was against the doctrine of common employment—a doctrine which he felt sure would not have been laid down if the matter had come in the first instance before the Judges of the present day. That was a subject which deserved the most careful debate in that House. Then, like his right hon. and learned Friend, he was opposed to the power of contracting out of the Act. When he and his right hon. and learned Friend first entered the House in 1868, they were engaged in a great contest for legalizing the Trade Unions, and there was no feeling now against the National League in Ireland stronger than that which they then encountered in their endeavour to maintain the rights of Trade Unions against the common law of conspiracy. He entirely agreed with his right hon. and learned Friend, and he entirely differed from those denunciations of Trade Unions which they had heard that night from the hon. Member for Northampton.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I did not utter one word against Trade Unions. On the contrary, I said I had always supported them, and spoken in favour of them, and tried to induce men to join them.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he certainly regarded the hon. Member's speech as a bitter attack upon Trade Unions and their leaders, who had rendered enormous services, and not to the labouring classes alone. In reference to the Bill, it was a serious fact that the special Representatives of the working population were not favourable to it in its present form. If, however, there were a fair chance of having an adequate discussion upon questions of great difficulty and importance, he, for one, would be ready to go on with the Bill. But the measure was one which could not be hurried through and forced through by

the closure. There could be no useful settlement of this or, indeed, of any other question unless all the parties interested were satisfied that they had had a fair hearing. If the Government would say they had several days at their disposal—[*Laughter*]—well, he had a sincere desire to get the Bill through; and the advice he gave to the Government was that, if they could afford fair time for a full discussion of this difficult question, they should persevere with the Bill. But a part of the imperfection of the Bill of 1880 was due to the fact that the Government were obliged to pass it rather hurriedly; and, therefore, he would say—"Do not attempt, on a question of such difficulty, to endeavour to force a Bill through the House without full discussion." He believed that the present principle of common employment was unsound, but he agreed that it must be touched with great caution. When you pass from an unsound principle to a sound one you naturally imperil interests based on the former; and, therefore, you could not be too careful. The question of contracting out of the Bill was also a difficult one. The Agricultural Holdings Bill was introduced with a power to contract out of it, and it became worthless in consequence; and the Party opposite found it necessary to abandon the principle. He wished to see the interests of both employers and employed fairly consulted; but was there time for discussion? He feared not. If it was the beginning or middle of the Session he would vote for going on with the Bill. The Amendment was to be regarded only as a recommendation to adjourn the consideration of the question until a fair amount of time could be given to it. If he were prepared to accept the decisions of the Committee as infallible, he should say that the Bill ought to be forced through, and he would not offer anything like factious resistance. But he wanted the Government to pass a measure which should be satisfactory to all parties, and that would be a settlement for a reasonable period. Do not let them get into Party recriminations. [*Laughter from the Ministerial Benches.*] The laughter showed where the Party spirit lay; but even from a Party point of view the Government could gain nothing by forcing the Bill through without adequate discussion. But they would gain from carrying a measure which, after full consideration, received the approval of the country. Unless the Government were prepared to say they had adequate time, it would be better not to proceed with the Bill.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that only 24 hours ago the right hon. Gentleman entertained a strong hope that the Bill might be passed this Session; yet he had now arrived at the conclusion that it would be impossible to discuss it adequately. And one reason he gave was that Ministers had received a deputation of employers of labour. Well, two days previously, they had received a deputation of representatives of workmen, and to their statement they had given full consideration; and they had also called in the assistance of the Government draftsman to see whether it was possible to give effect to the representations made to them on behalf of the workmen. The proposals of the hon. Member for West Nottingham and those who accompanied him had been considered, and Her Majesty's Government came to the conclusion that those proposals could not be accepted; but no statement was made that Her Majesty's Government could consider no modification whatever of Clause 3. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby that this was not a Party question, and it certainly would be a great misfortune if it was approached in a Party spirit. He might say, on the part of the Government, that they had not approached the consideration of this question from a Party feeling at all. The Bill was founded upon the Report of a Committee which was nominated by the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman opposite was a Member. It dealt with a question which concerned the country and the people as a whole; and any attempt to set class against class, to set employers against employed, to set capital against those who depended upon capital for subsistence, was absolutely a crime to the community. The Bill had been introduced with the object of doing the best they could in the interests of the people, without special regard to the employer on the one side and the employed on the other. The question they had to consider was, whether this Bill ought to go forward, or be with-

drawn; whether it ought not to be accepted as an effort to deal with a question which they all regarded as important, and which they desired to advance and place upon a sound and conciliatory footing. Two days had already been spent on the second reading, and seven days had been given to it by a very strong Committee. It was for the House to say whether the work done by the Committee was, for this Session at least, to be thrown away, and he appealed to them to proceed with the consideration of the measure.

MR. J. ROWLANDS rose to continue the discussion; but it being five minutes to 12 o'clock,

Mr. Sydney Gedge rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 189; Noes 154: Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 330.)

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 202; Noes 141: Majority 61.—(Div. List, No. 331.)

Mr. William Henry Smith claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of Order. The House has decided that this Bill be now considered. I presume, therefore, that it will not be competent for the Government to postpone the Bill to a future date.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is "That the Bill be now considered."

MR. T. M. HEALY: My point is that, as it is after 12 o'clock, it is impossible to consider the Bill now.

MR. SPEAKER: There is nothing in the objection. The proceeding is quite proper.

Main Question put accordingly, and *agreed to.*

Further Proceeding *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether it is in accordance with the Rules of the House for the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), who sits on the opposite side of the House, to come and sit below the Gangway on the Ministerial side of the House? [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] I wish to ask whether it is in accordance with the usages of the House for the hon. Member to come from the opposite Benches to this side and make remarks which are most offensive to us, and, in consequence, lead to great altercation and considerable noise in this direction? We beg, Sir, to have your ruling upon this point.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): May I—[*Loud cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I cannot prevent the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) sitting in whatever part of the House he chooses to sit in. At the same time, I may point out to the House that there are traditions in this House, and I must leave it to the good taste and courtesy of hon. Members as to the place they will sit in. Of course, if any collision should arise I should know whom I am to make responsible for it. The hon. Gentleman the Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) said that expressions have been used offensive to him and his Friends. I did not gather that the expressions made use of by the hon. Member for Mid Cork were of an un-Parliamentary character. If they were, it would be quite competent for the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bartley) to bring them to the notice of the Chair, and I should certainly be bound to deal with them.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): Arising out of your ruling, Sir, I should like to ask whether one of the traditions of the House to which you referred is not that hon. Members should sit on the side of the House with which they usually vote?

MR. SPEAKER: I have answered the point of Order.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be deferred till To-morrow."

MR. T. M. HEALY: I rise to a point of Order, Sir. I should like to receive your interpretation of the Rule "Sittings of the House" passed on the 24th of February, 1888? Let me, however,

respectfully remind you of what took place after 12 o'clock on a former occasion, when a Motion was made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst). The hon. Gentleman had a Motion for which he was entitled to take the Evening Sitting, provided that the Government took the Morning Sitting. Objection was raised to the Government taking a Morning Sitting, and the Government were obliged to take the entire day in consequence of the objection having been taken after 12 o'clock. I submit that pretty much the same state of circumstances exist at the present moment. It is now after 12 o'clock. I do not intend to raise any objection to the Saturday Sitting. I have no objection whatever to a Saturday Sitting, but I want this Rule to be clearly understood, because I think it is for the convenience of the House that it should be understood. There is an arrangement, I believe, that non-contentious Irish Votes shall be taken to-morrow; but, at the same time, it is desirable we should know whether it is not open for any Member, if he chooses, to object to a Sitting of the House being held to-morrow. The House usually sits on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. On Saturdays and Sundays the House does not, as a rule, sit. The Rule, the interpretation of which I desire, is that—

"That at Midnight on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, except as aforesaid, and at half-past Five of the clock on Wednesdays, the proceedings on any Business then under consideration shall be interrupted; and, if the House be in Committee, the Chairman shall leave the Chair, and make his report to the House; and if a Motion has been proposed for the Adjournment of the House, or of the Debate, or in Committee, That the Chairman do report Progress, or do leave the Chair, every such dilatory Motion shall lapse without Question put; and the business then under consideration, and any business subsequently appointed, shall be appointed for the next day on which the House shall sit, unless the Speaker ascertains by the preponderance of voices that a Majority of the House desires that such business should be deferred until a later day."

I shall, no doubt, be told that there is a preponderance of voices; but I submit that if the ordinary practice of the House governs this Rule, we shall be driven on a Saturday, if there be objection raised, to a Sunday Sitting—that the Motion will have to go down for the next day, because of the operation of this Rule. If objection be taken on Saturday to any particular Order, it must go down for the next day, which would be Sunday, and a Sitting on Sunday would certainly be wholly contrary to the Rules and Practice of the House. My submission is that the Government cannot fix a 12 o'clock Sitting on Saturday except by a special Order of the House, and I take note of the fact that when the Government named Saturday they did not name 12 o'clock on Saturday, for there is no Rule as to Sittings on Saturday. The Government have thought fit to apply the Wednesday Rule to Saturdays; but I want to know, Sir, under what Rule you will take the Chair at 12 o'clock to-morrow?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member is quite right in his interpretation of the Rule. Saturday being an exceptional day on which the House does not usually sit, it would be proper that a distinct opportunity should be offered for the House to express an opinion on the point. In this case the course was announced some days ago, and it is not for me to lay down what is for the general convenience of the House; but, as a matter of Order, I could not say that the mere fact of a Minister saying "to-morrow (being Saturday) at twelve" would preclude any hon. Gentleman objecting, and so preventing a Sitting being taken on Saturday.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I am much obliged to you, Sir, for your ruling. I hope, however, that none of my hon. Friends will raise any objection to the House sitting to-morrow.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked, if the Employers' Liability Bill would be the first Order on Monday?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that it would not be the first Order on Monday, but Supply would occupy the first place.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *deferred* till *to-morrow.*

DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 374.]

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [10th August] read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be deferred till Monday."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that the Bill would in all probability lead to a prolonged debate, and therefore he respectfully asked the Government whether, having regard to the period of the year, they would not move to discharge the Order?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was not in a position to make such a Motion. The Bill was brought in at the distinct request of the Public Accounts Committee, and it was advisable to pass it this Session if possible.

MR. T. M. HEALY gave Notice that on Monday he would ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he was not prepared to discharge the Order?

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

WALTHAM ABBEY GUNPOWDER FACTORY (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 273.]

(*Mr. Brodrick, Mr. Secretary Stanhope.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be deferred till Monday."

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) inquired, if the Government really contemplated proceeding with this Bill this Session?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Yes, Sir.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

LIABILITY OF TRUSTEES BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Cozens-Hardy.*)

[BILL 365.] CONSIDERATION.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [4th December], on Consideration of Bill, as amended.

And which Amendment was,

In page 5, line 25, after the word "Parliament," to insert the words "including stock, shares, or bonds, the dividends or interest on which are guaranteed under 'The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883.'"—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. COZENS-HARDY (Norfolk, N.) said, that this was not a Government Bill, and therefore it was impossible to put any pressure on the Government. He trusted that hon. Gentlemen from Ireland below the Gangway would not persevere with this Amendment, because it was quite evident that the Government would not assent to it, and their persistence might lead to the loss of the Bill. The non-passing of the measure would not at all distress the Government, but it would create a great deal of dissatisfaction in the minds of Members in all parts of the House, and of gentlemen in all parts of the country. He trusted that, under the circumstances, hon. Members would allow the clause to proceed without this Amendment, because the clause, even as at present framed, would confer great benefit on Ireland.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) said, he hoped the Government would see their way to accept this Amendment. It appeared to him that at the time when there was no great influx of capital into Ireland, it was very undesirable that Irish investments of such a sound description as those contemplated in this Amendment should be excluded from the scope of the Bill. He did not believe there was any real objection to the Amendment on the part of any large number of Members of the House, and he could not suppose that the passing of the Bill would be imperilled by the adoption of this Amendment. It was of great importance that these speculations, which were of a sound description, should not be discredited in the way they would be if they were excluded from the action of the Bill.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, he was sorry the Government could not accept the Amendment. He need not argue the matter in detail. The stock it was proposed to add to the number of authorized investments was Stock belonging to a different class to those Stocks dealt with in the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Gentleman, having already

spoken, can only speak by the indulgence of the House.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, that perhaps he might be allowed to add that the Government would not be able to accept the Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (MR. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin) said, that his attention was directed to this question the other night, when the matter came under discussion. There was power under Act of Parliament for Grand Juries to guarantee for a limited term. [*Cries of* "No!"] He thought there was; but what he was particularly anxious to point out to hon. Members below the Gangway was that there was a possibility of them obtaining their end if, as they said, opinion in Ireland was strong in their favour. If these particular stocks were recommended for investment by the Court of Chancery in Ireland, that Court had power under the Bill to direct that Trust Funds should be invested in such Stock. If, therefore, opinion in Ireland was so strongly in favour of this class of investment, application could be made to the Court of Chancery, and if they considered such investments were desirable they had power to order that trust money might be so invested.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) rose to address the House.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman has already spoken, I believe.

MR. CONYBEARE: I moved the Adjournment last night.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): The hon. Gentleman carried the Adjournment.

MR. SPEAKER: The Adjournment having been agreed to, the hon. Gentleman is within his right.

MR. CONYBEARE said, that the suggestion conveyed in the remarks of the hon. Member for Bodmin (Mr. Courtney) was one which really solved the difficulty, and in the hope of bringing about a settlement of the question which would be satisfactory to all parties, he proposed to amend this Amendment by introducing words which would carry out the suggestion of the hon. Member. He proposed to insert, after the word "including," the words "with the leave of the Court." The Amendment would then read—

"Including, with the leave of the Court, stock, shares, or bonds, the dividends or interest on which are guaranteed by the Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883."

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, after the word "including," to insert the words "with leave of the Court."—(*Mr. Conybeare.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be inserted in the proposed Amendment."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, that the words proposed to be inserted in the Amendment were unnecessary, and, in his opinion, might do harm.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, that all that could be said about the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare) was that it was unnecessary. The words, therefore, were at most only surplusage. He submitted that the Amendment could do no harm, but that it would certainly have the effect of pointing out to Trustees that they might do this thing with the leave of the Court. Trustees would examine their powers, and this Amendment would be like an index finger, for it would point out to them investments which might not otherwise strike their mind. The powers of the Court of Chancery were not known to the public generally. There was one other important consideration he desired to point out to the Government, and it was in relation to the Land Purchase Bill which had just been passed through the House. The Government had asked the taxpayers to expend £10,000,000 sterling upon Irish credit, but, at the same time, they maintained that it was inexpedient to allow trustees to invest money in Irish Guaranteed Stock. He begged the Government to extend some consideration to the Irish Members in this matter. Ireland was absolutely unanimous on this point. Hon. Members from Ireland who sat upon the Government Benches, the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), and, he believed, the hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Lea), and hon. Members from Ireland who sat below the Opposition Gangway were at one on this subject. Irishmen of all shades of opinion were united on the point, and yet the Government would not conform to their wishes, on the ground that the Irish Court of Chancery

already possessed ample powers. It might be that the powers of the Court were unknown. Why not make the matter plain, and give the Judges an idea that these things might be done? They might be told that the Amendment was needless. That was the very worst that could be said of the Amendment. He and his hon. Friends contended that the adoption of the Amendment would point to a better state of things in Ireland. The Privy Council would be anxious not to pass schemes hurriedly if they knew that under the Trustees Act Trustees might invest their funds in them; they would be slow and cautious in giving their assent to schemes. Let him point out to the Government the importance of this matter from their own point of view. The Irish Board of Works—the Government's own Imperial purse-holders—had at the present moment nearly £150,000,000 sterling invested in this Stock. The Stock was good enough for the investment of the money of the Irish Board of Works, and yet it was not supposed to be good enough for the money of trustees, the majority of whom probably only held £2,000 or £3,000. There was another point of view from which the matter might fairly be viewed. The Amendment, as amended by the addition of the words suggested by the hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall, would confine the Stock to Irish holders. On a former occasion he had said to the Solicitor General for Ireland—"Confine this to Irish stock holders;" and the hon. and learned Gentleman had replied —"No; this is not a purely Irish Bill." He put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that by this Amendment they could not be diverting English securities from the Two and Three-Quarter per Cents, for the leave of the Court would be required for the investment of Irish money in this Stock. If the House adopted this Amendment, the Irish Judges might say—"The House of Commons says that this may be done with our leave; we are acquainted with the Stock, and we will give our leave." He submitted that this was a case in which the Government might very properly yield. He assured the hon. Gentleman who was in charge of the Bill that the Irish Members deeply sympathized with him in regard to this measure, and that they would do their best to promote its passage. They were not hostile to the Bill; on the contrary, they sincerely hoped it would be passed. Surely the Government could see some way of meeting them in this difficulty. The Session was not yet concluded, and when all sides of the House were agreed on a particular Amendment, the worst of which that could be said was that it was unnecessary, they might with confidence appeal to the Government.

MR. WARMINGTON (Monmouth, W.) said, that a question very much like the present arose during the early part of the Session with regard to the Colonial Stock. They then had an intimation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Law Officers of the Crown that some scheme was under consideration, and that the Judges of the Court were considering a way in which investments in Colonial Stock could be authorized. If the Irish authorities could say there was a scheme under the consideration of the Irish Judges by which this Stock could be included in the authorized Stock, the Representatives of Ireland might, perhaps, be content; but, as far as he understood the present attitude of the Government, they were against this Stock being open to investment by Trustees.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) desired to make a few comments upon the observations of the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees. The hon. Gentleman had stated that the guarantee given under the Tramways Act was a contingent guarantee.

MR. COURTNEY: That it was a terminable guarantee.

MR. MAURICE HEALY said, that he did not at all contend that it was not in the power of the Grand Jury and other Local Bodies to impose any terms they thought fit. But what he did contend was, in the first place, that it was not a contingent guarantee; and, secondly, that all the guarantees that had been given were not terminable. He had watched very carefully the operation of the Tramways Act in the county in which he lived. There were there no less than five tramways guaranteed by the State, and in not a single instance had the power the hon. Gentleman referred to been acted upon. In every single one of those cases a perpetual power had been given. He thought that if there was anything in

the point which the hon. Gentleman made it could be met by limiting the operation of the Amendment to guarantees which were perpetual. He could not imagine the smallest difficulty in doing that.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he regarded this Bill as one of the best Bills that had been brought before Parliament this Session. It was of vital importance, not only in Ireland, but in this country. Everyone was most anxious that the Bill should pass, but they could only pass it on certain terms of compromise. The Government were absolute masters of the situation. [*Cries of* "No!"] But they were, and if this Amendment were pressed there would be a very great chance of the Bill being thrown out. There was great force in what his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) said, as to the possibility of the powers of the Court not being known; but if Gentlemen on the other side of the House said that they would not have this Amendment the Opposition could not help themselves. It, therefore came to this:—Were they to imperil the passing of this most valuable measure for the sake of a point which could practically be secured by an order of the Court of Chancery? He appealed to hon. Members below the Gangway to help in passing this most valuable Bill.

MR. SEXTON said, he was as anxious as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) that the excellent intention of the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill should be carried into effect. The hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means had pointed out that the Court of Chancery had power already to authorize the investment of money in this kind of Stock. Was it not advisable that Trustees should be advised, by the language of the Bill, as to the power of the Court? There might be Trustees quite willing to invest in this Stock, and yet be unaware that the Court had power to authorize it. As to the argument about terminable guarantees, his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Maurice Healy) had pointed out that in every case in which Grand Juries had given a guarantee the guarantee had been perpetual. But he failed to see why the insertion of this Amendment should be affected by the fact that the guarantee was perpetual or terminable. Of course the Government had great power. The Session was approaching its end, and if the Government chose to resist the Amendment they might succeed in throwing out the Bill. But that was a position which which the Government ought to be very slow to take up.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) rose to continue the debate, but——

It being One of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*, and Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 8th December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 14, 16, & 19; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Vote 5.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Statute Law Revision (No. 2) * [393].

Considered as amended—Liability of Trustees [365], *debate further adjourned*.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will communicate to the House the latest information in his possession with respect to the condition of Mr. Thomas Moroney; whether he will lay upon the Table copies of any Reports on the subject by the medical officer of Kilmainham Prison, or any medical man who has been specially deputed to investigate; whether the Executive intend to take the initiative, either by communication with Judge Boyd, or otherwise, with a view to the release of Mr. Moroney; and, whether the prison records are available for the purpose of an application for such release?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin Uni-

versity) (who replied) reminded the hon. Gentleman that his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland had promised to give a full answer to this Question on Monday. Perhaps the hon. Member would put it down on the Paper for Monday.

MR. SEXTON: Is the hon. and learned Gentleman aware that I have asked this Question twice already?

MR. MADDEN: I am aware that on the last occasion on which the hon. Member put the Question on the Paper the Chief Secretary for Ireland stated that he would give full information on Monday.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he had given private Notice of a Question on this subject to the Chief Secretary, which was whether, in view of the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had said that Judge Boyd would be willing to entertain an application from any Member of that House for the release of Mr. Thomas Moroney, permission would be given to any such Member of the House to inspect such extracts from the Medical Report as referred to the state of health of Thomas Moroney during the last three months as they might consider material for the purpose of any application to Judge Boyd on the ground of ill-health? He desired to make such an application himself; and he therefore wished to know whether he would be permitted to inspect those extracts?

MR. MADDEN: I am not in a position to promise information extending over the past three months; but I am in a position to say this—that every possible facility and every available information will be given to any person who wishes to obtain the necessary materials for making an application to Judge Boyd founded on the state of Thomas Moroney's health.

MR. SEXTON: Will the Executive themselves not take the initiative in making an application, seeing that the information is already in their hands?

MR. MADDEN replied, that the hon. Gentleman would see that that was a totally different Question from the question whether the Government were prepared to give information to any individual Member of the House who desired to make any application. He was not prepared to give a decided and final answer to the question now; but his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary would give a full answer to the Question on Monday.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) (who had just entered the House) said, he thought it would be sufficient if the Government supplied, as they were quite prepared to do, any information in their power to any hon. Gentleman who desired to bring this question before Judge Boyd. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) desired further to know whether copies of the recent confidential Reports of the medical officer of Kilmainham Prison would be laid upon the Table of the House. That would be unusual, and he was afraid he could not agree to the hon. Member's request.

MR. BRADLAUGH repeated to the Chief Secretary the Question which he had already put to the Solicitor General for Ireland, adding that he knew that three months was a long time to go back, but that he thought the circumstances justified the request.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Everything material to the case I shall be very glad to supply to the hon. Member.

MR. SEXTON said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARREST OF FATHER KENNEDY AT MEELIN.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the circumstances of the arrest of Father Kennedy at Meelin on Friday?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Report has been telegraphed for to Dublin, and has not yet been received.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that Father Kennedy was arrested at an early hour on Friday morning by a large body of police, who broke in the windows of his house and arrested him while dressing in his bedroom; and if he was aware that Father Kennedy and other accused persons from Meelin attended a fortnight ago at Newmarket Courthouse to surrender themselves in accordance with their recognizances, and found that no magistrate was in attendance?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member has got that Question down on the Paper for Monday, and it is not appropriate that he should ask it to-day.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that on the Vote for Magistrates I shall endeavour to find out where the magistrate was when he ought to have been in Court to meet those gentlemen.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—MR. BEAUCHAMP AND MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Beauchamp, the Crown Solicitor for County Limerick, and Mr. George Bolton, the Crown Solicitor for County Tipperary, or either of these gentlemen, have recently been in London; and, whether, before or during their presence in London, they have been assisting the Solicitor to *The Times* newspaper in relation to the inquiry now going on before the Special Commission?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I cannot give the hon. Member an answer to the whole of his Question. But I can assure him that, speaking generally, it is not a fact that these gentlemen are obliged to give their whole time to the Government work.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider whether or not he ought to allow to continue in the Public Service a gentleman like Mr. Beauchamp, in regard to whom it has been sworn at the Commission that the staff of his office is engaged in the fabrication of evidence for *The Times*?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked for Notice of the Question.

MR. SEXTON said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

EGYPT—SUAKIN—A MAP IN THE LIBRARY.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will place a map of Suakin and its immediate neighbourhood, corrected up to the latest information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government, for the information of Members, in the Library, Tea Room, or some other convenient place in the House?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): There is no objection to this being done.

SCOTCH CROFTERS' EMIGRATION COMMITTEE.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked, Whether it was the intention of the Government to proceed with the appointment of the Scotch Crofter Emigration Committee?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had already announced that the Scottish Estimates would be taken on Tuesday and Wednesday.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (SATURDAY).

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the House would sit beyond 6 o'clock to-day?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, the House would sit according to the Wednesday Rule and Orders in force; that, as Report of Supply was not down on the Orders of the Day, the Committee of Supply would be suspended at half-past 5 o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £258,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland."

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, that it was his painful duty to bring before the Committee a subject which had become one of the standing questions of this and previous Parliaments. In fact, he was beginning to

look on the question of National Education in Ireland not only as a standing question, but as a standing joke. But as one Chief Secretary for Ireland after another had trifled with the question, he must at the same time say that it was no joke to the National School teachers in Ireland. Neither was it any joke to the Irish Members of Parliament, who had to bring forward the subject year after year—and sometimes even more than once a year—reiterating the same demands time after time, and bringing forward the same arguments in support of them. Neither was it any joke for the Chairman of Committees to listen to statements which must have become wearying to him, as they had become wearying to the Committee from constant repetition. It was, nevertheless, their duty, and, disagreeable as it was, they had to perform it. In doing so to-day he should bring before the Committee, and before the Chief Secretary, the case of the National School teachers of Ireland as briefly as he could; and he thought the strongest argument he could use, and the best possible way in which he could introduce it, was to place before the Committee and the Chief Secretary the promises which had been made to the Irish Members on behalf of the National School teachers in the past, and the very little that had been done to fulfil those promises. In the year 1878 a Resolution was passed by the House of Commons unanimously, and in a full House, declaring that—

"The National School Teachers Act of 1875 and other means adopted by the Government having failed to satisfy the just demands of the Irish teachers, this House is of opinion that the position of the Irish National School teachers calls for the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the satisfactory adjustment of their claims."

That Resolution having been passed unanimously, some little was done, which he would state by-and-bye. In continuation of the promise the right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan), when Chief Secretary, stated that he was strongly impressed with the representations which had been made to him by a deputation from the National School teachers who waited upon him, and thought that immediate action ought to be taken by the Government, if possible, to increase the teachers' salaries. The right hon. Gentleman added that he fully recognized the pledges which had been given by the Government. In 1883 a further recognition of the pledges given by the Government was made, and the right hon. Gentleman said that he would be extremely glad to introduce a measure. That was promise No. 2, and he came next to promise No. 3, which was made on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary. It was at a time when he (Mr. John O'Connor) had brought the question under the consideration of a Committee, and the right hon. Gentleman happened to be out of the House. His place, however, was taken by Mr. Holmes, who was then Attorney General for Ireland and now a Judge; and the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in reply to a Motion made in Committee by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Tuite), used these words—

"I can assure the hon. Member that my right hon. Friend has been working assiduously for some time in certain matters, in fulfilment of his promise to look into this subject."

The Attorney General, speaking on behalf of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), said that—

"The right hon. Gentleman had left the result of his work to his successor, the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

Under these circumstances, he wished to know what the Chief Secretary had done from that day to this in fulfilment of that promise? Had he searched the pigeon-holes of Dublin Castle? Had he looked into the charnel house for the dry bones of some skeleton Bill suggested or thought out by his Predecessor in Office? If the right hon. Gentleman had done so, the Committee would be glad to hear that day what the nature of the measure was, or if he had any intention whatever of giving effect to the promise made on his behalf by a responsible Law Officer of the Crown. He should like to know what the nature of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal was, and if it were such as to satisfy the demands of the National School teachers of Ireland, he would receive from the Irish Members every facility in passing the measure, and every assistance in rendering it a complete and final measure. He (Mr. John O'Connor) proposed now to point out the various grievances of the National School teachers of Ire-

land; but first and foremost he might inform the Committee what little had been done in fulfilment of the various promises which had been made to the teachers since the Resolution to which he had referred was passed unanimously by the House of Commons in 1878. A sum of money had been granted—namely, £44,000, and it was to be divided among the school teachers of Ireland in proportion to their salaries, but it was contingent on their paying out of their salaries a sum of £12,000 towards the establishment of a pension fund. Consequently, the £44,000 which was given on one hand was, to a very large extent, taken away on the other, because the teachers were required to contribute to the establishment of this fund. That was one loss to the National School teachers, but they suffered a greater loss than that, because a great deal of their salaries depended on the payment of fees by results. After the Act of 1875 came into operation, a considerable number of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland made their unions contributory, but after the Act had been in operation for a few years the contributions of the unions fell off until, in the very short time, no less than £5,000 was lost. Adding this £5,000 to the £12,000 the teachers were obliged to contribute for the establishment of a pension fund, it would be found that £17,000 out of the £44,000 was taken away. As time went on, the contributions of the unions continued to fall off; the school fees became less and less every year, so that the position of the school teachers became worse and worse, and a more crying evil every day. There was another reason why, in regard to the result fees, the position of the National School teachers was becoming gradually worse, and their stipends becoming beautifully less every day. He referred to the chronic state of agricultural distress and depression in Ireland. Up to 1878, the position of the National School teachers was tolerably good, as compared with their position from that time to the present, because, owing to the diminished profits of the people engaged in agriculture — farmers and labourers—they had not been able to send their children to school as regularly as formerly. Therefore the payment by school fees and by results had been diminished in a very great degree, so that the position of the Irish National School teachers was, at the present moment, very much worse than it had been at any time since the passing of the Act of 1875. Even at the best of times, the National School teachers of Ireland were paid upon a much lower scale than the National School teachers of this country, although the results of their labours would compare favourably with those of the labours of the National School teachers of England, Scotland, and Wales. The average payment of an Irish teacher was about one-half of what it was in England, Scotland, and Wales, although the result obtained by their labours was absolutely greater. He would ask the Committee to listen to a few figures which he would quote in order to prove this statement. The average salary of teachers in England was, for males, £120 19*s.* 2*d.*, and for females £73 15*s.* 9*d*; the corresponding figures in Scotland were £135 1*s.* 4*d.* for males and £64 13*s.* 11*d.* for females, while it would appear, from a Return issued in August, 1881, authenticated by the signature of Dr. Newell, the Secretary of the National Board of Education in Ireland, that the average salary of male teachers in that country was £57 9*s.* That was in 1881, and, as he had stated, the condition of the National School teachers of Ireland had since been becoming worse every day, so that the figure of £57 9*s.* which represented the average pay of the school teachers in that year was more than the average at the present moment. He maintained that that was a state of things which ought not to be allowed to exist, particularly when they had regard to the result of the labours of the teachers. Notwithstanding the many disadvantages that the Irish National School teachers laboured under, the following table would show that the result of their labours compared most favourably with those of teachers in the same class in the rest of the United Kingdom. The pupils in Ireland in 1885 obtained the following results:—For reading, 93·4, whereas in England and Wales it was 91·9 and in Scotland 92·6; writing, Ireland, 95·8; England and Wales, 83·8, or 12 per cent less; and in Scotland, 91·5; arithmetic in Ireland, 80·7; England and Wales, 79·7; and Scotland 87·5; and it would, therefore, be seen that only in the one particular of arithmetic was Scotland ahead of Ireland, and so far as

every other subject was concerned in the important items of school examination in the primary schools of the Three Kingdoms, Ireland occupied a superior position, in point of results, to England, Wales, and Scotland. Although this satisfactory position had been obtained by the result of the labours of the Irish National School teachers, they received only one-half of the remuneration that people of the same class received in England and Scotland. He maintained that this was a monstrous injustice, that it was a wrong they had for years asked Parliament to rectify, and that Chief Secretary after Chief Secretary had promised to rectify it. Nevertheless it still remained a crying grievance, and compelled the Irish Members year after year to occupy the attention of Parliament in order to enforce the just claims of these unfortunate persons. But this was not the only respect in which he desired to see the condition of the Irish National School teachers improved. He also desired to see them provided with proper residences attached to the schools. He thought he was appealing to the sympathetic feelings of hon. Members when he advocated the necessity of providing residences near the schools for the teachers. In Ireland they expected that the teachers of the National Schools, or of any schools whatever, to have respectable houses to live in. They were persons of some culture, and they ought not to be condemned to dwell in houses that were devoid of all comfort and everything necessary to satisfy the requirements of men pursuing an important and arduous vocation. As a matter of fact, as they were now circumstanced, many of the Irish teachers had to go many miles before they could obtain a respectable house to dwell in. Consequently, they had a long journey to the school, and a long journey home again, and they all knew that teaching was a very fatiguing operation. When a man was called upon to impart knowledge to children at school, it was necessary that he should be in the possession of all his best faculties. But a man who had to walk many miles to the scene of his labours, and arrived there fatigued, with all his energies dull and weakened by his long walk, was not in as fit a condition to perform a day's teaching and to get through the enervating work of imparting knowledge as if he dwelt on the spot and could go to his work fresh and with unimpaired energies. He had, at various times, urged on the Government the importance of providing facilities for the acquisition of sites in order to build these residences, and he had urged the necessity of increasing the facilities for obtaining advances of money on easy terms in regard to the payment of the principal and interest; but all to no purpose, for nothing had been done in this respect, although it was a very serious question to the National School teachers, and one that pressed for a settlement almost as much as the other. Upon this point of residence, he had said that he thought he should appeal to a sympathetic audience when he pointed out the necessity of bringing unimpaired energies to bear on the work of school teaching. Hon. Members of that House knew that if in the early part of the day they indulged in long walks, or took violent exercise, such as hunting, they were totally unfitted for the discharge of their Parliamentary duties in the evening. It was a well-known fact that business men, who spent their time in the City attending to commercial transactions in the day time, were not the most active men in the House of Commons in the course of the evening. They might be seen lolling on the Benches asleep while important speeches were being delivered, and they were able, therefore, to apply their own experience to the condition of the National School teacher of Ireland, who had to travel five or six miles to the scene of his work, and would sympathize with his demand that such a state of things should be put an end to. He thought that residences for the school teachers ought to be built as rapidly as possible, and that they should be erected near the school-house, in order that they might not only discharge their duty to the public, but to the children they educated and to themselves. He trusted that that argument would have some effect upon the Committee when they came to give a decision upon the question, and also upon the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, who was responsible for the government of Ireland. With regard to the question of residences, he had to say that, sincet he passing of the Act of 1875, there were in the 10 years

ending with the 31st of December, 1885, 500 residences built under the Act, and, at that rate of progress, it would take about 120 years to supply the wants of the teachers who now required residences, and not less than 150 years if they were to make provision for the increased number of teachers that were required. It might be a good thing for the National School teachers who were living 120 years hence to find themselves in the possession of good houses, but for the teachers who were living now it was a very poor look-out. He desired to impress upon the Chief Secretary and the Government the necessity of remedying this state of things. There was another matter which he also wished to bring under the notice of the Committee —namely, the question of pensions. The chief ground of complaint in regard to the pensions was the very advanced age at which a teacher could retire in order to become entitled to one. The age of retirement was 65 for males and 60 for females. Teachers who were unable to discharge their duties until they attained those ages, were compelled to retire upon such a reduced pension that they found themselves practically without a provision for their declining years. What was demanded in this respect was that the age of retirement should be lessened, and also that, if from ill-health, after many years' service, a teacher was compelled to retire at an earlier age, he should be awarded a pension in proportion to the number of years he had served. These were the principal points that they wished to receive satisfaction upon. They were the heads under which the Irish National School teachers desired to have their case brought before the Committee for consideration. He asserted boldly that they had strong claims upon the House and upon the country. Not only by reason of the justice of their demands, but also on account of the promises which had been made to them, or to the Irish Members on their behalf, by successive Governments and by successive Chief Secretaries. Thirteen years had now elapsed since 1875. The justice of their demand had been fully acknowledged, yet nothing had been done to give effect to the promises which had been made to them. Their condition, instead of having been improved, had become worse; but, nevertheless, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, the result of the labours of the Irish National School teachers would bear favourable comparison with that of the labours of a similar class in any other part of the country. On these grounds the Irish Members felt themselves justified in again inflicting upon the Committee the grievances of this deserving and much-injured class of the community. Abundant promises had been made to them, but a body of men could not exist upon promises any more than an individual. With them it was a case of "live, horse, until you can get grass." They had been dragging on a living for a long time, but the grass was not yet forthcoming. He hoped this would be the last time there would be any necessity for urging the claims of the National School Teachers upon the attention either of the present Chief Secretary or any of his Predecessors, and he pressed the right hon. Gentleman to state candidly what he had done since the early part of last year, when the Attorney General for Ireland, now Judge Holmes, made a promise to look into the case of this most deserving body of men. He should expect the right hon. Gentleman to state to-day what he had done to unearth the scheme which, according to Judge Holmes, his Predecessor was preparing, and what steps he had taken in order to give effect to that scheme. His Predecessor in Office was practically bound by the pledge he had given to the National School Teachers. It was he who passed the Act of 1875, and who had twice promised the National School teachers that their case should be considered and their claims conceded. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had inherited these promises, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to take them up and give effect to them. He was as much bound by them as the right hon. Member for Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) himself. He trusted they would not be put off again with any side issue whatever. When the present Chief Secretary dealt with the question before, his reply was most disheartening to every man who took an interest in the question. The right hon. Gentleman simply tried, by riding off on a side issue, to get rid of the question. He endeavoured to point out that the

Irish National School teachers after all were not in such a very bad position, and that a great deal had been done for them. He utterly ignored the promises which had been made to look into the case of these unfortunate persons; but he trusted that they would receive to-day a more honest and straightforward statement. If the word "honest" was out of Order he would withdraw it, but at any rate he hoped that on this occasion they would have from the right hon. Gentleman a more straightforward recognition of the teachers' claims and a full inquiry into their grievances. He certainly trusted that no attempt would be made to postpone the consideration of the case, or to throw dust into the eyes of the Committee by shirking the real question. For his own sake the Chief Secretary ought to recognize the demands of the National School teachers, and make an effort to redeem the promises that were made on his behalf by Attorney General Holmes. It was quite time that the question was settled once for all, and removed from the Floor of the House. At present the Irish Members were compelled to bring the matter before the Committee of Supply year after year, and to occupy time which might be otherwise engaged.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) said, that before the Chief Secretary replied to the remarks of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. John O'Connor), he wished to put a few questions to him on matters connected with popular education in Ireland. He had a lively recollection of the speech which was made by the right hon. Gentleman last year. It was a speech which created a great deal of unpleasant feeling in Ireland, and a good deal of dissatisfaction; but he had no wish to add to the friction which existed by any remarks of his. He wished to approach the question solely in the interests of a class of men who were deserving of every sympathy and indulgence. In the first place he would suggest that in a Vote of so much importance, dealing with a sum of money approaching £1,000,000, it would be well for the Chief Secretary to imitate the example of the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) when he introduced the English Education Estimates, and gave a succinct account of the progress of popular Education in Ireland. Such a statement might have the effect of arousing their sympathies in favour of what was being done, but at present, when they came to discuss the Irish Estimates, they were more or less creeping in the dark. If hon. Members wished to get at the character of the work done in Ireland, they had to journey all over the country in order to obtain an accurate idea of it. Last year he had combined with other duties a short tour through some of the remote districts of Ireland, in order to understand the progress which popular Education was making in the country, and the conclusion he arrived at was that the Government Inspectors must be blind to the unsatisfactory condition in which some of the schools in the West of Ireland were. After some investigation he had felt it his duty to move for a Return of some of the schools of the worst character—schools built in grave-yards, sand-pits, gravel-pits, quarry-holes, and other unsuitable sites; also of schools that had clay floors, thatched roofs, imperfectly ventilated, and without sanitary accommodation. That was one of the questions which he thought might very well engage the attention of Parliament, seeing how desirable it was that accurate information should be in the hands of hon. Members in order to enable them to know exactly what the condition of Ireland was. He was willing to admit that some progress was being made, and at Carrick-on-Shannon—a very poor neighbourhood—and in other parts of his own constituency, there were schools of a most satisfactory character. If hon. Members who interested themselves in public Education would visit Ireland, and see the schools in many localities, they would find that many of the scholars had to walk to them a distance of several miles, bare-footed; that they then had to remain in attendance for five or six hours in a building badly sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, badly roofed, and with a clay floor. Surely this kind of thing was sufficient to arouse the indignation of every man who had the slightest sympathy for the welfare of the people. In the investigation which he had conducted there were other features presented to his mind, and he desired to put one or two questions in regard to them. For instance, he wished to know the number of teachers who had not yet

received residences, the distances such teachers had to walk to and from the schools, and whether the want of residences was owing to the persistent refusal of the landlords to give sites for their erection. He did not propose to discuss the whole of the grievances of the teachers at length, after the speech which had been made by his hon. Friend, but he was satisfied that general education in Ireland received no sort of encouragement. They never heard in Ireland of any Commission going down to Cork, Dublin, Belfast or any of the large cities in order to encourage education and award prizes. A cut and dried plan was pursued, and for the results that were obtained no credit was due to those who might be supposed to take an interest in popular Education. No encouragement was given either to the scholar or to the teacher, but a hard and fast line was drawn in the examinations as to the subjects they were required to go through. So far as the teachers were concerned, he believed they were only visited by the Inspectors at their annual visitation. And when the Representatives of Ireland got up in the House of Commons, as a matter of public duty, to expose the grievances under which both the children and the teachers laboured, it had been their unfortunate fate to meet with very scant sympathy indeed. He wished to see this state of things altered in some degree. It would be balm to his soul if he thought that any labour of his would encourage the Commissioners or the Authorities in this country to use their influence in obtaining better school buildings for the children, with more cheerful rooms and better apparatus. If the landlords refused to grant sites, they should be obtained from them compulsorily. He would even desire that popular sympathy should be directed towards the children in the first instance, because he was satisfied that that sympathy would soon be developed and that the teachers would then come in for a share of it. In Ireland there were less than 5,000,000 people; in England there were 30,000,000, and in Scotland 3,000,000. But while Ireland received less than £1,000,000 for the instruction of more than 1,000,000 children, or less than £1 per head, England, with 4,000,000 of children at school, and with a large and wealthy middle-class population who paid, to a large extent, for the education of their own children—although some of them found their way into the board schools; and while the upper classes were glad to lay out a tremendous sum for the education of their children, because they looked forward to their becoming, one day or other, the rulers of the country—while there were a less number of the children of the poorer classes going to the public elementary schools than in Ireland—nevertheless, the Government were willing to spend no less than £4,000,000 against the £750,000 spent in Ireland and the £500,000 spent in Scotland. In Ireland twice as much money was spent on the police as was spent upon public Education. One-and-a-half million of money was spent on the pay of the police, and only £750,000 for popular Education—a fact which he thought need only be announced to stigmatize the system of Government which prevailed in Ireland. But although this enormous sum was paid in order to maintain the Royal Irish Constabulary for the government of under 5,000,000 of people, only £20,000 was paid in Scotland for the government of 3,000,000, and only £200,000 went from the Consolidated Fund towards police purposes in England, with a population of 30,000,000. He had stated these facts before, both in that House and at public meetings, and he only repeated them for the purpose of showing how the people were ground down in the matter of government in Ireland. What they should do was simply to reverse the position and give £1,500,000 for public Education, leaving £750,000 only for police protection. He was satisfied that the result would well pay them for the alteration. All these facts would naturally present themselves to anyone who took the trouble to go over to Ireland and investigate the question of popular Education for himself. The hon. Member for Tipperary had spoken of the pay of the Irish teachers. He held in his hand a Return of the average pay, but, as it had already been alluded to by his hon. Friend, he would only call attention to the fact that, according to the Return, the average pay of an Irish teacher was less than £60 a-year, while in England the average pay was £120. Several hundred teachers received over £300 a-year; indeed, the average salary paid to a School Board teacher was, he believed, £350, and the Scotch teachers

were even better paid than those in England, some receiving as much as £500 a-year. In Ireland no teacher received more than £120; and he had heard that sum paraded in the House of Commons as a tremendous encouragement to young men in Ireland to enter the teaching profession. Such was the immense fortune dangled before the eyes of the youth of Ireland; whereas, if they left their own country and entered the teaching profession on this side of the Channel, and with a little of their well-known energy and zeal, were to pursue their studies in Great Britain, they would soon be able to obtain positions where their emoluments would reach more than £200 a-year. He had known Irishmen come over here, engage in teaching, and receive £250 a-year. At the same time he would not encourage his own countrymen to leave Ireland as a mere matter of speculation. What Parliament ought to do was to invite them to remain at home and develop their skill and energy there, giving them sufficient encouragement to do so by increasing their pay. Notwithstanding the friction of the political situation at the present moment, he really thought that the pay of the school teachers demanded more attention than it had received, and he trusted that the Chief Secretary would be prepared to deal with that unfortunate class of persons, if not with generosity, at any rate with justice. The pension scheme was one which, to a certain extent, held out to the Irish school teacher repose at the end of his days; but it must not be forgotten that a youth of 18, when he entered the teaching profession, had to speculate that he would live to be 65 before he obtained a pension. The teachers of Ireland demanded that service might be taken into consideration in according a pension, and, considering that they had to contribute towards a superannuation fund, he thought that 35 years' service ought to be sufficient to entitle them to benefit from it. Only the other night they were told that 10 years' service, in the case of a public servant of the higher class, was sufficient to entitle the officer to a pension; and it appeared that Mr. Maconochie, a County Court Judge, who entered office at the age of 65, was entitled to a pension as soon as he had served 10 years. In the case of professional men, 10 years' service were absolutely added to their actual service in order to entitle them to a pension. In this case he did not think that any number of years' service should be added, nor did he ask that teachers should be taken on at 40 or 50 years of age; but he did maintain that 35 years' service ought to entitle them, and that after 10 years' service they should be entitled to so many 35ths. A pension in all cases, according to length of service, should be given to a teacher who failed in health or broke down from overwork. He believed that a former Chief Secretary did give some encouragement to the teachers in regard to this matter, but service should be taken into account and not age. It was well known that when a man reached 55 or 56, whatever his state of health might be, he continued to drag on until he reached 65 years of age, although it would have been far better for the interests of the public if he had retired upon so many 35ths of his salary, enabling younger men to occupy the position and throw the whole of their energy into the work. He sincerely trusted that some encouragement would be given by the Chief Secretary to the teachers, and that he would not throw a wet blanket upon their claims. Even a word of sympathy would go a long way, and would act as a stimulus to the whole of the teachers of Ireland. He regretted that the Vote had been brought on so untimely. There were a number of other questions he would have liked to have asked, but at this period of the Session Votes were brought on at a very short Notice; and, in regard to the Education Vote, it was only intimated last night that it was intended to be taken to-day. There was only one other point. Was it the practice in Dublin to give the Commissioners of National Education who attended the meetings of the Board five guineas for every attendance, whether they came from the country or were resident in Dublin? He believed that most of the Commissioners lived in Dublin, and he wanted to know whether, in that case, their attendance at each meeting entitled them to a fee of five guineas? Some of the Commissioners never left Dublin; and Dr. Newell, the Secretary to the Board, had a settled residence there, although he never refused the fee. Then, again, he wished to know whether Tyrone House in Dublin belonged to the

public Authorities? He asked the Chief Secretary to speculate upon some scheme by which popular Education in Ireland might be made progressive, and whether he could not devise some measure by which the National Schools should be enabled to take advantage of intermediate Education. Could there not be some ladder, as it were, by which smart lads would be able to take scholarships, and by that means work themselves up to a University Education? He was satisfied that if the right hon. Gentleman would look into the matter, some scheme might be formulated by which popular education in Ireland might be made progressive until it reached the University point. Nothing would be more calculated to promote the interests of the people of Ireland than a good and solid system of popular Education. They must not stop at the National or Elementary Schools, but must make some provision by which smart, industrious, and energetic boys might enter the ranks of the first scholars of the country. With the large public funds at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, some such system of scholarships ought to be arranged by which the humblest lad in Ireland would be able to enter the same door that opened to the children of the rich. He trusted that the Chief Secretary would refrain from flouting the Irish Members on this question of popular Education as he did last year.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester. E.) said, the hon. Member who had just sat down expressed a hope in the earlier part of his speech that the difficulties of the present political situation in Ireland would not prejudice the minds of the Government against the claims of the Irish National School teachers. He could assure the hon. Member that there was nothing he knew of in the political situation which would deter the Government from ameliorating the condition of the school teachers in any part of Ireland. Nor did he think there had been anything in the policy of the Government which would indicate that they were more reluctant than their Predecessors to use the Imperial resources for the benefit of the people of Ireland to whatever class they might belong. He entirely concurred with the hon. Gentleman that the position of the teachers in Ireland ought to be a matter of solicitude to every Government, and he felt as much as any of his Predecessors had ever felt that there was no exertion on their part which they would spare to carry through the House of Commons any measure which could make that important body of men contented and prosperous. But at the same time he must frankly admit that he could not altogether concur in the criticisms which had been passed on his action as Chief Secretary in this respect, or allow that the teachers were labouring under grievances which Parliament had done nothing to remedy. He proposed to go through some of the chief allegations which had been made by the two speakers who had already addressed the Committee. As to the question of school buildings, he would remind the hon. Member for North Leitrim (Mr. Conway) that far more was done in Ireland than had ever been done in England in the shape of the erection of buildings out of the Public Funds. There had been an enormous increase of late years in this particular source of public expenditure, and when the hon. Member alleged that the landlords were unwilling to provide sites for schools, he must be reminded that at one time many of the landlords only held a life interest on the property required for school sites. That limitation had now been removed, and the result had been an enormous increase in the sums of money expended in the erection of school-houses. Both the hon. Member for Tipperary and the hon. Member for North Leitrim had alluded to the question of teachers' residences. There again there had been a very large increase in the amount expended out of the public resources. He found, for example, that in 1882 the amount contributed out of the Imperial Exchequer was £500; in 1883 it was £600; in 1884 £800; in 1885-6 £1,000; in 1887-8 £1,700, and for 1888-9 the Estimates had been prepared for £2,000. Therefore, the Committee would see that under this head alone there had been a large increase.

MR. SEXTON said, the entire sum would build about 10 houses in the year.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member was altogether mistaken. The hon. Member seems to think that these figures represented the entire sums de-

voted to the purpose. That was not the case. It only represented the portion of the annuity contributed by the Exchequer; the locality contributed a corresponding sum. Looking at the matter from that point of view, the result was very different from what the hon. Member supposed.

MR. SEXTON said, the sum was £1,700 last year, and £2,000 this, so that there was only a difference of £300

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, no doubt that was so; but this increase in the annuity represented a very large increase in the capital expenditure in respect of which the annuity was payable. Nothing was done by the State in England or Scotland to provide residences for the teachers, and he maintained that the arrangements made in this respect in Ireland were on a liberal scale. If the friends of the teachers and those locally interested in Education in Ireland would come forward and make greater exertions their contributions would carry with them increased contributions from the State. At present the amount granted by the Exchequer was limited by the amount subscribed by the locality. In this matter therefore the teacher had no legitimate ground of complaint. And now he came to the question of Pensions. Both the hon. Member for Tipperary and the hon. Member for North Leitrim complained of the position of the teachers in Ireland in regard to pensions, and as he understood it their point was this—that although they had a pension they only became entitled to it at so late a period of life that it was of very little use to them, and some provision ought to be made for the grant of pensions to teachers who were compelled to leave their calling at an earlier period than the age of 65. He would remind the hon. Members who complained of this that in England there was no provision for pensions at all. There used in former times to be a provision, but it was coming to an end, and there was no scheme now for the provision of pensions for teachers, whereas in Ireland in 1878 or 1879, a large sum of money supplied out of the Irish Church surplus was set apart for this object. The Committee would notice, therefore, that the sum provided was strictly limited, and consequently if they altered the distribution of it and increased the benefit which a certain class of teachers now received, it must be at the expense of some other class. He was sure that the Board of Education was quite prepared to consider any claim that might be put forward by the teachers, consistently with due regard to existing obligations for a redistribution of the existing amount of the pensions—that was to say, that if the great body of teachers in Ireland thought 65 years too late a period for a man to receive a pension, and if they were prepared to accept pensions at an earlier date but necessarily of a less amount—if that were the opinion of the teachers of Ireland, and the question were brought before the Board of National Education itself, he was sure the Board would be happy to give it their attention, bearing in mind, however, that it would be impossible to interfere with existing rights. He very greatly doubted, however, if the case was put before the teachers as he had put it before the Committee, whether they would desire an alteration of the existing method by which pensions were allocated. Passing from the question of pensions he wished to advert to an observation which fell from the hon. Gentleman who had last spoken. The hon. Gentleman said it was the custom in England for the Chief Secretary responsible for this Vote to open the discussion with some statement in regard to the progress of Irish education. He did not know how far that practice was a desirable one, but he should be glad to lay before the House certain figures which he thought indicated that in Ireland they were really making progress in education in a most rapid and satisfactory manner. He found from a paper prepared by the present Registrar General for Ireland, an able and trustworthy statistician, that while the portion of the population who could read and write in 1841 was only 28 per cent, it was in 1881 59, and while the proportion of those who could neither read nor write in 1841 was 53, the proportion in 1881 was only 25 per cent. Not only had there been an increase in the proportion of persons able to read and write from 28 to 59 per cent, but there had been a decrease in the proportion of those unable to do either from 53 to 25 per cent. When they took it into account that the education in Ireland was not compulsory

as it was in England and Scotland, it would be felt that these figures were not without interest, and that they showed a substantial improvement in the general condition of education in Ireland If any hon. Member would examine the more recent figures he would find that they were equally satisfactory. He found that in 1881 the average number of pupils in daily attendance, which was the fairest test of the school attendance, and a better or more correct one than any based on the school roll, was 278,000 odd. In 1887, with a somewhat diminished population the number had risen to 515,000. The Committee would see that these figures, like the others, were of a kind which made it evident that education in Ireland was prospering. Perhaps this was only a subsidiary question in the estimation of some hon. Gentlemen to that which he gathered was the chief point and intention of the two speeches to which the Committee had just listened. The gravamen of those speeches was that enough was not done by the Imperial Exchequer to improve the amount of the teachers' salaries in Ireland, and the hon. Member who opened this discussion said that the position of the teachers was getting worse and worse. Now he could not find the slightest justification for that assertion from any of the figures which had been placed before him. On the contrary, there was no class of public servants whose condition had been more rapidly improved financially than the school teachers of Ireland, by the various Acts of Parliament which had been passed to regulate their salaries. In 1855 the salary of a first class teacher was only £36, but in 1885, after the lapse of a generation, that sum of £36 had risen to £101, and he believed that the increase had been still greater in the salaries of third class teachers between 1855 and 1885. If, instead of confining his survey to the period of a generation from 1855 to 1885, he were to take the actual increase in the present year, it would be found that the result was even more interesting and more startling. If hon. Members would look at the Vote they would see that it had largely increased from last year, and almost the whole of the increase had gone straight into the pockets of the teachers. The Estimates this year showed an increase of about £24,000 in respect to which sum he believed he was right in saying that every 6*d.* of it had gone to augment the salaries of the Irish school teachers.

MR. SEXTON remarked that the increase was only £19,000.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought he was right as to the amount of the increase. The figure alluded to by the hon. Member was that which had gone to one class of teachers alone. But even admitting that the increase had only been £19,000, it could hardly be denied that it was a substantial increase. The increase was not only gratifying in itself, but it was gratifying because it showed an improvement in the qualifications of the teachers, the increase being due to many of the teachers having qualified themselves for a higher grade. Therefore it did not represent a dead weight of expenditure from the Imperial Exchequer from which no result was obtained, but it represented the increased efficiency of the teachers themselves, due to their own exertions. And whereas the English teachers could only obtain a larger grant from the public resources by increasing the amount of the results, the Irish teacher had not only that means of increasing his salary but he was able to obtain an increased contribution from the Public Funds if by his own exertions and study he would qualify himself for entering a superior class. In adverting to the question of the remuneration of the teachers, he would put before the Committee some figures which he thought were of great interest in connection with the subject. He found that the total income of the teaching class in the year 1882, from all sources, was £739,000; six years later, in the year ending March 31, 1888, it had increased to £894,000.

MR. SEXTON asked, by how many the number of teachers had increased in the mean time?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he would give those figures presently. The increase of income between 1887 and 1888 amounted to £255,000, in six years of which £131,000 was voted out of the Imperial Exchequer. The number of teachers in 1881 was 10,621, and in 1887 11,159. If they worked the sum out it would be found that while in the earlier years the sum per head was £69, in the later years it was £80. Therefore the hon. Gentleman would see

that if they took that estimate which merely applied to a period of six years, the results were as startling as could be deduced from a survey of the longer period from 1855. He did not think the hon. Member who opened the debate would venture to say that these figures bore out their contention that the position of the teachers were getting worse and worse year by year. Then the hon. Gentleman, basing his contention chiefly on a wholly imaginary deterioration in the position of the teachers, accused the Government in general, and the Chief Secretary in particular, of not having carried out the pledges which were made by his Predecessors in 1875 and in subsequent years. Now, let them consider what had been done since 1875. In that year his right hon. Friend the present President of the Board of Trade, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, passed an Act through Parliament by which a large increase was rendered possible in the salaries of the Irish teachers. The proposal of his right hon. Friend in substance was this — that Boards of Guardians should locally contribute a certain amount and that a corresponding amount should be granted out of the Imperial sources. He based that proposal largely upon petitions signed by Boards of Guardians themselves, recommending the increased remuneration of the teachers. His right hon. Friend found that a comparatively small proportion of the Boards of Guardians would consent to impose a rate upon the community for this purpose, and the number that did consent, small as it was at the beginning, had shown no signs of increasing; but, on the contrary, had steadily diminished year by year. But the efforts of Parliament had not been confined to that measure. Finding that the Local Authorities were not inclined to provide a moiety, Parliament actually went the length of saying "If the money comes from any source whatever —be it from endowments, from local subscriptions, from charitable gifts, or from the school pence, the State will be prepared to add an equal amount." What had been the result of that relaxation of the conditions under which the State proposed to add to the teachers' salaries. He found that the teachers were actually receiving 99 per cent of the total they would have been entitled to if every Board of Guardians had contributed under the Act of 1875. And this had been followed by, or rather been consequent on, an extraordinary increase in the liberality of private individuals and in local subscriptions. The figures were most remarkable, and remarkable not merely from the point of view with which he was now dealing—namely, the position of the teachers in reference to salaries, but remarkable as showing the great interest taken by the public in the work of education in Ireland. He found that in 1870 the amount so contributed was £60,000 odd; in 1875 it had risen to £84,000; in 1880 it was £131,000; in 1885 £145,000; and according to the figures in his hand the actual amount now contributed had risen since 1885 from £145,000 to more than £160,000, an augmentation which he thought spoke volumes for the increased interest taken in education in Ireland, and was further satisfactory from the fact that it carried with it an increased contribution out of the taxes towards the salaries of the teachers. So much for what Parliament had actually done since 1875 to ameliorate the condition of the teachers and the result. He fully admitted that every Chief Secretary had expressed the necessity of doing all in his power to ameliorate the condition of Irish National School teachers, but every Chief Secretary had added that the amount of contribution from Imperial resources towards education in Ireland was so enormous that it was practically impossible for the Government to augment it further unless they were met by increased local contributions from the community. He had on more than one occasion given figures to show the relative contributions from local sources in England and Scotland on the one hand, and in Ireland on the other, and, however the figures were put, it would be found that they showed an extraordinary disparity. The contributions in Ireland amounted to £7 per head, whereas in England and Scotland they were about £24 a head. If he might venture to speak from memory, he thought he was right in saying that while the proportion expended out of Imperial resources was about 24 per cent of the total in England and Scotland, it was about 70 per cent in Ireland. Therefore, if they looked at the actual cost or the percentages, the result was

equally startling, and led equally to the conclusion, which had forced itself upon the mind of every Government who had considered the question, that it would be in vain for any Minister to come down to the House and ask the Imperial Exchequer to make a larger contribution than it did unless it were perfectly clear that from local sources some further effort would be made. He thought the hon. Member who opened the debate would not now be able to accuse him of attempting to go off upon any side issue, or of shirking any of the main contentions which he and his Friends had put forward. He would now conclude by replying to the specific questions put by the hon. Member for North Leitrim. The members of the Board of Education did receive a fee when they attended the meetings of the Board, and Tyrone House was the property of the State.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, it must be admitted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had carefully applied his mind to this subject. There was a considerable improvement in the tone of the right hon. Gentleman, although, to be strictly correct, he ought to say that the manner of the right hon. Gentleman in dealing with Irish affairs was susceptible of improvement. While, however, the manner of the speech they had just heard was satisfactory, the matter of it was wholly delusive, and would create amongst Irish teachers, and those interested in their position, a feeling of bitter disappointment. The only figures quoted which he heard with any degree of satisfaction were those which denoted the great extension within the last generation of primary education in Ireland. He heard those figures with satisfaction for two reasons. Firstly, for the sake of education itself, which was the greatest good which could be conferred upon any community; and, secondly, because the spread of education in Ireland was the most conclusive assurance that the right hon. Gentleman would fail to inflict his general policy upon that country. Now, he found he was right in interrupting the right hon. Gentleman in the course of his speech. The increase of £24,000 in the Estimate did not go altogether towards increasing the salaries of the teachers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought he was correct.

MR. SEXTON said, there were increases in the salary of higher officials; £19,000 went towards increase of salaries, £6,000 was due to the ordinary bettering of the teachers' classification, and £13,000 was due to an increase of the Estimates contingent upon result fees and local contributions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that if the hon. Gentleman would look at page 412 of the Estimates he would see that £19,000 went to the teachers and assistant teachers, £4,500 to work mistresses, and £1,000 for training monitors. The total was £24,500, which was the figure he had in his mind when he made his observations.

MR. SEXTON said, the net increase in the Estimates was £24,000; but he found on page 413 the increase of grant to training Colleges was £2,000. There were also increases in the salaries of higher officials. But that was a minor point. Upon what was the vital question —namely, the salaries of the teachers— the right hon. Gentleman had resorted to an argument the soundness of which he (Mr. Sexton) could not for a moment admit. The right hon. Gentleman resisted the claim for an increase in the salaries of the National teachers in Ireland, upon the ground that the contribution by the State was much heavier in Ireland than in other parts of the Kingdom. That argument was fallacious, for this reason: the system of primary education in England and Scotland was a system acceptable to the people. It was a system which the people had practically within their control; they could mould the system according to their view. He might add that England and Scotland were comparatively wealthy countries compared with Ireland. [An hon. MEMBER: Oh, oh!] He was surprised to hear any doubt thrown upon that assertion by one who hailed from Scotland. Unquestionably England and Scotland were comparatively wealthy countries. If they considered the greater poverty of the people of Ireland, and that Parliament imposed upon them a system which in many aspects was disagreeable to them, and at the same time refused to give them any control of or influence over the system, he thought he was en-

titled to draw the inference that Parliament ought to pay for the system. It was notorious that in the curriculum of Irish National schools Irish history and literature found no place. The literature of Ireland included many works of illustrious fame and many of very high distinction. With how many was an Irish child made familiar through the class-books of the National Board? An English child was considered to be ignorant unless he had learned the history of England, but Parliament imposed upon the people of Ireland a system of primary Education by which they compelled the Irish child to remain in ignorance of the history of his country. So long as the system of education was conducted on this principle, even if Ireland were as wealthy as she was poor, they could scarcely expect that the popular contribution to the cost of education would be large. In this debate already a contrast had been drawn between the dealing with the Irish Police Force and the Irish National teachers. The Estimate for the Irish Police Force increased by leaps and bounds. He had glanced at the two Estimates, and he found that whilst for 10,650 National teachers they provided £643,000, or an average of £60 per head per annum—that was to say, 21*s.* a-week per head—they provided for 12,897 men, who formed the rank and file of the Police Force, upwards of £1,000,000, or an average of £80 per annum, or 30*s.* per week per man—that was to say, that they gave the men who were employed in beating the people 30*s.* a-week each, while they gave to those employed in teaching the people only 21*s.* a-week. He supposed the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would admit that, from his point of view, the best thing to do to remove the necessity for beating the people was to teach them. He (Mr. Sexton) thought a reversal of the case would be wise. If they gave an average of 30*s.* a-week to the men who taught the people, there would be so little beating to be done that men who only got 21*s.* a-week would be competent to do it. He must comment now upon the nature of the transactions in reference to the contributions of the Poor Law Guardians. Thirteen years had passed since the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) passed the Act under which Poor Law Guardians contributed towards the payment of teachers. The right hon. Gentleman declared the Act to be an experiment—it was a very bold experiment, an experiment which, in the opinion of many, was foredoomed to fail. The right hon. Gentleman declared that if the experiment was found to fail, something better would be substituted for it. Why had it failed? Because they had already in so poor a country as Ireland overweighted the Poor Law Guardians with accumulated charges in reference to diverse functions concerning various Acts of Parliament. A Board of Poor Law Guardians was the pack-horse of miscellaneous legislation. The English Parliament expected the Irish Poor Law Guardians to contribute to the teachers—that was to say, to make an annual grant out of the rates for a function moved from their specific functions, and having no relation to it, and, moreover, for the maintenance of a system over which they had no control. It argued crass ignorance of human nature that men would continue to contribute under such circumstances. The Poor Law Guardians began to contribute, but the circumstances they had to submit to became overpowering. The Guardians, being an elected Board, were required to contribute funds which were administered by a Board nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, and as little under the control of popular feeling or judgment in Ireland as if it were a celestial Body. The contributions from the Guardians had failed. He saw from the Report that they were only £16,000 last year. Therefore, the Act of 1875 had been an absolute failure, and he recalled again to the recollection of the Committee the circumstance that when that Act was passed the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who was then responsible for the affairs of Ireland, declared the Act to be an experiment, and said that if the experiment failed something better would be substituted for it. He maintained that the experiment had failed, and that the pledge given stood in unabated force, and nothing had been done to redeem it. He and his hon. Friends asked that the experiment should be reconsidered, and that something substantial should be done for the teachers of Ireland, which would have been done if that Act had been a success. He was not

unmindful of the circumstance that the teachers of Ireland had received 99 per cent of what they would have received if all the Boards had contributed. Now, what was the system under which result fees were administered—and he thought it was a very hard thing that in a country placed as Ireland was the incomes of the teachers of primary Education should depend so largely upon payments by results—a system which bore very hardly upon the teachers in the poorer parts of the country. In Ireland the mass of the poor people got their living out of small farms, and many of them had to resort for assistance to the labour of their children, even their very young children, at certain seasons of the year, and, moreover, in some remote and thinly peopled parts of Ireland the poor children, thinly clothed and very ill-fed—with perhaps only one meal of Indian meal a day—had to go long distances to school, in many cases often without breakfast. When inclement weather came—and Ireland was not the driest country in the world—these poor children were unable to attend school. But the regular attendance of a child at school was an essential element of the system of payment by results, because a child could not pass his examinations except after regular attendance. Competent judges were of opinion that the examinations could not be satisfactorily passed by a child who made less than 200 attendances in a year. That number of attendances could not be made in the circumstances of Ireland, therefore it was unjust to make so large a proportion of the income of the teachers dependent upon the result system. It was absolutely necessary to shift the incidents and make a larger proportion of the incomes consist of class salaries. The system in force at present was this:—One-third of the whole salary was paid absolutely by the Treasury, a second one-third was supposed to be paid from local sources, and the third part of the payment was only made by the Treasury to an amount equal to that proceeding from local sources. By so much as the contribution from local sources fell short of the full one-third the contribution from the Treasury was reduced. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there had been increased munificence in the contributions from local sources, but he (Mr. Sexton) had heard grave admissions made upon the subject. He had heard that the present system operated immorally, and tempted the teachers to make incorrect returns. As he had stated, a certain sum from the Treasury every year was dependent upon an equal sum being contributed from local sources. He was told by the very best authorities that the system induced some of the poor teachers in various parts of Ireland to represent that they had received from local sources a larger sum than had actually been forthcoming, in order to qualify themselves for the second payment from the Treasury. It might be called a fraud, but it was an intelligible fraud. At any rate, Parliament had no right to continue a system which exposed poor men, to whom a shilling was of importance, to the temptation of making returns which were not justified by the facts. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney) shook his head.

MR. MACARTNEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman refer to the Poor Law Guardians?

MR. SEXTON: The hon. Gentleman misapprehended his argument. He was not speaking now of the contributions of Poor Law Guardians. They had seen that those contributions had fallen short. He was speaking of the arrangement by which one-third of the result fees were made dependent upon local contributions to the same amount, and it must be obvious to the hon. Gentleman that when local contributions fell short by what would entitle the teachers to the full amount from the Treasury, there was a very seductive temptation to the teacher to represent that he had got a larger amount than he really had got. He maintained that the present system was an immoral system, and that the salaries of these men should be arranged upon some basis which would not subject them to the temptation of making representations of an improper character. Teachers had bitterly complained of the temptation to which they were subjected, and they desired to be put beyond it. He thought that what he had stated entitled him to regard rather critically some figures submittted by the right hon. Gentleman, the result of which the right hon. Gentleman declared to be that the average salaries of teachers had increased in the

last 10 years by £70 or £80. The right hon. Gentleman would observe that his assumption rested upon the conclusion that the total local contributions represented in the accounts had been forthcoming. He submitted that the local contributions in very many cases were imaginary, and that they were represented in the accounts for the purpose of obtaining the full contribution from the Treasury. If that was taken into account, it would be seen, he thought, that the figures which were given were subject to some reduction. Moreover, when they lumped all the classes together, and gave the average salaries of the whole, it would be seen that the result was, to some extent, misleading, because the bulk of the teachers were teachers of the third class, and the average payments these men received were, of course, very much lower than the general average. He thought it would only be fair of the right hon. Gentleman to lay before the House the average incomes of the third-class teachers, for then it would be seen that these men—the rank-and-file of the army of education—were paid, not only less than the ordinary constable in Ireland, which was a most scandalous anomaly, but paid less than the artizan, and in some cases, he believed, less than ordinary labourers in this country. It was evident that since the right hon. Gentleman could not deny that the salaries of the mass of the teachers were less than such teachers would get in this country, and the results of the system of Education in Ireland obtained by the labour of these teachers were more satisfactory in regard to two or three essential primary branches of education than those obtained either in England or Scotland, there was a conclusive case, from the teachers' point of view, for an improvement of their condition. The remarks of the right hon. Gentleman on the subject of pensions were also disappointing. It must be borne in mind that men and women went into this service at a very early age —in fact, that they were boys and girls when they began to teach—17, 18, and from that to 20 years of age. To say to these people—to a woman that she must be 60, and to a man 65, before she or he could receive a pension, amounted to a denial of all benefit of a pension. How long did they ask a constable to serve before he was entitled to a pension? Must he be 65? No; he had a much easier life than a schoolmaster, except when the right hon. Gentleman sent him to bludgeon a meeting, or to jump in at bedroom windows when he wanted to make an arrest. So long as a constable in Ireland was left to the ordinary functions of a constable, he had an exceedingly easy and genteel life. But the Irish constable had not to wait until he was a certain age, but after a certain period of service, and even in a case of casualty after service, however short, he was entitled to a pension. He (Mr. Sexton) failed to see on what principle a constable was entitled to better terms than a teacher, unless Ireland was to be considered a Crown colony, and the Irish were to be regarded as inferior people, to be governed by Coercion Acts, and not upon any ameliorating principles of legislation. Of course, if there was any improvement in the matter of pensions there must be some financial re-organization. It was useless for the right hon. Gentleman to tell them that re-arrangements could be made by which some teachers would benefit at the loss of others. He and his hon. Friends hoped there might be some system created under which teachers in Ireland might receive pensions either on attaining a certain age or after a certain period of service. It was unreasonable to expect the teachers of Ireland to serve 50 years before they were entitled to a pension. Last year it was suggested to improve the condition of the teachers by the aid of the teachers themselves. If the salaries were made better of course it would be easier for the teachers to co-operate in such a scheme. He should be glad to hear if anything had been done in furtherance of the scheme, because he thought, even in their miserably poor condition, the teachers of Ireland would make some effort to co-operate for the purpose of securing better provision for old age. He was sorry to say that no practical advance had been made on the question of residences. He knew very well from personal knowledge that a great mass of the teachers of Ireland had to live in homes that were not conducive to health, and which were not favourable even to the ordinary decencies of life. Many of them lived miles away from their schools. People who

had to go through the physical strain which teaching children necessitated ought not to be compelled to walk long distances to and from school in all kinds of weather. The right hon. Gentleman said that, because the annuity under the head of Residences had increased from £1,700 last year to £2,000 this year, material improvement had been made. But how many residences did £2,000 represent? He supposed the average moiety did not exceed £6 a-year, so that £2,000 only represented a little over 300 residences. But there were 10,000 teachers, and two-thirds of them were living in places remote from their schools, and unfit for habitation in many cases. He admitted that there had been a tolerably liberal system of advance by the Treasury, but in these days, when they had determined to advance the whole amount to enable tenant-farmers and labourers to purchase their farms and allotments respectively, he thought the Treasury might well consider whether the whole amount necessary for the residences of the teachers in Ireland might not be advanced. He had no doubt that the annuity could be regularly provided, and he failed to see why, when farmers and labourers were provided with the whole of the money, the same consideration should not be extended to the teaching class. There was also a difficulty about the question of sites. Undoubtedly, there were places in Ireland where residences would have been provided long ago if sites could have been procured. One of the persons who had imposed the greatest obstacle in the granting of the sites was that sorry *protégé* of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, the Most Noble the Marquess of Clanricarde. The two points he submitted, therefore, on the question of residences were:—Would the Treasury consider the advisability of advancing the whole amount; and would they consider an amendment of the law by which sites might be obtained, when necessity arose, by compulsion? He noticed that the amount set aside for the Model schools appeared to be very excessive. The expenses of these schools amounted to £31,000, whilst the receipts were only £5,000. The schools were attended by the children of the middle and professional classes, and, therefore, he thought the Government ought to be able to show a better return for the expenditure of £31,000 than £5,000 in the shape of receipts. He should be glad to know whether extended provision was to be made for the training of teachers. The right hon. Gentleman had said that teachers could improve their salaries by improving their classification, but the right hon. Gentleman would admit that the first thing to be done was to afford the teachers facilities for training. He especially wished to know to what extent the desire of Catholic teachers for training under Catholic supervision had been met. Undoubtedly, if the National system of education in Ireland was to be made efficient, the teachers would have to be trained all round. It was equally certain that the bulk of the teachers would not avail themselves of the present training system, and therefore a satisfactory advance of the training system in Ireland greatly depended upon the extent to which the desire of Catholic teachers to training establishments under Catholic supervision was satisfied. There were two other matters of very great importance —namely, the teaching of Celtic and handicraft. He did not know whether any improvements had lately been made in respect of the teaching of Irish, but he knew that as late as last year Irish was treated in the National schools of Ireland as a foreign tongue, that it was put on the same footing as French and other modern languages, and, therefore, could not be taught in school hours. In fact, whilst under a Home Administration in Ireland everything would be done to stimulate the teaching of the Native tongue, under the present system every possible embarrassment was thrown in the way of the teaching of the Irish language. He did not say that Irish should be taught as a competitor of English, for he hoped he was sensible enough to admit that English had become the social medium all over the world. But he did not think that the individual student who desired to learn the Irish language ought to be discouraged in the matter. In certain districts in Ireland, Irish was still the language of the home. Children spoke Irish by the fire-side, but learned English at school. That was an absurd system of education. One of the school Inspectors had reported that in one

school he found the children writing "We get turf from the bog," but that they neither knew what "turf" or "bog" meant. A very eminent authority, the Resident Commissioner, Sir Patrick Keenan, reporting on the system of education in Trinidad, had said that a knowledge of two languages sharpened the faculties, and he maintained that where there was a vernacular tongue and a language that was used socially, children should be taught through the language of the home. What was done in Irish districts—and he impeached the policy as an absurd one—was to ignore the language the children spoke at home, and to endeavour to teach them solely by means of another tongue. The Commissioners issued a Memorandum stating the conditions under which handicrafts might be taught; and he was anxious to ascertain whether that was anything more than a flash in the pan. They were woefully deficient in technical education in Ireland, and this was one of the subjects to which the attention of a Home Administration would be particularly turned. If the right hon. Gentleman knew anything on the subject, he should be glad if he would communicate his knowledge to the Committee, because there was no department of education which could be more usefully developed. The circumstances of the Albert Model Farms at Glasnevin were somewhat peculiar. There were three farms—one of five acres, another of 25, and a third of 140 acres; and although they were supplied with the best appliances and conducted under circumstances most favourable to profit, and although the rent paid for the three farms was only one-fourth of the value of the produce, which was less than the usual rent in Ireland, the profit acquired was only 1-10th of the produce. The Committee would do well to take that into mind in relation to the general question of education in Ireland. What must be the ordinary condition of Irish agriculture when skilled agriculturists could only make a profit amounting to 1-10th of the produce? Upon the question of class books, he objected altogether to the system by which the Commissioners produced the class books themselves. The class books had been improved in recent years, but they were still very far from what any Irishman with a feeling for the history and literature of his country desired. They were books which might be used in any country. He maintained that the class books of Ireland ought to be largely made up, as those of England and Scotland were, of the history of the country. This, however, was not the case, and the Commissioners had the great advantage in having the command of the market by the circumstance that they sold the books at cost price. If any other people of the country desired to produce class books and put them in the market, the children ought to be allowed to buy them and the teachers allowed to use them. The money spent upon class books was about £5,000 a-year. If that market were practically thrown open to public competition it would give an impetus to literary effort. Indeed, there were many gentlemen of his acquaintance who were perfectly competent, and no doubt would under other circumstances produce class books suitable to the condition of Ireland. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether the same free trade in regard to class books which was allowed in England and Scotland should not be permitted to apply in Ireland. The last word he had to say had regard to the constitution of the Board of Commissioners. He had already described the Board as a celestial Body. It was composed, under the Charter, of 20 members. At present there were 17 members and three vacancies. Who were the people who constituted the Board? Would it be denied that in the matter of the primary education of the children of the people popular feeling and opinion were matters of great importance? If such a Board existed in England and Scotland, was it not obvious that either representatives of the people popularly elected, or persons acceptable to them, would have a large if not a controlling influence upon the Board. Of the 17 Members, five were Judges. They had very little to do with the rostrum of the teacher. Their appearances were generally behind a piece of carpentry of another kind. One of these Judges was actually an English Lord of Appeal, who spent his time and earned his salary in London. Two others were officials. The Provost of Trinity College was a Commissioner of Primary Education, who surely had enough to do to mind his own affairs. Then there

were Mr. William Cogan and Mr. J. Dease, whose only qualifications—as far as he (Mr. Sexton) knew—for the position were that they were defeated candidates at Parliamentary Elections. It was one of the peculiar principles of Irish administration, that when the electors of the country refused to have anything to do with certain men they were appointed, no doubt as a consolation, to perform functions of the State. Then he found that James William Murland was a Commissioner. What had that gentleman to do with education? He was a well-known railway shareholder, but what he knew about primary education he (Mr. Sexton) was at a loss to understand. Then there was the Rev. Hugh Hanna, popularly known as roaring Hanna. Mr. Hanna was distinguished 30 years ago as an open-air preacher and as an inciter of popular feeling. He was better known as the fugleman of a certain set of active politicians in Belfast who resorted to the use of stones and bullets at Belfast on a recent occasion, than as a friend of education, primary or otherwise. This was the kind of Commission by which they administered education to the people of Ireland. He thought the time had come for a change. He had said there were three vacancies on the Board. He had no doubt whatever that the time was near at hand when the Board would have to pass entirely to popular control. He imagined that even the right hon. Gentleman would admit that it was not likely that this Board, as at present constituted, could continue for many years to come; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman would show some instinct of statesmanship if he would entertain the idea of reforming the constitution of the Board. Under the Charter the Lord Lieutenant appointed 20 Commissioners, half of them Catholics and half Protestants. That was an antiquated system, and what he (Mr. Sexton) suggested to the right hon. Gentleman was that he would show some instincts of government if he invited the Irish Representatives to nominate some gentlemen to fill the three vacancies on the Board. His hon. Friends might accept the functions or not, but at any rate, such an offer on the part of the right hon. Gentleman would show some regard for the authority of the Representatives of the people. As he had said, it would be necessary very shortly to re-constitute the Board; but what he suggested was that the right hon. Gentleman should break the fall, or, if he might put it in milder language, soften the transition to which the Board was destined in the near future, by filling the three vacancies existing by men chosen from the ranks of the Irish Party.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he rose to speak on account of the International comparison which had been made, and which he thought had not been sufficiently cleared up. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton) that it was unfair to Ireland, being a poorer country than either England or Scotland, to make the disadvantageous comparison which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland made between the local contributions towards education in Ireland and those in England and Scotland. He agreed also with the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) in condemning the system of payment by results; indeed, he went a great deal further than the right hon. Gentleman, because he objected altogether to the whole system of Imperial Subvention. He disliked the whole of that system as applied to education, whether in England, Ireland, or Scotland, and he would rejoice to see the day—although he feared from the expressions which had been used that day, it was far distant in Ireland—when the Local Authorities would assume control of the educational system, and at the same time bear the whole cost of it. He thought the International comparison made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was made a little unfairly, but, on the other hand, a very positive statement was made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Leitrim (Mr. Conway) which filled him (Mr. E. Robertson) with some astonishment. He would be glad if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would throw some light upon that statement. He understood the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Conway) to say that the proportion per head contributed by the State to education in Ireland was greatly less than the proportion per head contributed in either England or Scotland. As the representative of a Scotch constituency, and partly responsible for the Imperial contributions to Ireland, he would like to know whether that state-

ment was true or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had been Secretary for Scotland, and therefore he was, no doubt, conversant with the precise facts regarding Scotch education. If there was to be Imperial contribution at all, he thought the contribution should be made on the principle of perfect equality.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, that a great many English Members were under the impression that the contributions towards education in Ireland from the Imperial Exchequer were enormously larger than those made towards education in England. There was no doubt that they were 14 or 15 years ago, but during those years the expenditure on education in England had risen by leaps and bounds. There had not, however, been any considerable increase in the contributions to Ireland, and the consequence was that there was not a very great discrepancy between the amount of the contributions. The difference between the local contributions in the two countries was to be accounted for by the fact that in Ireland the money was applied in a very extravagant manner. In England schools were, as a rule, built in the great centres of population. That was not the case in Ireland. In Ireland, owing partly to religious prejudice and partly to the action of landlords, schools had to be put up wherever land could be got. The consequence was there were certain districts in which there were no school facilities, while in many places there were too many schools. A very considerably increased expenditure arose from the fact that the schools were not originally located in the best places. It was much easier to educate a concentrated population than to educate a population scattered over a large area. He altogether differed from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), because, in his opinion, the cost of the elementary education of the children ought to be borne exclusively by the State. As to the question of administration, he thought that until Ireland had a Parliament of her own, it would be very dangerous to disturb the present National system of education. It was only after the greatest difficulty that a compromise had been arrived at between denominational and secular education. The present compromise did not work altogether badly, for at any rate it allowed perfect freedom to the children. Certainly the present system was not satisfactory to the great bulk of the Catholics, but the danger of breaking it up would be very considerable. His hon. Friends were quite justified in saying that the National teachers of Ireland were extremely badly paid. The fact had a very bad tendency upon the general feeling of the country. It was not wise that the children should see that their teachers were so extremely badly used, or that the teachers should feel that there was an invidious contrast between their position and that of similar teachers in England and Scotland. He claimed that the ordinary school teachers of Ireland were as good as the ordinary English teachers. The Irish teachers were perfectly willing to submit to any examination, and were willing to be paid on the same standard of literary attainments as the English teachers. He knew the answer would be that there ought to be large local contributions. But it was absolutely impossible. The voluntary contributions would always be extremely small, and he did not see how they could put on a local rate without disturbing the whole National system of education. He regarded the establishment of agricultural schools as of the greatest value and importance. At present, however, the Northern farmers got the greatest advantage from the schools. Personally he should like to see two or three of such schools established in the South of Ireland; they would not cost very much; they would not altogether pay their own expenses, because it was impossible that farms as teaching institutions could pay. There would be some small loss to the Exchequer, but the good the farms would do would be enormous.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, he rose for the purpose of saying that so far as the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland were concerned, those representing them on the Irish Board of Education had their entire confidence. Not only had the Presbyterian representation been augmented during the past year, but the constitution, so far as the Presbyterians were concerned, was in accord with their views. The attack which had been made upon Dr. Hanna he con-

sidered extremely ungenerous, as this gentleman had the largest schools in Belfast under him, and had been a National teacher himself. If there was a person in Ireland qualified to sit on that Board that person was certainly Dr. Hanna. He (Mr. T. W. Russell) regretted that hon. Members should have thought it necessary to make an attack upon a political opponent. One hon. Member had talked about three vacancies, but he (Mr. T. W. Russell) did not believe there was one, and so far as the Provost of Trinity College was concerned, there was no man more fit to sit upon the Board. He (Mr. T. W. Russell) sympathized with the case which had been made out for the National teachers. He thought the teachers were underpaid and badly housed; but then there were great difficulties on the other side, owing to deficiencies in local contributions, and to lack of local interest in education in many parts of Ireland. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, he thought that was shown by the Boards of Guardians refusing to become contributors to the schools. If this did not demonstrate, at any rate, the lack of interest in the schools, and a state of things different from that prevailing in England and Scotland, he did not know what test they could apply in the matter.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) said, that no doubt for the establishment of this National School system in Ireland they were indebted to the Conservative Party, and with all its drawbacks he thought the system was a benefit to the country. But education was a thing which from its very nature was progressive, and he was sorry to say that the various Governments who had been in Office from time to time did not seem to recognize the importance of this fact. The National teacher in the country parishes in Ireland held a very peculiar position. Their position ought to be a very high one. He was extremely anxious to see the worldly position of this class improved in a manner befitting their attainments. Taking all in all and comparing the position of the National teachers with that of the members of the Constabulary Force, and other public officials, he thought there would be no doubt that they were very largely underpaid. Their occupation was that of educating the masses of the people, and if the Government protested against going further in the direction of advancing money for these people he would point out that the masses of the people whose children they desired to educate, contributed the largest share to the revenue of the country in an indirect way. It must be remembered that a large proportion of the revenue was derived from drink. Whiskey was one of the largest sources of revenue to the State. The tax upon whiskey was really a tax upon labour, and it was a canon of political economy that labour should not be taxed. Unquestionably a large part of this tax on drink should go towards the education of the people. Speaking as a working man himself, he did not know that it would be a desirable thing greatly to increase the comforts of the poor part of the population without making a proportionate increase in the education of the people. To his mind one of the most valuable things which could be put before the community was the education of the masses, and he was bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) had gone very ably into this subject, and had left him (Mr. Harris) nothing to say. The right hon. Gentleman had been fully justified in his criticisms upon the Commissioners, and for the reason that they lived in a very progressive age, when people, knowing the sentiments and wishes and desires of the masses, usually endeavoured to have those desires and wishes typified on the Public Boards of the country. What had they on the Education Commission? Why, in the first place, a number of Judges with fixed notions of this, that, and the other connected more with old times than the present time. Then there was a certain number of learned professors and Bishops on the Board—old men, educated nearly a century ago, rigidly tied down to the old system which they rose by. These persons considered it their duty to sustain the old system. There was no one on the Board with broad views capable of dealing with things as they were. If they examined into the school books connected with the Irish National Schools, what did they find? Why, they found, in the first place, a book on Political Economy by Dr. Whately, which was altogether

one-sided. He did not wish to disparage this gentleman, who was one of the most distinguished men of the time—a Churchman, and a man of broad Liberal principles, a highly educated Liberal man, but it was necessary to get both sides of the question in the Blue Books. There were two great principles which political economists turned to nowadays —namely, the system of individualism and the system of collectivism. Well, this gentleman in his *Political Economy*, which all the children of the schools had to study, the writer went altogether into individualism. He did not modify it even to the extent that Adam Smith or even Mill modified it. With reference to the schools themselves and the teachers, he thought that some better method of selecting sites for the buildings should be adopted. He was well acquainted with the West of Ireland, and whenever he went there he always took care to inquire into the condition of the dwelling-places and schools of the National School teachers. Sometimes he found these buildings in a swamp, most unhealthy, both for teachers and children. At other times he found schools so built that there was no ventilation in them. Very often the schools were below the surface of the road, and had damp floors, and externally were equally as bad. In very many cases no attention whatever was paid to the health and comfort of the children. There was room for very great improvement in this direction, and the condition of the schools, he maintained, showed what a worthless, incompetent body of men the Commissioners were. They did not look after these things. Then as to the teachers themselves; any hon. Member who would take the trouble to inquire into what were the requirements of a first-class teacher in Ireland would find that they were very high. A teacher must be a man of a high order of intellect, and of great educational attainments. In education, as in everything else, he should think that if a man was required to possess attainments, even much superior to those required by persons taking positions in the Civil Service, he ought to be paid proportionately. Though Ireland was poor, the poorer the country was and the lower the people were, the more was it necessary to pay attention to education, and the Government of the country was especially bound to look after the education of the Irish people. For many centuries education was forbidden to the Irish people, and in the early part of the century, owing to the want of schools and school teachers, the education had got very low indeed. There was, therefore, a great deal of loose ground to be pulled up. The question of technical education again was a very important matter. In an agricultural country like Ireland, under the system of tenure which had prevailed, farmers being removed from time to time, the education of the people in matters affecting the cultivation of the land had been very bad. He contended, with his hon. Friends, that in connection with the National Boards there should be some effort made on the part of the Government to establish agricultural schools. It was wonderful how Irishmen grasped at improvements in matters of this kind when they had an opportunity. The Irish were very much more susceptible to educational influences than English people gave them credit for, and if such a system as he recommended were adopted, he was certain that it would be attended with most beneficial results. He did not wish to go further into these matters. As he had said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast had treated them in such an able manner, that little further statement was necessary from him (Mr. Harris). There were two further points, however, upon which he should like to say a word. First, as to the conduct of the patrons and managers of the National Schools in Ireland. Sometimes the patrons were landlords and Churchmen, and the statistics showed that the managers gave very little attention to the poor children whom they were supposed to look after. It would be wonderful what great benefit would accrue if those who undertook to supervize the schools were to go to those establishments now and then to look after the cleanliness of the schools and the progress of the children. He thought they ought to spend half an hour a day examining the children and looking after the progress they were making in education. From his own personal experience he thought the patrons and managers of the schools were wanting in their duty, and he thought the Government, when patrons

were appointed, should make a point of seeing that they looked after the schools efficiently. There was one point in particular he desired to bring under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. In the country districts boys might get very fairly well educated in the primary schools, but after leaving the schools they had no means of continuing their education. He need hardly tell the Committee that the education received in the schools was merely the dry bones of education, and that it was after leaving these establishments that a man acquired that intellectual power which was necessary to carry him successfully through life. It was in leaving school that a boy perfected the structure of which he had laid the foundation in school. What he (Mr. Harris) was anxious for was, that in connection with the Irish National Schools, public libraries should be established, and if an increase were given to the National teachers it should be given in consideration of their taking charge of circulating libraries. There should be one of these libraries in every National School throughout Ireland. He was acquainted with a parish where the boys themselves and the people of the neighbourhood established a circulating library, notwithstanding that it was a very poor parish. The subscription to the library was only ½*d.* per week, but notwithstanding that small sum books were so cheap nowadays, that before long a fairly good library was got together. Well, a change took place in the circumstances of the gentleman who gave the room in which to keep the library, the room had to be put to other uses, and the result was that the library had to be broken up. Now, if each of the National Schools were made a receptacle for a public circulating library, many young men, who often had a very large amount of time to spare on winter nights, would be able to avail themselves to the fullest extent of such library as he proposed should be taken care of by the master of the school. He was sure it would do the greatest good in the cause of education. At the present time he had noticed a great want of these institutions in almost every country district he had been in. There was a great desire for literature on the part of the young men, but nothing to read. He, himself, when in country districts, had frequently been unable to get a book to read. No doubt many gentlemen in Ireland had large libraries, but they were altogether closed to the public. The result was that the country youth had nothing to read but a penny newspaper. He did not think that better literature was to be got anywhere than in the newspapers of Ireland, but at the same time he should like Irish boys to have something else to study. He would strongly recommend this plan to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. There was, he thought, £120,000, or, at any rate, a large balance at the right hon. Gentleman's disposal through the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If that money were to be spent—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is diverging very far from the question before the Committee.

MR. HARRIS said he would not pursue the point. He had only been anxious to show the source from which the money to carry out the plan he proposed might be obtained.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) said there were one or two points which had been mentioned by hon. Gentlemen opposite on which he should like to say a few words. He did not agree with the hon. Gentleman who had last spoken (Mr. Harris) in the charges he had made against the National Board with regard to their duties of maintaining the National Schools of Ireland. So far as his (Mr. Macartney's) experience had gone, speaking with regard to the National Schools, he thought the National Board paid every attention to their instructions, and the Committee ought to know that it was within the power of every ratepayer in the country, whether connected with the management of a school or not, to go to a school and ask to be allowed to look into the condition of the school. The master of every school was bound to afford any ratepayer, coming to him under such circumstances, opportunity for making such examination. The schoolmaster would produce the books, so that the ratepayer might make any observation he chose in them as to the way in which the school was managed. He (Mr. Macartney) had frequently had occasion to do that himself. He had had to make observations on the state of affairs in the schools, and had invariably found that the Board of Education, through their Inspectors, almost im-

mediately attended to any observations made in that way. That, at any rate, he could say with regard to the place in which he lived, and he was very sorry that hon. Gentleman opposite should have thought to make a contrary statement. He would point out that the Board of Education were not so much to blame as the managers and teachers that the schools were not in good repair. As to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) with regard to the question of additional contributions to Scotch rates, he was bound to say that with regard to the question of the contribution of the Union, he had never heard in any one of the numerous debates which had taken place in the Boards of Guardians—and he had been connected with one union himself, which at one time contributed, and he was well acquainted with another union, which formerly contributed—the statement alleged as a reason for the Guardians refusing to pay contributions. He had never heard it alleged by the Guardians that they had no control over the education given in these schools. The Guardians, he believed, based their refusal to contribute on the fact that the ratepayers objected to paying a single farthing towards education. From his own acquaintance with the Boards of Guardians he was certain that they were perfectly satisfied with the education which was given in the National Schools, whether good, bad, or indifferent, and they absolutely declined to assist the State by one farthing out of their own pockets for the purpose of improving education or increasing the salaries of the schoolmasters. This was, no doubt, the great difficulty they experienced in bringing about an improvement in the condition of the schoolmasters in Ireland—namely, the fact that there was an invincible repugnance on the part of the people, whose children were being educated at the expense of the State, to put their hands into their pockets to contribute a farthing for the improvement of that education. He should like every hon. Gentleman who had any influence in Ireland to exert that influence in inculcating upon their followers that they ought to do something to assist the education of their own children, which at present was paid for entirely, or almost entirely, by the State—that was to say, which was paid for as much by England and Scotland as by Ireland. As to the condition of the masters of the third-class in Ireland, a point had arisen in the administration of the National Board, which led, he believed, to these masters receiving lower salaries than they would otherwise get. The theory and principle of the National Board had been very well stated in the course of this discussion by one of the speakers—namely, that it was undenominational where the population was mixed. Well, he (Mr. Macartney) did not object to that. He could quite understand the feelings of repugnance which ministers of various denominations, whether Roman Catholic or Irish Church, or Protestant, naturally viewed the fact that the children of three denominations might be under the influence of masters or mistresses who were not of their way of thinking. The result had been that ministers of all denominations had endeavoured to establish denominational schools of their own, and the National Board, rightly or wrongly, had given in to their desire and had invaded the undenominational system of education. The result of this was that in Tyrone, and other counties like it, a number of schools had been created which ought not to exist—that was to say, if they wished to have a high-class system of primary education, because, as hon. Members well knew, they could not get a first-class master or even a second-class master to go down and undertake a school unless they had a large body of pupils for him to preside over. There were one or two schools with the management of which his relations were intimately connected. At these schools the masters were first-class masters, and they had obtained 97 per cent of the result fees. The masters were of the same religion as their pupils. He was not now blaming the clergy, but he was obliged to state that these gentlemen were desirous of withdrawing the children of the members of their congregation from the school because the managers of the establishment, with whom they found no fault, did not belong to their church. In one case a clergyman under these circumstances had succeeded in establishng another school within the two miles limit, to which he persuaded or directed the children of the members of his congre-

gation to withdraw, and the result had been that the master of the original school had had his salary enormously reduced—or would have had his salary enormously reduced—owing to the loss of result fees, if the school managers had not undertaken to pay out of their own pocket the deficiency occasioned on the establishment of another school within the two miles limit. This was a point over which the managers or patrons of schools had no control. The managers of the old school to which he referred wrote over and over again to the Board of Education stating that the fathers and mothers of the children had no objection to the old school, but that they were obliged to withdraw their children from it and take them to another of which their own clergyman would be patron or manager. The clergymen of all denominations in Ireland were anxious to have their children under their own control. They were all more or less of a jealous disposition, and hated the interference of laymen; but the result had been very disastrous to teachers of the third class, because it had been the cause of the creation of an inordinate number of small schools to which no manager could induce a first-class teacher to go. The result was that the teachers of the third class had been enormously swelled in numbers, and in the mixed counties the masters of schools had suffered enormously. There was only one other point on which he would like to say a word. The right hon. Member for West Belfast had alluded to the question of the absence of the Irish language from the curriculum of the National Schools. He did not see how anyone could devise a system of historical education which should at once satisfy hon. Gentlemen opposite and be in accord with the facts of the case. Furthermore, he would say this—that there were, no doubt, some of the class books already used in the schools which were far above the powers of the children who were called upon to use them. He did not think the agricultural classes in the schools were as good as they ought to be. They were too far above the comprehension of the children, and very often the masters themselves were absolutely incapable of explaining the matters they were called upon to teach, notwithstanding that a large proportion of the masters belonged to the tenant-farming class themselves. The Board of Education had given every possible facility for the increase of the knowledge of agriculture on the part of the scholars, because, where the managers or patrons took the slightest interest in it, there could always be established a small agricultural class, which was the best way of teaching that subject. He did not wish to detain the Committee any further. He had touched on one or two points which he believed to be at the bottom of the difficulty of increasing the salaries of the teachers, and he could only say that he believed that hon. Members opposite, perhaps unintentionally, had been somewhat unfair to the Board of Education. It was not a Board that he altogether agreed with; but he believed that on the whole, considering the enormous conflict of opinion which existed with regard to their work, they had done their best to work out the system practically so as to suit the great divergence of opinion, religious and otherwise, which unhappily existed in Ireland.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgton): I am bound to say, because this is well-known ground to Chief Secretaries for Ireland—and I am only too glad to be able to pay my tribute in this debate—that I never heard a debate on the Irish Education Question more satisfactory, both in tone and substance, than the present, if I may take upon myself to compliment the House of Commons on the matter. It has been especially marked by two long and pertinent and interesting speeches made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). These subjects were made from very different points of view, but I think I agree with every word of both of them. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary defended the taxpayer by a statement of figures that in themselves, I believe, to be absolutely incontrovertible. He put them with the greatest clearness. They were the same figures in essence that I had the honour to put from the same place, though I do not pretend to say that I arranged them with equal ability. The right hon. Member for West Belfast says that as we imposed a system of education on the

Irish people we should pay for it. I take it that that view is equally incontrovertible with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's figures; but we are upon the Estimates at this moment, and we are concerned with figures, and I desire to support the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary in the most emphatic words I can use, and to say that, so far as the lump sum is concerned, I think the taxpayer pays all that he ought to. You only have to compare the annual expenditure from the Treasury in England, Scotland, and Ireland with those other figures, which I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary are the only authentic figures that can be used—namely, the figures as to the children in average attendance, to see that the taxpayer does his duty in this matter. But that is a very small part of the question. The serious matter is one which was suggested to the Committee, and put forward by the Committee in a very few statistics, and in very few words. More pregnant statistics have never been laid before this House. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that the cause of the very great contribution of the taxpayer to Ireland, as compared with England and Scotland, is the very small contribution which comes from Irish sources. That proportion is relatively 7*s.* per head in Ireland, as against 24*s.* per head in England. Now, in the few words I am going to say, I propose to devote myself entirely to an examination of this great disproportion. The 7*s.*, I conclude, includes the fees from the children, and, if that is so, it reduces the contribution from Ireland almost to nothing. Now the contribution, from the statistics of England and Scotland, is derived from two sources—the first, voluntary subscriptions; and the next, rates. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney), in a speech which was exceedingly practical and very brief, appealed to hon. Members opposite, and asked them to use their influence to induce their fellow-countrymen to pay their fair proportion towards the education of the Irish children. Now, under that appeal there was very great fallacy, for in England, and still more in Ireland, the enormous majority of schools are in country districts. If that is the case in England, where we have the enormous centres of trade and commerce which existed in our great towns, far more is it so in Ireland, which is an agricultural country, if ever there was one. What are the facts of the case? I will venture to say—and I speak from general knowledge of many parts of the country—that in an ordinary English village the contributions from the inhabitants are very small indeed. Every English landowner, however, who knows his duty—and that includes the large proportion of the landlords of England—considers that the first charge upon the land is the education of the people who live upon it. Before the landowner pays £100 out of his yearly rents into his banker's to be disbursed upon the support of his family, I will venture to say he considers what is to be done for the maintenance of the school building and the teacher's residence. He provides, likewise, over and above this grant and the fees of the children, the funds which will enable the inhabitants of the district to be educated up to a very considerable degree of intellectual advancement. The landowner of England considers that it is his absolute duty to provide the money for this purpose. Now, that I conceive to be the case with all landlords who, in any sense, can be called good landlords. But that is not the case in Ireland—it simply is not the case. I am not now speaking of schools of the class to which the hon. Member for South Antrim referred. I have no doubt that in the North of Ireland, and in places where there is a large population, and where religious sentiments are the same as those of the landlords of the soil, that in many cases the landlord does his duty in the same way that the landlord does it in England; but over three of the Provinces of Ireland it is not the case that the man who receives the rents of the soil considers that he has the same obligation on him to provide for the intellectual and moral training of the children who live on the soil which exists in England. Now, that holds in regard to the annual current maintenance of the school, but it holds still more with regard to the provision of the school itself and the provision of the house of the schoolmaster. In England the house of the schoolmaster is the very first house in the parish which the landlord thinks it

necessary to make respectable, and in many cases to make highly ornamental with any spare money he may find; but in a great part of Ireland not only is the provision of the school left to the overtaxed and overburdened resources of the mass of the people, but it is difficult, and in some cases absolutely impossible, to get a decent site for the school. I think it would be a very practical result to follow from this debate, and that the time spent upon the subject would not have been spent in vain, if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary were to give respect and attention to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast and make it his business early next Session to introduce that Bill which has more than once, I think, been introduced into the House of Commons, but has never been pressed to a successful issue—in connection with which, I dare say, I have reason to take blame myself, although I do not remember it. Now, the other source of local expense is the rates; and here, I think, the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Antrim laid himself open to the charge of slight confusion. He said that the real cause of the refusal of the Guardians to contribute was the unwillingness of the ratepayers to spend a penny on education. Well, now, if the hon. Member will examine what happened in England, I think he will find that exactly the same is the case. Why do people pay rates in England for the support of education? It is not their own desire to do so. They pay for education through the rates in places where there is a School Board, and in many cases a School Board was imposed upon a district very much against the wish of the inhabitants. The ratepayers pay because they are obliged to do so by Act of Parliament. But we passed the Act of Parliament which obliges them to pay, the great majority of our constituents being satisfied with the system of education already existing. Now, when I was in Office I had the honour of laying on the Table a Bill which, if I remember rightly, made the payment of rates in Ireland towards education compulsory. That may be the general description of it. But it was quite idle to try and pass it against the wish of probably the whole of the Irish Representatives, but certainly against the wish of the enormous majority of the Irish people. And that objection on the part of the Representatives of the Irish people arose from the fact that they were not satisfied with the way in which this National education was conducted. I would venture to say that if the people of England and Scotland were as dissatisfied with the way in which their National education is administered, you would have found it quite as impossible to pass the Bill establishing School Boards on the rating system in England and Scotland as I found it impossible to pass the Bill establishing a compulsory rate in Ireland. Now, what are the grievances in the Irish system of education? I think that anyone who heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast must have felt that there was something almost scandalous in the fact that a gentleman who had such an intense and deep interest in Irish education, and such a feeling about it, with such ideas of his own, be they right or wrong as to what Irish education ought to be, should have no influence whatever in determining the course of Irish National education. Out of this sum, which, from the point of view of the taxpayer, I regard as an enormous sum to pay for education in Ireland, I would venture to say that, if you had an administration adopting Irish education on the principles which Irishmen desired to see it conducted upon, you would at once be able to strike off £80,000 and apply it to other purposes. Well, what is there amiss in the conduct of Irish education? I should be the last to say anything against the administrators. I say against the administrators, because I do not count amongst that Body a large number of the Members of the Board. My firm belief is that Sir Patrick Keenan administers the Department with care, diligence, and with great knowledge of the country, and with an earnest desire to make the best of the system he finds; but the Board of which he is the working mind may be said to contain no effective representation of the views of the great body of the Irish people. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast referred to one grievance which I should like to say a word upon before I sit down, and that is the question of the training colleges. Now, I concede this to the right

hon. Member for West Belfast—in fact, I have shown in the most palpable manner that I do concede it—that, however much was paid from the Treasury towards Irish education under any other head, even if I thought it excessive, I would not hesitate to add to it whatever is necessary for the training of Irish teachers. I always thought—and that at a time when I was, as now, a Scotch Member, and therefore may be supposed to be extremely adverse to endowing Roman Catholic education anywhere—I always thought that the most cruel grievance that was inflicted upon Ireland was that while in Scotland the teachers were trained to the extent of 75 per cent at the expense of the State, the teachers of the Irish people got nothing whatever from the State. Well, that has been altered. I do not know whether enough has been done. I cannot myself make out from the Estimates whether, practically, an equal proportion is paid towards the maintenance of the Irish teachers. Perhaps not quite an equal proportion, but I think the hon. Member for Belfast is incorrect in thinking that there are too few teachers in training in Ireland. He says, and my computation from the figures exactly bears him out, that there are 600 teachers in training at this moment. The hon. Gentleman would wish, I suppose, the untrained teachers gradually to be withdrawn in a certain proportion during the year from their work and passed through the training colleges. I think that a most practical and valuable suggestion, and I hope the Government will consider it. The debate having elicited this suggestion from the hon. Gentleman, which is also novel and reasonable, I think it has not been taken in vain. I earnestly trust that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will consider the question of sites, and that he will use more open-mindedness and more indifference to precedent than has hitherto been displayed either by him or by any of his Predecessors, including myself, in lopping off from this Vote those items which do not meet the needs and the real wishes and aspirations of the Irish people, and applying the saving to meeting Irish views and Irish necessities.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir George Trevelyan) commenced his speech by reminding the Committee that he agreed with every word spoken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), and with much that had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He (Mr. Clancy) thought that the greatest portion of his hon. Friend's remarks were valuable, whatever substance there was in what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had said. The hon. Member for South Antrim had raised the question of denominational *versus* undenominational education. He thought that if any prolonged debate arose from this, the Government must blame their own supporters, but the hon. Gentleman had, however, supplied one great refutation of his own theory, for he pointed out that in Ireland you could not teach the history of the country. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had spoken of the ardour with which he approached the subject of the contribution of the Irish people to the cost of education in Ireland, but hon. Gentlemen on those Benches had not been able to discover much of that ardour in what he said. He agreed, however, with one remark of the right hon. Gentleman, and that was that all Chief Secretaries for Ireland had adopted practically the same attitude on this subject; he (Mr. Clancy) could not see any distinction as to the action of any Chief Secretary for Ireland on the question for the last 10 years at least. Chief Secretaries on both sides had taken up the same attitude—namely, that Ireland pays far less in proportion to the cost of education than England or Scotland, and he said if it were the case, and it undoubtedly was, that it was no more than it ought to be. He could not even give thanks for the increase in the Estimate this year. The right hon. Gentleman had himself pointed out that the increase was due to the greater efforts of the teachers to improve themselves, and he did not think there was any ground for gratitude on account of an increase brought about by such a cause as that. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of all that had been done to further education since 1875, but he desired to enter his protest against the idea that they had to thank that Parliament for anything done since then, because all that had been done had been dragged out of Parliament by the

action of Irish Members. The British taxpayer had not contributed a penny to the increased money voted in recent years for Irish Education; the whole of it had come out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund, which had been a kind of milch cow to almost every demand made by Ireland for pecuniary assistance which the Government could not fairly resist. When he found hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House taking credit for improvements paid for out of that Fund, he refused to admit any claim upon his gratitude. In England and Scotland the system of education was controlled by the people themselves; the School Board elections were only just over, and they were controlled by the people, but in Ireland the Government managed the whole system by a Board appointed by an irresponsible Lord Lieutenant and removable by him. If the people of Ireland were to take up that attitude and say, "So long as you maintain the present system of education against our will, managed by persons not appointed by us or responsible to us, we will not pay a penny to the cost of it," he thought they would be entirely justified in doing so; and he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken adopted his opinion that England and Scotland would be justified in taking the same course. But there were other reasons why the State should contribute in Ireland more than it did in England and Scotland to the cost of public education. Ireland, as compared with those countries, was overtaxed; he said that deliberately, and it had been proved over and over again, and although sophistical arguments had been advanced to prove the contrary, he was convinced that Ireland bore far more than its proper proportion of Imperial taxation. But he thought the greatest reason for that was that this Parliament and this country owed a historic debt to Ireland in that matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had spoken in the previous part of the Session of the debt which England especially owed to Ireland in regard to the suppression of its manufactures. He had never read a truer expression in any speech than that in which the right hon. Gentleman referred to the manner in which Irish industries had been crushed out of existence and the consequent debt which England owed to Ireland. In this matter of education she owed a debt equally great. It could not be forgotten that at any rate for 200 years education was practically forbidden in Ireland; during nearly all that time the profession of schoolmaster there was made a felony, and the English Government had set a price on the head of a schoolmaster as on the head of a wolf. Up to the institution of a national system of education there was no single step taken to remedy this great wrong which for centuries had been inflicted on the Irish people. When English Members recollected those historical conflicts he thought their consciences ought to be touched and that they should no longer taunt Irish Members with not contributing as much as they did to the cost of Irish education. He had now to draw attention to a small but very important matter. He had on a former Vote referred to the different treatment which Irish Civil Servants experienced according to their political opinions in regard to their participation in political meetings. He had pointed out on Wednesday that the chief officials of the Board of Works—on the occasion of the visit of certain agitators to Dublin — namely, the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), visited a meeting and were also present at a banquet given to those Gentleman; and he believed they also signed the address to those two strollers through the country. In saying that, he was only using the language of Mr. Justice Boyd, who so referred to respectable English gentlemen who went over to sympathize with the people of Ireland. Now, he thought that in a normal state of society, and in a country which governed itself, Civil Servants ought not to be deprived of their rights as citizens, and that they should be perfectly free to take sides in politics. But he thought that the rule was in Ireland that Civil Servants should abstain from political movements; at any rate, he contended that there should be one rule for all classes of Civil Servants with regard to political movements. Let all be forbidden to participate in them, or let all be free to join in them. He contended that while Tory officials belonging to the various Departments of Dublin Castle—for instance, General Sankey, Mr. Roberts, and Mr

Soady—were permitted ostentatiously to join in politics, the National teachers that participated in them should not be visited with the censure of the State. In the county of Cork a short time ago, a Mr. M'Sweeny received a letter from the Commissioners of National Education, of whom the right hon. Gentleman was *ex officio* head, telling him that Mr. J. Hagan should be very severely censured for conduct unbecoming a National teacher—namely, the crime of being present at a political demonstration, which, said the Commissioners, exposed him to the suspicion and imputation of participating in such proceedings. Why, then, should not the gentlemen he had named be censured for attending a political meeting, by which they exposed themselves to the same suspicion and imputation of taking part in them? Not only did they so expose themselves, but they took part in the proceedings he had referred to in Dublin openly and avowedly. This unfortunate teacher was probably only a spectator on the outside of the meeting, but the eagle eye of some local sergeant of the Constabulary fixed upon him, his name was transmitted to Dublin Castle, and it was a great wonder that he had not been dismissed instead of censured. Then there was what, he thought, a very mean case—two assistant schoolmasters, Messrs. Cummings and Dempsey, were reported by the National Education Commissioners with a view to their dismissal for the crime of being members of the Cork Athletic Association, and also with signing an address of sympathy which was presented to Mr. William O'Brien on his release from prison. The right hon. Gentleman finds that to be the case, and he reports them to himself. Thus, in the case of these unfortunate teachers, the impartial Governor of Ireland, who would not rebuke the Officials of the Board of Works whom he had named, came down upon them like a ton of stone. He denounced such conduct as not only partial, but mean—and it was all of a piece with the Government of Ireland under the right hon. Gentleman. He believed if he were able to get a Commission to inquire into the proceedings of the Board of Works, Ireland, it could be proved that they had been guilty of actual corruption, and that they were unworthy of being retained in the Public Service; but while the members of the ascendant faction might do what they liked, the slighest public act disagreeable to the political opinions of the right hon. Gentleman opposite—who boasted in this matter, as in everything else, of the directions which he got from eight or nine Members who represented the loyal minority—was visited with the severest censure. There must be in Ireland one rule for Tories, Orangemen, and Nationalists in regard to political movements, and he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that, as long as they were treated differently and partially, he should bring every single case that came before him under the notice of the House of Commons.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the right hon. Gentleman appeared to labour under the impression that there was some very special disqualification attaching to Nationalist schoolmasters in Ireland. He could assure him, however, that there was nothing of the kind. The National Board of Education had, from an immemorial period, laid down that the schoolmasters were most carefully to abstain from anything in the nature of political controversy, and that was a rule of universal application. It applied to Orangemen and to Radicals. It applied to supporters of the Union just as it did to Nationalists. The National Board of Education were absolutely impartial in this matter, and certainly, so far as he was concerned, he would take care that even-handed justice in this matter should be meted out to every teacher in Ireland, no matter to what branch of politics or sect of religion he might belong. He hoped the Committee would not think he was going beyond his duty if he urged that, as they had had an interesting and instructive discussion, the Vote should now be taken, or that the Committee should be allowed to divide upon the question at once.

MR. SEXTON said, he hoped the right hon Gentleman would reply to the different suggestions made.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, if the right hon. Gentleman wished him to deal with the other portion of his speech, he could not, of course, refuse to do so. He did not know that payment by results was a perfectly satisfactory method of dealing with elementary education, but he reminded the hon. Gentleman

that in Ireland this was only one of the methods by which schoolmasters were paid. In England it was the sole mode of payment; and whatever grievance existed in Ireland with regard to it was a great deal mitigated by the other means adopted there. The right hon Gentleman told the Committee that a system by which there was payment from the State in direct proportion to local contributions was open to danger of false returns being made. He was aware that suggestions of the kind had been made before now, but he was not willing to believe that teachers were willing to do such a thing, or that, if they did, they could do it without being found out, because the Manager and the Inspector would have to join in the conspiracy to rob the Treasury. The right hon. Gentleman had asked a question about the Widows' and Orphans' Scheme which was on the stocks last year. That scheme was for the compulsory reduction from the teachers' salary of an amount out of which annuities were to be paid on their death to their widows and children. But it had been found that there was an insuperable actuarial difficulty to that scheme, and it had in consequence been dropped. He believed there was another scheme under consideration not dependent on any compulsory reduction from the salary of the teacher, and which, therefore, would not require any Act of Parliament for carrying it out. When that scheme came before him he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that it should receive the most careful consideration, and he sincerely trusted it would not be open to any objection on actuarial grounds. With regard to the cost of model schools, he did not think the cost would be objected to if it was recollected that the schools were intended to hold up before the people of Ireland a system of education in its highest perfection. It was obvious that to carry out that object there must be a considerable sum of money expended in buildings, and the amount expended he did not consider extravagant. The right hon. Gentleman asked what facilities could be given for the training of Catholic teachers; he observed that as in Ireland the great majority of the people were Roman Catholics it was proper that some means of training teachers of that faith should exist, and he asked what sum would be voted for that purpose? He was aware there had been an objection on the part of the Roman Catholic population to taking advantage of the existing College; but he was not sure whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the State gave in Ireland precisely the same privileges to the Roman Catholic training Colleges that it gave in England to denominational training Colleges. The system in Ireland had not been very long in operation, and he did not know whether there was any other method by which really better results could be obtained. He would, however, inquire into that subject. Then the right hon. Gentleman had asked him a question with regard to the teaching of the Celtic language in Ireland. What had been done in that respect was stated in a Minute laid upon the Table of the House; it showed that as much as could be done had been done in the direction of encouraging the teaching of the language. From something that dropped from the right hon. Gentleman he seemed alive to the extreme injury that would be inflicted on the population of Ireland if Celtic was perpetuated as their vernacular. A fatal check would be put upon voluntary emigration, a great obstacle to success in other parts of the world would be put in the way of those who left Ireland. He could not imagine a more cruel kindness than an attempt to perpetuate the language in question by the means suggested. He might say that encouragement was given to the teaching of the Celtic language as an extra subject; and, so far, he thought that encouragement might be given; but he should venture to doubt whether it would be desirable to go further than they had in the matter. With regard to technical education, on which the right hon. Gentleman had asked him a question. It had been his lot to answer questions on that subject, and also to receive deputations about it in Dublin; and he thought he could show that, although he should like to see more done in that matter in Ireland, there was, as a matter of fact, far more technical education in that country than in England or Scotland. Education in agricultural matters was practically unknown in England and Scotland; but in Ireland there was no less than 79,400 pupils examined in that subject, and the grant

obtained on 48,000 of that number. Allusion had been made to the Glasnevin School. The right hon. Gentleman was aware that the advantages of that school to the population of Ireland were not to be measured by the number of pupils passing through it. It ought to be regarded as a training College, and from that point of view it was invaluable. The labours of the school were now being supplemented by the Munster Dairy School; he was not able to say how far the Dairy School had been able to increase its efficiency through the grant given last year, but he had reason to believe that there had been an increase. With regard to the supply of Class Books. He had been given to understand that the National Board of Education, owing to the fact that they had to deal with enormous masses of papers, were able to buy their class books at very much lower cost than that at which they could be bought by anyone else. He believed the Board watched very closely the progress of literature, but under any form of the Government in Ireland difficulties would be met with in the selection of books dealing with the historical and theological controversies which had left so deep a mark on the national character. Having now gone over the whole ground taken by the right hon. Gentleman, he trusted the Committee would allow the Vote to be taken.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, the Committee had some reason to complain of the treatment by the right hon. Gentleman of the observations of his right hon. Friend. It was one of the misfortunes of hon. Gentlemen on those Benches that they were obliged to repress their debates on contentious matters to suit the convenience of English Business; and he thought they had ground of complaint that this demand on the part of the right hon. Gentleman had been made upon them. He objected to the way in which the Estimate with which they were now dealing was presented to the House, and he would point out how difficult was the form in which the Estimate for the Royal Irish Constabulary was presented. He asked hon. Gentlemen to consider that while they grudgingly paid £898,000 for the cost of education in Ireland, they cheerfully encouraged the spending of £1,490,000 upon the cost of police. If hon. Members would turn to page 420, they would find large sums lumped together under the heads of "Salaries, Principal Assistant and Junior Assistant Teachers, National Schools" and so on. He would respectfully urge the right hon. Gentleman to drop that compendious method and give the Committee as many particulars as he gave in the Constabulary Vote, in which even a sergeant major had a line to himself, and, indeed, the whole of the items were stated in the minutest detail. As an example of the way in which the Government lavished money on the police, as compared with the comparatively small amount spent on education, he would take the case of Castleisland, the most disorderly part of the County of Kerry, and there there was one National school and 70 policemen, the cost of the latter being £6,000, while the schoolmaster was paid £60. Why were not they, who knew something about the matter, allowed to manage these things for themselves? In that diseased part of Ireland the Government spent £100 a-year on Education and £10,000 on coercion, and that, he thought, was a sufficient condemnation of the system. His hon. Friend the Member for North Dublin County (Mr. Claney) had complained with justice of the treatment in the case of teachers who attended public meetings in Ireland, or who were even lookers-on at them, as compared with that of officials of the Local Government Board who attended the meeting at which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) were present. The right hon. Gentleman said there would be equality among the teachers in respect of participation in political matters. But that was not the demand of Irish Members; it was that there should be equality among the members of the Civil Service. He knew there were two sides to these questions; but in a recent case in Limerick or in Cork, the children of a school left because the son of a land-grabber persisted in attending it—that was to say, 200 or 300 children left school and refused to attend. The schoolmaster went to the father of the boy and pointed out to him that he was destroying his means of living, and

also stopping education in the district. He asked the father, under the circumstances, if he could not send the boy to school somewhere else. He was afterwards dismissed as having encouraged Boycotting. The view of the Government was that in order to please one pupil they were to get rid of 300 others; but surely one land-grabber's son was not of more importance that all the rest of the children. He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that he should found a land-grabber's institute somewhere, by which that class might be able, without annoyance, to get that education of which they stood much in need. They were asked to believe that the Government were acting fairly in threatening National School teachers who attended public meetings, but what example did these men get from the Head of the Board, from the head of Trinity College, who was the President of the Goschen and Hartington Committee, or from Mr. Inglis and others, with whose names he need not trouble the Committee. These teachers presumed to act as their masters acted; they attended a meeting and they were threatened with dismissal. The Government had gone on the principle that the members of the Irish Board of National Education should be selected from all the odious classes in the country; there was no member of the popular Party upon it, and he contended that some rectification was absolutely necessary.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, N.) said, he wished to endorse the statement of his right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), that on Monday, when the National teachers in Dublin read the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to the statements of the hon. Member for South Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor) and others, there would be bitter disappointment. He knew, as a matter of fact, from conversations and correspondence with National teachers in Ireland, that they expected that something would be done for them even at the end of the Session, or, at least, that some promises would be given of a better state of things in the future. They knew that a certain sum of money had been allocated from private sources, and they thought that some might be given to them. They knew that the present Government had £5,000,000 as well as the £5,000,000 already voted to relieve the Irish landlords, and he ventured to say that many of them would look with envy to the position of the landlords, and say to themselves—what might not have been done for them and the cause of education in Ireland, if £10,000,000 of the Imperial funds were devoted to these purposes. Having regard to the amount of their salaries, the question of residences, and the unsatisfactory arrangements with regard to retiring allowances, and comparing the position with that of the English National School teachers, it must be said that the comparison must be to them particularly odious. His hon. Friend had brought under the notice of the House the sorry condition of some of the school buildings, and he (Mr. Nolan) had observed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary did not touch upon his hon. Friend's statement that some of the schools were built in grave-yards, stone-quarries, and sand-pits, and that throughout the West of Ireland many of them had earthen floors, on which the children, with neither boots nor shoes, spent five or six hours after a long walk on winter mornings. His hon. Friend had spoken of a certain increase of salary that had taken place, and said also that an increase had taken place in the number of residences, but the principal fact remained, that the present condition of the teachers in Ireland, in these respects, was very bad indeed. He wished to call the attention of the Committee to a statement of Mr. Rowntree, Inspector of National Schools in Ireland, on the position of teachers with regard to their salaries. This gentleman said that out of 164 teachers only one had a gross income of upwards of £100; out of 123 only five had incomes of upwards of £90; that there were 14 with incomes between £80 and £90; 13 between £70 and £80; 23 between £60 and £70; 108 between £50 and £60; 20 between £40 and £50; 5 between £30 and £40; and 3 received salaries of under £30. It appeared that the average income of male teachers was £63 8*s.* 2*d.*, and that of female teachers £51 14*s.* 7*d*; in other words, the average for the entire district was £50 10*s.* Again, of the whole number of teachers almost 80 per cent were unprovided with residences, and many of them suffered great hardships

in walking to and from the schools. Although these were men of considerable talent, and produced results equal to the teachers in England and Scotland, and although they were men of strong moral character, their position was not only worse than the position of the teachers in England and Scotland, but it was worse than the position of a common policeman in this country.

MR. SEXTON said, that in the discussion a number of practical suggestions had been made, and the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had been completely empty of relevant matter. The right hon. Gentleman had not approached any of the suggestions that had been made, and his speech was a remarkable illustration of the absurdity of a system under which the rule of a country was committed to the hands of strangers, whose indifference was so great that they would not make a decent attempt to overcome their ignorance. The only way of protesting open to them was to oppose the Vote.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 118; Noes 77: Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 332.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, perhaps it would be for the convenience of the Committee that he should say something on the Land Commission Vote, and therefore he would not bring that on now. But he would ask the Committee to pass, as Votes upon which no discussion would arise, the Queen's Colleges Vote, the Endowed Schools Vote, and the Vote for the Royal Irish Academy.

MR. SEXTON said, there was an objection to the Queen's Colleges Vote, but not to the others.

(2.) £200, to complete the sum for the Endowed Schools Commissioners (Ireland).

(3.) £881, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £460, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1889, in aid of the Local Cost of Maintenance of Pauper Lunatics in Ireland."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, he desired to ask if in the right hon. Gentleman's time anything had been done in redemption of the repeated promises made by successive Chief Secretaries to inquire into the local classification of inmates of pauper institutions in Ireland, and especially in regard to lunatics in these buildings. In the time of the late Mr. Forster, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) brought this matter before the Committee, and obtained from Mr. Forster a promise to inquire into the whole matter. He brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman specific cases which were noted, and he was led to believe that the whole affair would be regulated or examined into at any rate. He had not, however, been able to discover that there had been any reforms initiated. Take for instance Dingle Workhouse in West Kerry——

It being half after Five of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Government to state whether they intended to make Supply the First Order of the Day for Monday, or was it intended to take the Report of the Lords Amendments to the Irish Land Purchase Bill. The Lords had put down a most contentious Amendment, which would take some considerable time in discussion. He was entitled to ask the Government when it was intended to take the Land Purchase Bill.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was not able to say when it was intended to take the Report of the Lords' Amendments to the Land Purchase Bill, but it was understood that it would be for the convenience of the House to take the Irish Constabulary Vote first on Monday, and that would accordingly be done.

MR. T. M. HEALY hoped that the Lords' Amendments would not be sprung on the House late on Monday night, although, at the same time, it was desirable it should be taken soon.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, would it not be more convenient to resume the discussion on the Law Charges on Monday, as they had been partly discussed?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, that in the absence of his right hon. Friend he must adhere to the programme laid down by the First Lord of the Treasury.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

LIABILITY OF TRUSTEES BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Cozens-Hardy.*)

[BILL 365.] CONSIDERATION.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Amendment on Consideration, as amended [7th December].

And which Amendment was,

In page 5, line 25, after "Parliament," to insert "including stock, shares, or bonds, the dividends or interest on which are guaranteed under 'The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883.'"—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

And the Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment was, after the word "including," to insert the words "with leave of the Court."—(*Mr. Conybeare.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be inserted in the proposed Amendment."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) expressed his willingness to allow words to be inserted in his Amendment so that it would refer to dividends, &c., which "are guaranteed in perpetuity," and this he contended would meet the objections which had been urged against his proposition. The security was satisfactory in every way, and he could not conceive why the Government should not accept it.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he objected to the further discussion of the Amendment, as it related to a contentious measure.

Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

PRIVILEGE.

SERVICE OF A SUMMONS ON MR. SHEEHY IN THE OUTER LOBBY.

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, *brought up* and read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Report be considered upon Tuesday next."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) thought it would be physically impossible to prepare the Report and evidence by Monday, or that they could be in the hands of Members before Thursday.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) suggested that the matter should be taken on Tuesday, as it was a matter of privilege which should be dealt with as speedily as possible.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, that Tuesday was sacred to Scotch Business.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that he could not now make any alteration in the arrangements he had made as to the course of business, but he would make a statement on Monday.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 411.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid) asked the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire, Whether he could give the House any information with respect to the proposed encroachment on the Marylebone Road, one of the finest thoroughfares in London, by the exteneion of the new hospital buildings, in contravention, as he understood, of an Act of George II., which provided that 50 feet of clear space should be preserved on either side of the road?

MR. TATTON EGERTON (Cheshire, Knutsford) said, that he had no per-

sonal cognizance of the matter; but if the hon. Member, or any person interested, would communicate with the Superintending Architect of the Board of Works the whole question would be taken into consideration, and especially the legality of the proposed encroachment.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) wished to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question as to the condition of Public Business. He hoped that on Tuesday, or at latest on Wednesday, the Scottish Estimates would be done; and he thought it would be too bad to detain Members from Scotland to the end of the Session for the consideration of the Universities Bill, which it would be absolutely impossible to pass in the time at their disposal. It would be his own duty to put down a considerable number of Amendments to it, and he hoped that in all the circumstances the Government would withdraw the Order, and enable Scottish Members who had transacted all their business to get home in reasonable time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at one minute before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 10*th December*, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 10*th December*, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 30, 28, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 15, 17 CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Votes 5 & 6.

Resolutions [December 8] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Probate Duties (Scotland and Ireland) * [397]; Friendly Societies Act, 1875, Amendment (No. 4) * [398]; Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 1886, Amendment * [399].

Second Reading—Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886, Amendment (No. 4) * [389].

Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) * [381], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) * [374].

QUESTIONS.

—o—

INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—ARMIES OF THE FEUDATORY PRINCES.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any measures have been taken during the past few years to induce the feudatory Chiefs and Princes of India to reduce their armies from 350,000 men and 4,000 guns to a more reasonable number, so that a larger share of their revenues might thereby be diverted from expenses of military display to the internal development of their States; and, if so, whether the Government of India have been able to devise any means for utilizing the forces thus reduced towards the general defence of the Empire?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has no official information on the subject; but is aware that the question of the utilization of the armaments and military resources of the Native States has engaged, and is engaging, the attention of the Government of India.

LOCAL RATES—COLLECTION OF RATES IN WESTMINSTER.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that the 120 persons summoned on the 25th of September last for local rates at Westminster were all summoned for rates due up to March, 1889, to meet local expenses up to that date, and that the demand note for the rates issued in April for rates made 28th March, 1888, state that it is—

"For rates for the 12 months commencing 26th March, 1888, and ending 25th March, 1889,"

and adds, that all the rates (except the poor rate) "become due immediately they are made;" whether, on the face of any document issued with the rates, there is any mention of the rates being—

"Payable in eight different parts, each part being payable at a separate time,"

as stated by the Vestry; whether he will give the dates and the portions due at each date; whether he can ascertain where the money paid in June, July, August, and September for the general rate (for roads, lighting, street cleaning, local improvements, and School Board), for the Metropolitan Board of Works, for the local sewers rate, and for the public libraries rate, to supply all demands till 25th March, 1889, is deposited until required; and, whether he will, by legislation, if necessary, prevent ratepayers in any part of the country from being liable to legal proceedings for not paying rates six or nine months before the money is needed?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I am informed that the 120 persons summoned on September 25 last for payment of the rates of the parish of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster, were summoned for an instalment of one-half of the poor rate due on the preceding 24th of June, and for the general rates for the year ending March 25, 1889. It is not stated in any document issued by the Vestry that the rates are payable in eight parts at different times; but I am informed that last year 2,286 out of more than 8,000 ratepayers availed themselves, more or less, of the option of so doing. With respect to the poor rates, it was stated in the demand note that that rate might, if preferred, be paid in three instalments—one of 9½*d.* immediately, and two of 5*d.* at Michaelmas and Christmas respectively; but there was no similar statement as regards the general rates. I am informed that the rates collected in May, June, July, August, and September were required before they were received; and that on June 1, when £12,182 was due under the precept of the Metropolitan Board of Works, the amount collected towards that sum was £4,193, and on July 12, when the payment was made under pressure, it became necessary to overdraw the account to the amount of £4,226; and that the instalment under the precept of the School Board for London due from the Vestry on June 24 was not paid, owing to the insufficient amount collected, until September 13; and that on September 29 (the summonses referred to in the Question were heard on September 25), when a further sum of £5,654 was due to the School Board for London, the amount in hand towards it was £729. I cannot promise any legislation on the subject. The Vestry is a Representative Body; and it seems to me that the matter is one for the consideration of the ratepayers.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE CARRAKOUT RIVER.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Carrakout River, which forms part of the boundary line between the Counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan, flows across a main public road connecting these counties at a point near Knockatallon, and when flooded causes a complete interruption of the public traffic, and becomes a very serious danger to public life itself; whether the inhabitants of the districts of both counties most interested have been for several years endeavouring to cause the proper authorities to construct a bridge at this point; whether he is aware that although the Road Session of County Fermanagh long ago decided to construct half of such a bridge, the County Monaghan Road Sessions have refused to do so, although repeatedly memorialized by the principal cesspayers and the general public in the districts most interested during the past two years, and as late as November last, when they were advised to do so by Mr. Carroll, County Surveyor, to co-operate to have a bridge built; whether he can state the grounds upon which they refused compliance with the wish of the cesspayers; and, whether the Government have power, and, if so, will they exercise it, to induce or compel the Road Session for the safety of the public life to construct their part of the proposed bridge?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: As regards the circumstances connected with the river and the inconvenience caused by

the want of a bridge, I believe that the facts are substantially as stated; but I am not aware that the danger is so serious as is suggested. As to the efforts which have been made to remedy the existing state of things, I am informed that a presentment for building the half of a bridge across the river was made at the proper Road Sessions in County Fermanagh in October, 1883, certified for at the Spring Assizes, 1884, and rejected at the Summer Assizes, 1884, in consequence of the want of co-operation on the part of the County Monaghan authorities, and that no application has since been made to the Fermanagh Grand Jury. I am also informed that a presentment for building one-half of the bridge came several times before the proper Road Sessions in the County Monaghan, and was either rejected there or by the Grand Jury at the Assizes; and that a similar presentment came before the last Road Sessions in Monaghan on the 30th November, and was unanimously rejected by the five Justices and five associated cesspayers present upon the ground of the expense. The Government have no power to compel the Road Sessions to construct part of the proposed bridge, or to interfere with their decisions. I may, however, add that (under the provisions of 4 & 5 *Will.* IV., c. 61) it is in the power of either the Fermanagh or the Monaghan Grand Jury to present a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant praying that the powers of that Act may be put in force. The Lord Lieutenant thereupon may order an inquiry by the Board of Works, or other persons; and if such inquiry results in a representation in favour of the construction of the bridge he may direct the work to be executed, and the expense to be apportioned between the two counties. If this procedure be adopted, I have no doubt that any Memorial presented to the Lord Lieutenant will receive careful consideration.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (IRELAND)—REVISION OF THE REGISTER OF VOTERS, CO. TYRONE.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the presentment of the Tyrone Grand Jury, at Lent Assizes, 1887, of a charge for £1,712 15*s.* 3*d.* for expenses in relation to the preparation of the Revised Register of Voters for the County of Tyrone for 1886-7, including the following items:—

"To Lewis M. Buchanan, Clerk of the Peace, for expenses incurred. (1.) Nathaniel Carson, as per contract and account furnished, £358 6*s.* 6*d.*; Samuel D. Montgomery, for the like, £354 9*s.* 2*d.*; Joseph Graham and Son, for the like, £300 6*s.*; A. J. Matthews, for the like, £4 10*s.*;—£1,017 11*s.* 8*d.*, less credit, sale of registers, &c., £114 13*s.* 5*d.*—£902 18*s.* 3*d.* (2.) For hire of rooms in lieu of courts, as per accounts, £59 17*s.* (3.) For preparing, arranging, compiling, printing, and publishing the Registers of Parliamentary voters for the four Divisions of the county, £750;"

whether a similar presentment in Tyrone for 1885-6 amounted to £1,525 3*s.* 10*d.*, and for 1887-8 to £1,200; whether this expenditure is altogether independent of the law costs thrown on the county for registration appeals; what did the latter amount to in said years; whether all such levies are borne solely by the occupiers; whether, in addition, there fell upon the poor rate further large sums for the initial preparation of these voters' lists by the Boards of Guardians; what did these amount to in said years in Tyrone; how are similar expenses met in England and Scotland; and, would the Government give a Return for the United Kingdom showing, separately, for each county and borough the annual cost of preparing the voters' lists, distinguishing the amount paid for each by the Poor Law and County Authorities?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that the amounts are substantially as stated in the Question. But the figures for 1885-6 include the expenses under the Ballot and Polling Districts Act. The taxed costs of registration appeals amounted for the years 1885-6, 1886-7, and 1887-8 to £791 in addition. All these levies are borne solely by the county cess. As regards the Poor Law expenses, the boundaries of unions and counties not being conterminous, and the expenses being sanctioned by unions, time has not admitted of ascertaining the exact figures for the County Tyrone; but the expenses paid by the Guardians of the seven unions which are mainly situated in the county

were in 1885-6, £312 13*s.* 7*d.*; in 1886-7, £865 13*s.*; in 1887-8, £863 16*s.* 2*d.* I have no information with respect to the paragraph 9. As regards the last paragraph, a comprehensive Return of the payments made by County Authorities in Ireland during each of the years 1884-5 and 1886 was laid before the House last Session (Parliamentary Paper No. 325, 1887). The Local Government Board could also give the expenditure in each union for those years, apportioning it approximately on the counties.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, as it was desirable to check what was apparently a very gross expenditure—he would not say a job—namely, nearly £2,000 for the preparation of a Return of about 1,000 pages, or £2 per page, the hon. and learned Gentleman was not giving a Return such as he suggested. Let them see, for example, how much the County of Cork paid.

MR. MADDEN said, the Local Government Board could give approximately the expenditure in those years for the different counties.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, if the hon. and learned Gentleman would have any objection to giving a Return which would afford an opportunity of comparing and considering more closely this expenditure?

MR. MADDEN said, if the hon. Member moved for such a Return, he would see whether it might be granted, or how far it might be agreed to.

ARMY — THE ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS — ACCOMMODATION AT BALLYSHANNON.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received a Memorial from the inhabitants of Ballyshannon and neighbourhood, asking for the headquarters of the 5th Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers to be placed in Ballyshannon, which is the largest town in the County of Donegal, and possesses adequate barrack accommodation, whilst at Lifford recourse must be had to billeting; and, whether, having regard to these and other considerations of expediency and economy urged by the Petitioners, he will be able to accede to their request?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State for War was aware that there was superior barrack accommodation in Ballyshannon; but the question of the removal of the headquarters of a battalion must be considered from some other points of view besides that of barrack accommodation. He would, however, make further inquiries into the matter.

VACCINATION ACTS — SENTENCE ON JANE STREET, DERBY.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Jane Street, of Rutland Street, Derby, a married woman with six children, who was sentenced at the Derby Town Hall, on the 20th of November, to one month's imprisonment for giving a wrong address in registering a recently born infant; whether there is evidence that her motive was a dread of the vaccination officer; whether the above was her only offence; and, whether, considering the needs of her young family, he can see his way to advise the remission of the remainder of her sentence?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Justices of Derby that Mrs. Street was sentenced to pay a fine of £1 and 23*s.* costs, or in default to be imprisoned for one month without hard labour. Her motive was to evade the provisions of the Vaccination Acts. Both she and her husband have for some time evaded those Acts. She was liable for her offence to a fine of £10, or, on indictment, to penal servitude for seven years. No application was made to the magistrates to direct payment by instalments or at a future date. The woman herself declared she would not pay the fine, but would go to prison, and used threatening language to the vaccination officer when she left the Court. Under these circumstances, the magistrates are opposed to any remission of the sentence, and I do not feel justified in advising any interference with their decision.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY ACT — PROFESSORS OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Irish Government has, after full consideration, decided that the claims of

certain Professors of the Queen's Colleges in respect to loss of income brought about by the Royal University Act, and amounting in some cases to one-half the income of the Professors, are well founded; whether these claims have been under consideration for six years; and, whether any action will be taken by the Treasury in the direction of re-adjusting the incomes of these Professors, in accordance with the decision arrived at by the Irish Government?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I think the hon. Gentleman must be under some misconception. I am informed the Irish Government have not arrived at any such decision as is indicated in the Question; and, therefore, no action on the part of the Treasury is contemplated.

ADMIRALTY—ATTENDANCE OF OFFICIALS.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether new Regulations have recently been introduced at the Admiralty with reference to the punctual attendance of its officials; whether such Regulations apply only to the Lower Division; and, whether, in consequence, it is the fact that Lower Division clerks have to sign their names and time of arrival and departure in an attendance book, which is removed soon after 10 o'clock, the Upper Division sign their names without stating the time either of arrival or of departure, such book not being removed, and the Upper Division clerks of the Secretary's Office sign no book whatever?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing), in reply, said, no new Regulations had been introduced. Those at present in force were established in the year 1887-8, and they were very much as stated in the Question, though they varied in different Departments. As these Rules had been found to work extremely well, he did not think it necessary to make any alteration.

MR. HANBURY: Does the noble Lord still intend to keep up the distinction between the Lower and Higher Division clerks?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he objected altogether to make such a Rule as the hon. Member wanted in the case of the Higher Division clerks. Some of these clerks had had to work 200 hours this year in excess of their ordinary time without pay; while the Lower Division clerks received remuneration for the extra work done by them. Although the Higher Division clerks were not so paid, when an exceptional demand was made on their time they gave it ungrudgingly.

MR. HANBURY asked, what check there was on the attendance of the Higher Division clerks at all?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the Head of every Department was responsible for seeing that those under him attended properly to their duties. There were in certain branches of the Admiralty at present certain redundant Higher Division clerks—that could not be helped; but he considered any alteration in the Rules, as proposed by his hon. Friend, would be detrimental to the transaction of Public Business.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—CASUALTIES AT SEA—THE ADMIRALTY—TELEGRAPH WIRE AT ST. ALDHELM'S HEAD TO CORFE CASTLE.

MR. BOND (Dorset, E.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Admiralty telegraph wire, connecting St. Aldhelm's Head with the post office at Corfe Castle, will be available for summoning lifeboat, or other assistance, in case of wreck, or apprehended wreck; and, if so, whether arrangements can be made for keeping open the post office connection during stormy nights, thus obtaining its assistance in summoning either the Swanage or Kimeridge lifeboats during the whole night, as well as keeping up communication with Poole and Weymouth two hours later than under present arrangements?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The Admiralty are anxious to do all in their power to assist the hon. Member in his praiseworthy efforts to diminish the loss of life from shipwreck, and readily give permission for the use of their telegraph wire between St. Aldhelm's Head and Corfe Castle for this purpose; but, as the hon. Gentleman will understand, they have not the complete management of this telegraphic communication in their own hands. I am, however, informed by the Postmaster General that arrangements can be made for keeping

open the necessary connection at Corfe Castle, provided that the small expenses involved are defrayed by the Lifeboat Institution. If this proposal meets the views of the institution, the Admiralty will give directions for the Coastguard to co-operate, as far as is compatible with the performance of their own duties, in any arrangement that may be proposed for carrying out this good object.

WEST AUSTRALIA—REPORTED GRANT OF A CONSTITUTION.

MR. E. W. BECKETT (York, N.R., Whitby) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is aware that an announcement has appeared in the Australian papers to the effect that West Australia has received a Constitution, and is to become shortly a self-governing Colony; whether such announcement has any foundation in fact; and, whether, before granting the Constitution, he will take into consideration the immense disparity between the population and the area of West Australia, its population being only about forty thousand (40,000), whereas the area of its territory is close upon 1,000,000 square miles?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The announcement, which I had not seen, is, no doubt, founded upon the fact that a draft Bill for the introduction of responsible government has been approved by the Secretary of State, and has been under discussion in the Legislative Council of the Colony. The Bill, if it leaves the Council in a shape that can be accepted by Her Majesty's Government, cannot take effect without legislation in this country. Her Majesty's Government have not failed to consider the disproportion of population to the size of the Colony, and have made it a condition that they shall retain the control of the Crown Lands in the northern part of Western Australia.

HALIFAX TOWN COUNCIL—CHARGES OF MALPRACTICES.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been drawn to *The Halifax Times* of the 4th of October, 1888, containing a report of the proceedings of the Halifax Town Council, and to the charges then made in writing against certain gentlemen connected with the Town Council, namely—

"That they had been guilty of fraud and malpractices in connection with the Halifax Gasworks,"

and to the Resolution of the Council excluding one of these gentlemen from all Committees of the Council in consequence of such charges; and whether he will take proceedings to have an official inquiry into the allegations which have been made?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Prior to the Notice of the Question of the hon. Member, my attention had not been called to the matter to which he refers. As regards the suggestion that the Local Government Board should direct an official inquiry, I can only say that the Board have no powers under which they could institute an inquiry into the conduct of particular members of a Town Council or their officers; and, assuming that there were such powers, I think, as a general rule, it would be inexpedient for the Board to undertake inquiries into charges of fraud. The hon. Member is probably aware that one of the persons alleged to be implicated is to be tried at the present Leeds Assizes.

NAVY—MERCHANT STEAMERS FOR WAR PURPOSES—THE INMAN STEAM SHIP COMPANY.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that above 90 per cent of the shares of the Inman Steamship Company are owned by American citizens; and, whether, under these circumstances, the Company receives, or will receive, a subsidy for placing any of their boats on the Admiralty list of fast cruisers available for transport or military operations in case of war?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): We were aware of the fact that, although the Company was registered and had its headquarters in England, a large proportion of the shares are held by other than British subjects. The contract was drawn accordingly, and differs from

those previously made with other Companies as regards period at which payment is made. The contract will be laid on the Table of the House.

COLONIAL OFFICE—RE-ARRANGEMENT OF THE STAFF.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether a vacancy has existed in the higher clerical staff of the Colonial Office for about a year; whether the work attached to the vacant post is of such a nature that it could be performed by an experienced Lower Division clerk; and, if not, whether it would be possible (as recommended by the Royal Commissioners on Civil Establishments) to re-arrange the work so as to allow of an experienced Lower Division clerk being employed on the less responsible portion?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (BARON HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): This Question has been carefully considered by the Secretary of State, in communication with the Treasury, with the view of ascertaining whether any such scheme could be carried out; but, although he is of opinion that any increase of staff which may be rendered necessary hereafter by the increasing business of the Office may be met by an extension of the number of Lower Division clerks, he has satisfied himself that the present number of first-class clerks constitutes the minimum number, without which the business of the Office cannot be satisfactorily carried on. Advantage is, however, being taken of the vacancy to take over a clerk of the same grade from some other Department; and it will not be filled up from outside.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—URGENT TELEGRAMS.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Postmaster General, If there be any Rules for the guidance of the public regarding telegrams *ex facie* urgent, addressed to localities upwards of a mile from a telegraph station; whether, if the official taking in such telegram demands no extra payment for delivery, it is understood that the receiving office undertakes due delivery, getting payment of the extra charge from the receiver of the telegram; whether his attention has been called to the case of Miss Munro, who telegraphed on the 12th of October last from Perthshire to Ross-shire, eight miles from a station, in these terms to her sister—

"Come on at once, your brother is dead, will be buried to-morrow;"

no extra payment was demanded at ingiving, but the telegram was detained until the following day, being then delivered by hand, too late to be of service; and, whether, if there be no Rules, he will consider the propriety of issuing such for the information of the public?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The hon. Member will find the Rules relating to the delivery of telegrams at page 303 of *The Post Office Guide*, paragraphs 6 to 11. The case of Miss Munro has not been brought to my notice; but if the hon. Member will state where her telegram was handed in I shall be glad to have inquiry made, and let him know the result.

PRISONS—THE "HOBBLES" IN ENGLISH FEMALE PRISONS.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether an instrument of punishment, known as "hobbles," is still in use in English female prisons; and, if so, can he state what is the nature of the punishment; and, whether he can explain by whose authority, and under what circumstances, it can be applied to female prisoners?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Ankle straps are not used as a punishment. They have been authorized by the Secretary of State to prevent violent women from injuring themselves or others (see H. O. letter No. 90,229, dated the 21st February, 1870, and H. O., No. 86,973, 7th of September, 1880). The term "hobbles" is unknown in the Prison Department. If the hon. Member is referring to ankle-straps, these were authorized some years ago by the Secretary of State to be used by medical authority only, not as a punishment, but as a measure of restraint to prevent violent women from injuring themselves.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, whether, when the strait-jacket was

put on the woman, her ankles were fastened to a block of wood, secured across the shoulders so that she could not move?

MR. MATTHEWS: The Question on the Paper has nothing to do with straitwaistcoats. I have no information as to their being generally used in English prisons.

MR. SEXTON: They are, and the public ought to know it.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Is it not against the Constitution that cruel or unusual punishments should be inflicted?

MR. MATTHEWS: It is not a punishment at all. It is used under medical advice to prevent the woman injuring herself.

COAL MINES—ACCIDENT IN PELLOWEL LEVEL COLLIERY.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a report in *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle* of December 6, 1888, to the following effect:—

"Three men were killed on Tuesday in Pellowel Level Colliery, near Whitecroft, Forest of Dean, by bad air;"

and, whether he is in a position to state any further particulars respecting the alleged accident?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Inspector, in regard to the reported colliery accident in the Forest of Dean, that on the morning of the 4th instant, the ventilation being unsatisfactory, the workmen were ordered to leave the mine. A flow of water in the upcast shaft, caused by recent rains, appears to have caused stagnation in the air; and an additional boiler recently placed at the bottom of the shaft had interfered with the air current. The under manager, the fireman, and the engineman seem to have been anxious to get to the boilers in order that the pump might be kept at work. Their bodies were afterwards found about 700 yards from the mouth of the level, they having been apparently overpowered by the fumes. The inquest has been adjourned till Thursday, when, no doubt, further facts will be elicited. Precautions have been taken since the accident, and the ventilation is now satisfactory.

NAVY—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NAVY ESTIMATES—PROTECTIVE ARMOUR TO LINE-OF-BATTLE-SHIPS, &c.

SIR EDWARD J. REED (Cardiff) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, What steps have been taken to give effect to that portion of the Report of this year's Select Committee of the House of Commons on Navy Estimates, in which the Committee

"Press on the Admiralty the necessity of further investigating, with the aid of outside opinion, the best means of distributing the protective armour to be given to our line-of-battle ships and cruisers in the future;"

and, whether the results of this investigation will be laid before the House before proposals for further expenditure on line-of-battle ships and cruisers are made to Parliament?

THE FIRST LORD (LORD GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I have taken steps to consult the opinion of experienced naval officers, who were unconnected with the Admiralty, upon this subject; and I will lay the result of the conclusions thus arrived at before, or simultaneously with, any proposals for new battle-ships.

WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS)—THE SOUTH-WEST SUBURBAN WATER COMPANY.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether complaints have reached him of the bad quality of the water supplied by the South-West Suburban Water Company, which carries on business outside the Metropolis, by virtue of a private Act of Parliament passed in 1883; and whether there is any power, either in the Local Government Board or in any Local Authority, to inspect the works of that Company, or in any way to take steps to insure the purity of the supply; and, if not, whether he will consider the propriety of conferring on extra-Metropolitan districts securities similar to those provided for the Metropolis by Section 4 of "The Metropolis Water Act, 1852," and Sections 35 and 36 of "The Metropolis Water Act, 1871?"

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Two complaints have been received by the

Local Government Board with reference to the quality of the water supplied by the South-West Suburban Water Company, who supply a very considerable area. The last of these complaints was made by the Staines Local Board in June last. The Local Board admitted that the Company's water was periodically analyzed on behalf of the Company by Professor Atfield, who certified it to be pure; and the Local Government Board have been furnished by the Company with those analyses, which, it appears, are taken monthly. The analysis for October last certifies that the sample taken is a most excellent sample of water for drinking, cooking, washing, and steam purposes generally, and for manufacturing operations. The Board have no control over Water Companies outside the Metropolis similar to that exercised by them under the Metropolis Water Acts. I am not aware that a Local Authority has power to claim the right of inspecting the works of this Company; but it is the duty of the Company, under the Waterworks Clauses Acts, to keep in their pipes a supply of pure and wholesome water; and I presume that a Company would be liable to indictment for failure to comply with this statutory requirement. I cannot give any undertaking that the Government will propose that they should appoint Water Examiners for the several Water Companies in England and Wales outside the Metropolis; but it may well be a question whether, when County Councils have been constituted, it may not be desirable that some such powers should be conferred on them.

AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES—CHINESE IMMIGRANTS.

MR. E. W. BECKETT (York, N.R., Whitby) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any steps have been taken by Her Majesty's Government to open negotiations with the Emperor of China respecting the prevention of Chinese immigration into the Australasian Colonies, with a view to concluding a Treaty which shall meet the legitimate demands of our Colonies on the one hand, and on the other shall secure the subjects of the Emperor of China from any danger of such unjust and arbitrary treatment as might tend to disturb the friendly relations between Great Britain and China?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: Negotiations with the Government of China on this subject are being considered in a friendly spirit, with a view to an arrangement which will satisfy the objects referred to in my hon. Friend's Question.

COLONIES (REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES).

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, When the Return relating to Colonial Constitutions, ordered on the 9th of March to be printed, will be issued to Members?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Answers have yet to be received from six or seven Colonies, so that it is not probable that the Return can be completed and issued before the beginning of next year.

BURIALS IN UNCONSECRATED GROUND — NONCONFORMIST FUNERAL IN SPALDING CEMETERY.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following facts:—

"That on the 1st June last the Rev. W. G. Jolly, the minister of the Methodist Free Church, Spalding, attended at the Spalding Cemetery to conduct the funeral of Mr. J. Rose, at the request of the deceased's friends, in ground allocated by the Town Improvement Commissioners for the use of members of the Established Church, which ground is unconsecrated:

"That, notwithstanding the presence of the Rev. W. G. Jolly, who was in attendance to officiate, the service was conducted according to the rites of the Church of England by the Vicar of the Parish (the chaplain of the cemetery), or by his appointee, and the fees received by him;"

whether there is any such right attaching to the Vicar of the parish in ground unconsecrated; and whether Nonconformist ministers, when so requested by the representatives of the deceased, have the right to officiate at funerals in the unconsecrated ground of the cemetery, and to receive the fees, although no notice of burial may have been given to the Vicar of the parish (the chaplain of the cemetery)?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have made inquiry into the facts of this case; and, as far as I can learn, the whole circumstance seems to have been due to a misunderstanding between the cemetery porter and the friends of the deceased. The porter assumed that, as the mother of the deceased had been buried in the adjoining piece of consecrated ground, it was the wish of the relatives that the son also should be be buried near her, and in the same manner. He accordingly gave the usual notice to the clergyman, not being aware that the minister of the Methodist Free Church wished to conduct the service. Under the circumstances, the Vicar did not intentionally exceed his rights; but I presume that, had he known the real facts of the case, other arrangements would have been made for the burial of the deceased. The question as to the person entitled to the fees, and as to the right of Nonconformist ministers, depends on the Regulations of the Spalding Commissioners, in whom this cemetery is vested by law, and is not for the Secretary of State. I must refer the hon. Gentleman to the Spalding Improvement Act, 1852, and to the Cemeteries Clauses Act, 1847.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF PIERCE HARGREAVES, AT MANCHESTER ASSIZES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Pierce Hargreaves, who, after being detained three months in prison, was tried at Manchester Assizes on Friday last, on a charge of causing the death of his wife, when, at the close of the evidence for the prosecution, the learned Judge—

"Confessed that he was at a loss to understand how the case ever came before him, the evidence being compatible with the statement of the prisoner, and of the woman before her death, that the affair was the result of an accident;"

who was the committing magistrate; and, whether he proposed to take any action in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have been in communication with the learned Judge and the committing magistrates (Messrs. Howorth and Higson) on the case of Pierce Hargreaves. The prisoner was committed to take his trial for manslaughter on the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. He was afterwards committed by the magistrates, who heard additional evidence, and who refused bail as the charge was a serious one, and the prisoner had been already committed, without bail, by the Coroner. The prisoner's solicitor only addressed the magistrates on the question of bail. The Judge, however, after the evidence had been sifted and tested at the Assizes, came to the conclusion that the man was innocent, and thought it his duty to do what he could to rehabilitate his character. He does not say that the magistrates were not justified in the course they took. There is no need to take any further action in the matter.

THE FRANCHISE ACTS (IRELAND)—NON-RETURN OF REQUISITION FORMS.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) (for Sir THOMAS ESMONDE) (Dublin Co., S.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If Boards of Guardians are bound to prosecute parties who refuse to return requisition forms properly filled up under the Franchise Acts; and, if so, how are they to be compelled to do so when they refuse; and, if they are not, whether it is competent for private individuals to prosecute?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I have examined the Acts of Parliament dealing with the matter referred to in the Question. I find in them no provisions rendering it compulsory on the Board of Guardians to prosecute in the class of cases to which he refers. At the same time, it is quite clear that it is competent for them to do so. As regards private prosecutions, I find no provisions in the statutes enabling private individuals to prosecute. At the same time, I must not be taken as stating that no such prosecutions would lie. The matter may come for decision before a Court of Law, and I ought not to attempt to prejudge the matter.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTION ON THE SHIRLEY ESTATE, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the forces of the Crown have yet been applied for by, or on behalf of, the Messrs. Horatio Shirley and S. E. Shirley for the eviction of 45 families, representing 250 persons, their tenants in County Monaghan, for the non-payment of arrears of rent, which accumulated before the Land Court reduced the rentals of these estates by the average amount of 43 per cent; and, whether the Government will give the forces necessary for the eviction of these tenants?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, that no application had been received by the Government in connection with the proposed evictions. He might, however, observe that the facts did not appear to be accurately stated in the Question.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (MR. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): In what respect are they inaccurate?

MR. MADDEN said, it was not the fact that the tenants in question were to be evicted only for arrears of the old rent. Several of the cases were for arrears of the old rent; 11 for arrears of judicial rent; and 27 for arrears of both combined.

MR. SEXTON asked whether the bulk of the arrears did not consist of arrears of old rent?

MR. MADDEN said, he was unable to say.

In reply to a further Question by Mr. P. O'BRIEN,

MR. MADDEN said, it was not exactly accurate that the average of rent reductions on these estates was 43 per cent.; but it was not very far off it.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—TELEGRAPHIC ARRANGEMENTS TO THE CONTINENT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Postmaster General, If he can give the House any further information as to the new arrangements for telegraphy to the Continent, and the rates to be charged; whether it is true that it is proposed still to charge 2*d.* per word to France and Belgium, of which at least 1*d.* is for cable transit across the Channel; whether any existing cables and plant are to be taken over from the Company which has hitherto had the monopoly; and, if so, whether they are to be taken at the present material value, and the future transit is not to be burdened by any capital payment in the way of direct or indirect compensation to the old Company for loss of the monopoly; and, if he will inquire whether, at the modern cost of manufacture, a paying cable could be laid across the Channel at a less rate than 1*d.* per word?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member I have to say that, when the Post Office undertakes the working of the cables to the Continent, the charge per word to Belgium will not at first be altered; but the charge to France, which is now 2½*d.*, will be reduced to 2*d.* No particular proportion of the charge has been assigned to the cable transit. I am not in a position to give any information as to the acquisition of the plant of the Submarine Telegraph Company, as no agreement on the subject has been arrived at. No pains will be spared by the Department to ascertain the necessary cost of services such as this.

ARMY—MUSKETRY INSTRUCTION AT HYTHE.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse) asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is proposed to add to the quarters at Hythe, by way of providing accommodation for a larger number of officers and men under instruction in musketry; if he will state the principle adopted in the Service as to the selection of both officers and men, and how many men of all ranks are annually trained there; whether the military canal can be utilized for any purposes of instruction; and, if he can state if this canal has ever of late years been surveyed with a view to coast defence, as intended in its original construction?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: The question of increasing the accommodation at the School of Musketry is under consideration; but it can only be carried out if funds should be available after providing for more urgent services. The object of the school is to train officers and non-commissioned officers who shall act as Instructors in Musketry in regiments of the Regular and Auxi-

liary Forces. Vacancies are allotted to those corps most in need of instructors; 280 officers and 580 non-commissioned officers are trained at Hythe yearly. The Royal Military Canal can be used for pontooning or other military exercise. The question of utilizing the Canal as a means of defence has not been lost sight of, and it is held to be still of considerable military value.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—DISTRESS IN ARKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that, owing to the failure of the fishing industry at Arklow this winter, there is great distress amongst the working classes there; and, whether he will take any steps to have relief works set on foot to tide over the crisis by giving employment to the labouring population?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the Government was making inquiries on the subject; but he was not yet in a position to make a statement in regard to the matter.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARREST OF FATHER KENNEDY, R.C.C., AT MEELIN, CO. CORK.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state whether his attention has been called to the fact that Father Kennedy, R.C.C., Meelin, County Cork, was arrested on Friday morning at an early hour whilst dressing, and that Head Constable Connolly of Kingwilliamstown, and a large party of police, broke in the windows of his house and arrested him in his bed-room; is he aware that Father Kennedy, and other accused parties from Meelin, attended a fortnight ago at Newmarket Courthouse to surrender themselves, as bound under recognizances, but no magistrate attended; and, can he state why a Resident Magistrate did not attend on the said appointed day?

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) also asked, If the right hon. Gentleman will state the circumstances of the arrest of Father Kennedy at Meelin yesterday?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Rev. M. B. Kennedy was arrested at 10 minutes before 9 o'clock on the morning named. Before entering the house the police had demanded admittance by knocking for 20 minutes; but, although they saw people moving about inside the house, no reply was made. The Head Constable and one other constable then entered through one of the windows. They waited while Mr. Kennedy was dressing, and then arrested him. I am informed that it is not the fact that he attended at Newmarket Court-house a fortnight ago to surrender himself; neither did the other parties who were convicted with him. As a matter of fact, on the 23rd of November a Resident Magistrate was on duty at Newmarket all day.

MR. SEXTON: Is it not a fact that the police began to knock at the house at half-past 7, and because the maids of the house were not up that they broke through the window and arrested Father Kennedy in the act of dressing?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir; the information I have received is directly opposed to such statements. The police knocked for 20 minutes before 10 minutes to 9, and afterwards they waited while the priest was dressing.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Is it not a fact that on last Friday fortnight Father Kennedy, and several others accused, went to the Newmarket Court-house and were ready to surrender themselves; but the Resident Magistrate, who ought to have been present, was not there?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir. Major Hutchinson, the Resident Magistrate, was on duty there all that day.

MR. FLYNN: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman contradict his statement in the public Press?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SALTERS' ESTATE.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following provision in the conveyance of the holdings on the Salters' Estate contained in the case of tenants in arrear:—

"And the said vendors do hereby release to the purchaser all arrears of rent due by the purchaser to the vendors out of said holding up to the date of these presents, but without prejudice to the rights of the said vendors in respect of any promissory note or other security which they may have received for such arrears;"

whether the Land Commission, when it sanctioned the sale of the Salters' Estate, was aware of this clause, professing to release but really securing arrears; whether the clause is in accordance with the terms of the Land Purchase Act; and, if the Government will communicate with the Land Commission with a view to prevent all such action in future?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that it is the case that the release was qualified by a proviso of the nature indicated in respect of certain promissory notes passed by some of the tenants for portions of the rent due, on the sale of the Salters' Estate, of which the Commissioners appear to have been aware. The legal point referred to will probably come before the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice at the hearing of the four test cases from the estate which, it was mentioned the other day in reply to a Question put by the hon. Member, are now entered in that Court. It would, therefore, be improper for me to express any opinion on the subject. As regards the last paragraph, the present Rules of the Commissioners render it impossible that such an arrangement could now be made.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked whether the present Land Purchase Bill would have any effect on such a transaction?

MR. MADDEN said, that, under the existing Rules, no such arrangement could be made.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—INTEREST ON PURCHASE MONEY.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether, since the Court of Exchequer in Ireland decided that 3½ per cent was the interest legally payable by tenants to the landlords for interest on purchase money, under Lord Ashbourne's Act, during the interval between the agreement to buy and its being sanctioned by the Purchase Commissioners, the Government intend to support a proposal to increase the rate of interest to 4 per cent.; and, is there any Rule requiring the tenants to be protected by the advice of an independent solicitor, or is it the general practice that the landlord's solicitor acts for both the tenant, who is buying, and the landlord, who is selling out?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I am making inquiries on the subject of the decision to which the hon. and learned Gentleman refers. He will see that it would be premature for me to make a statement as to the course which the Government will be prepared to take with reference to the Lords' Amendment. There is no such rule as that referred to in the Question. In many cases the same solicitor acts for both parties; but I cannot state that any general practice exists in this matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Are we likely to have the information before the Lords' Amendment comes on to-night?

MR. MADDEN: Before the matter is discussed I hope to have the information.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—SOMKELI.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Somkeli has been fined for taking part in the late disturbances in Zululand, and what was the amount, in cattle, of the fine; whether, since he was fined, he has again been tried and convicted by the Special Court for the same offence; and, whether the sentence on Somkeli will be suspended until Her Majesty's pleasure has been determined?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Somkeli has not been fined. One of the magistrates, without proper authority, ordered Somkeli's tribe to pay a fine of cattle; but the Chiefs clearly understood that this was a tribal fine, and that they would have to stand their trial separately. The magistrate's proceedings were quashed by the Governor. Some cattle had been received an account of the fine on Somkeli's tribe; but information has not been received as to what arrangement has been made in respect of them. The answer to the last paragraph of the Question is in the affirmative.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE EX-KING DINIZULU.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the ex-King Dinizulu and his uncle Undabuko will be liberated on bail till the Court meets next year?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): It is not possible to liberate these prisoners on bail; but they will be treated with all due consideration, and have all proper freedom of communication with their counsel and friends.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): At what time will the Court meet?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: In about seven weeks.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ARREST OF MR. JOHN O'CONNOR AT GNEEVAGULLA.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether Mr. John O'Connor, shopkeeper, residing at Gneevagulla, was arrested by Mr. Sergeant Murphy; whether he was taken to the police barrack at Killarney, and searched, his boots having been taken off; whether he was subsequently released; whether Sergeant Murphy had a warrant empowering him to make the arrest; what offence against the law was Mr. O'Connor charged with; whether, owing to the arrest, Mr. O'Connor lost his train, and was put to other inconvenience; and, whether the Government will compensate Mr. O'Connor for the inconvenience which he suffered?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The reply to the inquiries in the first three paragraphs is in the affirmative; to the fourth paragraph in the negative. Mr. John O'Connor was arrested by the policeman on the ground that he saw him engaged in an act done in pursuance of a criminal conspiracy. As regards the remaining portion of the Question, I have to state that he was immediately brought before a magistrate and discharged. The police, who were then going on patrol duty in the direction in which he lived, drove him to his own house. No unnecessary inconvenience was caused, and the Government are unable to adopt the course suggested.

MR. GILHOOLY asked, what illegal act was Mr. O'Connor engaged in?

MR. MADDEN said, he was alleged by the policeman who arrested him to be engaged in an act done in pursuance of a criminal conspiracy—namely, the Plan of Campaign.

HINDOO LAW OF MARRIAGE—INDIAN PROCEDURE CODE—REMOVAL OF A NATIVE CHRISTIAN GIRL.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) (for Mr. H. J. WILSON) (York, W.R., Holmfirth) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that a telegram was received on December 7, by several Members of this House, from Mr. Alfred Dyer, editor of *The Bombay Guardian*, in which he alleges that an European magistrate at Patna yesterday ordered a Christian girl, whom he holds to be under 14 years of age, to be taken from the charge of Miss Abraham, Church Missionary Zenana Mission, and handed over to an immoral man, to whom her mother had sold her; whether he has telegraphed for further particulars; what reply he has received; and, what action will be taken?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has received the following information from the Government of India in reference to the alleged case of withdrawal of a girl from the custody of the Church Missionary Zenana Mission:—

"Quinn, magistrate of Patna District, reports that girl alleged to be under 14 years of age left reputed husband's house in October last. Application made to magistrate of district under Section 551, Criminal Procedure Act X. of 1882, to restore girl to her mother. Orders issued under section to show cause why girl should not be restored. Inquiry made about it shows that girl's marriage has been proved and Court's orders issued for the restoration of the girl to her husband and mother. Bengal High Court, on application, pending inquiry, has refused to interfere with district magistrate's proceedings. Affair apparently dispute between the missionaries and natural guardians for possession of native child. The Government of Bengal has called for record of district magistrate's proceedings."

I will read to the House the section of the Indian Procedure Code referred to—

"Section 551. Upon complaint made to a Presidency Magistrate or District Magistrate on oath of the abduction or unlawful detention of a woman, or of a female child under the age

of 14 years, for any unlawful purpose, he may make an order for the immediate restoration of such woman to her liberty, or of such female child to her husband, parent, guardian, or other person having the lawful charge of such child, and may compel compliance with such order, using such force as may be necessary."

The Secretary of State desires me to remind the House that Indian magistrates are bound to administer the law as it is; and that the Government of Her Majesty is under the most solemn obligations to respect the religious and social customs of the Hindoos, and all other classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India.

PUBLIC HEALTH—INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE CRADLEY DISTRICT.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he can now say what steps he proposes to take in reference to the insanitary condition of the Cradley District?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): There have been several inspections of the Cradley District by Inspectors of the Local Government Board. The district was inspected by Dr. Parsons so recently as October last, prior to the issue of Mr. Burnett's Report. His personal observation fully confirms the statements of Mr. Burnett as to the sanitary condition of Cradley. The Board, some two years since, issued an order imposing on the Sanitary Authority the duty of providing for the removal of the contents of privies and ash-pits; and they learn that there has been some improvement, in so far as large accumulations of refuse are less frequent than was formerly the case. Dr. Parsons had an interview with the Sanitary Authority on the 9th of last month, and impressed upon them the importance of the adoption of an improved construction of privies. He also urged them to obtain the urban powers which would enable them to deal more satisfactorily with some of the existing conditions. If the Board were to receive a formal complaint under Section 299 of the Public Health Act, that the Sanitary Authority had made default in their duty in providing their district with sewers, the Board would have certain powers of intervention; but, in the absence of any such complaint, they cannot do more than they have repeatedly done—that is, urge the Sanitary Authority to discharge the duties which have been intrusted to them.

THE MAGISTRACY—ARREST OF MEMBERS OF THE SALVATION ARMY AT NEEDHAM MARKET, SUFFOLK.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that at Needham Market in Suffolk, on the 6th instant, the Local Magistrates sent to gaol two members of the Salvation Army, and that the prisoners were marched handcuffed through the streets as if they were felons; whether the prisoners were committed on a charge of obstructing a thoroughfare; whether they were sentenced on the evidence of a Police Inspector named Page, who swore that "one individual, Miss London, was obstructed by them;" whether he is aware that the said Miss London, who was never called as a witness by the police, wrote under date November 9 to *The Suffolk Chronicle*, in reference to this deposition—

"Justice demands that I should give to this statement an absolute denial. . . . I was not obstructed;"

whether it is the fact that the prisoners were prosecuted by the police on the instructions of the same magistrates who tried and sentenced them; and, whether, if, on inquiry, he finds the facts as stated, he will consider the propriety of causing the remainder of the sentences to be remitted?

MR. ATKINSON (Boston) also asked, If the right hon. Gentleman's attention has been drawn to the fact that members of the Salvation Army have been handcuffed and taken through the streets at Market Needham for declining to give up preaching; and, whether he will order them to be released?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, that as soon as his attention was called to the statement referred to he at once applied to those gentlemen for information on the subject. That information had not reached him as yet; but if the prisoners were handcuffed without due cause, he should certainly express his disapproval.

CRIMINAL LAW—RELEASE OF PRISONERS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether any, and, if so, how many, criminal prisoners in England and Wales were released, during the year ended 31st March last, before the expiration of their respective terms of imprisonment or penal servitude, on the ground of their physical or mental condition?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, the numbers were five convicts and 75 local prisoners.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—PAYMENTS TO ROAD CONTRACTORS—KERRY.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the reason an alteration has been made in the time of the payment of sums due to county contractors in Kerry; and, whether there is any objection to revert to the former system of making the payments in November, in place of the following February?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Secretary to the Grand Jury of the County of Kerry states that county presentments are only payable twice in each year, at the Spring and Summer Assizes; and that it has never been the practice to pay them at any other period. He also says that contractors' salaries have to be approved of at Presentment Sessions held in May and November; but that the Grand Jury at the ensuing Assizes may refuse payment of such a presentment in the case of the contractor's default. It was the practice, however, he states, for the Secretary to the Grand Jury to issue unsigned cheques to those road contractors whose applications had been approved of at the Presentment Sessions, and for the contractors to get such cheques signed by the treasurer, when the presentments for the amounts had been passed by the Grand Jury. The present Secretary, Mr. Fitzgerald, acting on legal advice, has discontinued this practice, and no longer issues unsigned cheques.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON asked, Whether the present Secretary had not held the office for 14 years; and why it was that this year he refused to make the usual payments in May and November?

MR. MADDEN said, the Secretary acted on legal advice.

NAVY—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—HASLAR HOSPITAL.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that out of 429 surgical cases in Haslar Hospital, 276 are cases of venereal disease; and, if he can state whether this proportion shows an increase of cases of venereal disease in that Hospital since the suspension of the Contagious Diseases Acts?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): There are at present 392 surgical cases under treatment at Haslar Hospital, of which 239 are venereal. The proportion of venereal diseases to other surgical cases has increased since the suspension of the Contagious Diseases Acts, as the following percentages show:—For the four years prior to the suspension of the Acts—1879, 44·09; 1880, 41·31; 1881, 41·84; 1882, 42·2. For the four years subsequent to the suspension of the Acts—1884, 60·96; 1885, 55·17; 1886, 53·58; 1887, 56·56.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARRESTS OF J. AND D. SCANNELL, AND OTHERS, CO. KERRY.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the case of John and Daniel Scannell, John Cahill, and Humphrey Moynihan, who were arrested on November 21, and taken before Mr. M'Dermott, R.M., at Rathmore, County Kerry, there was a warrant issued for the arrest of all or any of them, or if there was a summons issued against any of them; under what circumstances they were arrested; and, if it is intended to proceed against them; and on what charge?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, he was informed that there was a warrant in these cases; but he had no detailed information as to facts.

POST OFFICE—MALE STAFF (ESTABLISHED) OF CENTRAL POST OFFICE.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is now in a position to state when he can reply to the further Petition of the Male Staff (Established) of the Central Post Office, which was forwarded to him in January last?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The Petition to which the hon. Member refers prayed that a previous one to which an unfavourable reply had been given should be reconsidered. It is, I think, detrimental to the interests of the Service that, when a Petition has been fully considered and an answer given, a fresh Memorial should be immediately presented in the form of a rejoinder. I am not in a position to hold out hopes of any change in the status of the Memorialists, which would largely increase the expenditure of the Department; but the subject shall receive further consideration.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—APPOINTMENTS OF COUNTY INSPECTORS, &c.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In what manner (whether by examination, nomination, length of service, or any other method) appointments are made to the positions in the Royal Irish Constabulary of County Inspectors, District Inspectors of first, second, and third class, Head Constables, Sergeants, and Sergeants (acting); and, whether there are any minimum or maximum limits of age in each of these ranks, and, in that case, what are they?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) asked the hon. Gentleman to postpone his Question, as the information had not yet been received from the Irish Office.

MR. J. E. ELLIS asked, whether he was to understand that there was no information in the Irish Office with regard to this matter?

MR. MADDEN: The hon. Gentleman is to undertand that, on this Question appearing, a Report was called for at once; but, as it has not yet been received, I am not in a position to answer the Question.

PROBATE DUTIES (SCOTLAND AND IRELAND) BILL.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When the Bill for the distribution of the Probate Duty in Scotland and Ireland, which was part of the Budget arrangements of the year, will be introduced?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in reply, said, the Bill would be circulated at once; but he could not fix a day for the second reading.

FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—TRAWLING IN ABERDEEN BAY.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Secretary for Scotland has yet considered the recommendation of the Scotch Fishery Board with regard to passing a by-law affecting trawling in the Aberdeen Bay and Aberdeenshire Coast; and, if so, what decision has been arrived at?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Secretary for Scotland has considered the recommendation of the Fishery Board regarding this by-law, and has approved of their taking the ordinary course of advertising it in terms of the statute; and at the expiration of the statutory period of one month the by-law will be submitted for confirmation.

PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true that the firm of Messrs. Macrae, Curtice, and Co. have obtained the contract for Parliamentary Printing; and, whether he can communicate the terms of the contract to the House?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am not at present in a position to make any statement beyond what I have already made—that the contract will be laid upon the Table when it is completed.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): May I ask the hon. Gentleman if his attention has been called to a paragraph which has gone the round of the Press, containing an extract from a Report issued by Macrae, Curtice and Co., announcing that they have secured the contract, and that what has been hitherto known as *Hansard* will, in future, be known as Macrae, Curtice and Co.'s volume, or something of that sort? I should also like to know how it is that a private firm can issue a circular of this kind, and is able to convey information to the public before it is communicated to the House itself?

MR. JACKSON: My attention has not been called to the paragraph to which the hon. and learned Member refers; but assuming, as of course I do, that the statement of the hon. and learned Member is correct, it would make no difference whatever in my position; because, as I have already stated to the House, I do not feel myself called upon to make any statement until the contract is completed and I am in a position to lay it on the Table of the House. I think the House will see that it would be extremely improper for me to give detailed particulars of any contract which has not been signed and completed.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the hon. Gentleman will refer to a paper published on Saturday last, called *The Liberal and Radical*, he will find the Circular there referred to.

RUSSIA—RELIGIOUS MISSION TO ABYSSINIA.

MR. LEGH (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give any information with regard to the alleged intention of the Russian Government to despatch a large Religious Mission to Abyssinia under the control of a military officer?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No, Sir; we have received no such information.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—MR. BEAUCHAMP AND MR. GEORGE BOLTON, CROWN OFFICIALS, AS WITNESSES.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Beauchamp, the Crown Solicitor for County Limerick, and Mr. George Bolton, the Crown Solicitor for County Tipperary, or either of these gentlemen, have recently been in London; and, whether, before or during their presence in London, they have been assisting the Solicitor to *The Times* newspaper in relation to the inquiry now going on before the Special Commission?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: Mr. Beauchamp (who is not Crown Solicitor for Limerick, but Registrar to the County Court Judge), and Mr. Bolton, Crown Solicitor for Tipperary, I am informed, have been recently in London, and have been assisting the Solicitor for *The Times* newspaper in relation to the inquiry now going on before the Special Commission. Mr. Beauchamp is not a Government officer, and the Executive have no control over his actions. Mr. Bolton is not prohibited from professional practice in this matter under the Rule which governs the private employment of Crown Solicitors.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, Whether Mr. Beauchamp's salary as Registrar to the Country Court Judge of Tipperary was paid out of the Votes of Parliament?

MR. MADDEN: It is true he holds that position; but he is in no way under the control of the Executive Government.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BELFAST INSURANCE FRAUDS.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If the Crown, before prosecuting in the case of the Belfast insurance frauds, called for a Report from the Insurance Companies; if this Report implicated some persons not prosecuted by the Crown; whether one of them still holds an insurance policy without the consent of the person insured, and against his

public protest; and, whether the Report can be seen and referred to by Members.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The Attorney General for Ireland, who had the conduct of the prosecution, got Reports from the Insurance Company as well as from the Sessional Crown Solicitor in reference to the Belfast insurance frauds. Every person implicated by those Reports against whom there was, in the opinion of the Attorney General, sufficient evidence to establish a criminal offence was prosecuted by the Crown, and also two persons named Press and Matthews, against whom the Counsel for the Insurance Company had advised that there was not sufficient evidence. These reports, however, the Crown cannot undertake to produce, as such a course would be without precedent, and contrary to the public interest. The Attorney General states, as regards paragraph 3, that the person referred to holds a policy on the life of Mr. Finlay M'Cance, which the latter complained in open Court was effected without his knowledge or consent. There was not, in the opinion of the Attorney General, evidence to sustain a criminal charge in this case; but the Company will have their legal remedy if the policy was obtained by fraud.

MR. T. M. HEALY: This is a grave matter; and I therefore give Notice that on the Vote for Law Charges, I will call attention to the fact that Mr. James Henderson, Town Councillor and proprietor of a Conservative organ, *The Belfast News Letter*, is grossly implicated in these frauds, and yet the Government have not prosecuted him.

ARMY CONTRACTS—IMPORTATION OF BAYONETS FROM GERMANY.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, as higher prices were paid to Messrs. Wilkinson, with the intention that the bayonets made under their contract should be manufactured in this country, the contract contained any penalty or other provision to secure that result, and to prevent the wholesale importation from Germany of bayonets in a state of complete or almost complete manufacture?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): There is no such penalty in the contract; nor have I any ground for supposing that the undertaking to make the sword bayonets in London from Firth steel has been violated. Assuming for the moment that it has been, then it would be in my power to set aside the contract, and not to pay for the articles.

MR. HANBURY asked, whether it was not the case that he had undertaken to produce the workman who had seen these bayonets arrive from Germany and had them unpacked before his eyes?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, his hon. Friend would be surprised if he heard the explanation of that matter.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—ELECTORAL BOUNDARIES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has been advised that by Section 54, subsection 5, of "The Local Government Act, 1888," the Board is empowered, upon its own initiative, before the appointed day, to make an order altering the boundary of any Electoral Division of a county, or the number of Electoral Divisions in a county; and, if so, whether he will exercise this power in certain cases, in order to redress some of the inequalities committed by Quarter Sessions in constituting Electoral Divisions?

THE PRESIDENT (MR. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Section 54 of the Local Government Act contains provisions as to alterations of counties, boroughs, and certain other areas; and there is a clause which enables the Local Government Board to make an Order in pursuance of that section without any application by the Council of a county or borough. I am not prepared to state that the clause referred to does not admit of a construction which would allow of the Board's issuing an Order with regard to the boundaries of Electoral Divisions; but it was clearly understood, in the discussion on the Bill, that there was to be no appeal to the Board as regard the decisions of the Courts of Quarter Sessions in respect of Electoral Divisions. I cannot undertake to review the decisions of the Courts of Quarter Sessions in this matter.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—PERPETUAL PENSIONS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will now fix a day for the moving the Resolution on Perpetual Pensions, which stands on the Order Book?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I can only express my regret that the present state of Business makes it difficult for me to fix a day for the discussion on perpetual pensions; but I hope the hon. Member will be satisfied with an assurance that no further action will be taken with regard to these pensions until the House shall have had an opportunity of discussing the Treasury Minute of July 20 last.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked, whether, under the pledge of the right hon. Gentleman, an early day would be given him next Session for the discussion of the question.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Undoubtedly I am bound to this extent, that until the Motion of the hon. Member has been discussed, no action will be taken by the Treasury on the Minute laid on the Table.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—PENSIONS FOR SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS.

SIR EDWARD J. REED (Cardiff) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will consent to the presentation to the House of Commons of a Return showing what persons have been admitted to the Public Service, for employment in either of the Departments of the State in London, during the last five years, under circumstances which will entitle them to additional amounts of pension hereafter on account of the special qualifications which they possess for the duties entrusted to them, such Return to state their present salaries, and the extent of their claims to additional pensions?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The list of the Offices for which a special addition is made in calculating pensions in respect of professional qualifications is given in the Appendix of the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments, and the Government cannot undertake to furnish any further information.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES—THE RETURNS.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What progress has been made with the preparation of the Returns relating to Joint Stock Companies ordered to be wound up in the year 1887, and for which an Address was agreed to by the House of Commons on the 18th of June last, on the Motion of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, and when the same will be laid upon the Table of the House?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Returns will, I hope, be laid on the Table to-day.

LAW AND JUSTICE—STATE OF PUBLIC BUSINESS IN THE LAW COURTS.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the remarks made by Mr. Justice Manisty on December 5, with regard to the serious state of public business in the Law Courts owing to the present scarcity of Judges; and, whether, since two Judges have been removed from the Judicial Bench, by unusual employment on a Royal Commission, whose inquiry seems likely to last for a period impossible to define, Her Majesty's Government intend to take any steps to remedy what the learned Judge describes as the present serious tension?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is hoped material relief will be obtained during Circuit time if, by the proposed legislation as to Quarter Sessions, the Judges are not withdrawn for an undue time from London to try numerous cases which might be disposed of at Sessions, and so not overload the Assize Lists. With regard to the special circumstances of the withdrawal of two Judges from the ordinary business of the Queen's Bench, it is, of course, not practicable to meet that temporary difficulty except by temporary expedients; and if the Lord Chancellor, on the representation of the Lord Chief Justice

of England and the Judges of the Queen's Bench, thought it necessary, no doubt Commissioners would have to be appointed during the Assizes.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART — SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM — CIRCULATION OF EXHIBITS IN LOCAL MUSEUMS.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, in regard to a suggested extension of South Kensington Museum, If he will consider whether the usefulness of the Museum could be better promoted by circulating the exhibits in the provinces after they had been a given time at South Kensington, under guarantee and on the application of Local Authorities where suitable buildings have been provided?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): If the hon. Member will refer to Sections 56-58 of the Directory of the Science and Art Department, he will see the conditions under which objects are now put in circulation to local Museums. During 1887, 28,363 objects were so circulated, showing an increase of 2,200 as compared with the previous year.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS)—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—THE EXPENSES.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government intend to propose a Vote towards defraying the expenses of the Special Commission now sitting at the Royal Courts of Justice; and, in that case, when will it be proposed?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I must refer the hon. Member to the answer I gave on this subject on the 12th ultimo, to which I have nothing to add. No Vote will be taken this Session.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When it is proposed to consider the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I propose to consider, between this and Friday, what course it will be necessary to take with reference to this Bill, and I will then state it to the House.

MR. BURT (Morpeth): Will it be taken this week?

MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir; not this week.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. Sexton) (Belfast, W.), who had the following Question on the Paper: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will communicate to the House the latest information in his possession with respect to the condition of Mr. Thomas Moroney; whether he will lay upon the Table copies of any Reports on the subject by the medical officer of Kilmainham Prison, or any medical man who has been specially deputed to investigate; whether the Executive intend to take the initiative, either by communication with Judge Boyd, or otherwise, with a view to the release of Mr. Moroney; and, whether the prison records are available for the purpose of an application for such release? observed that the Chief Secretary, knowing that this Question was to be asked, was not present, and the Solicitor General for Ireland was not also in the House. He would, therefore, ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he would arrange that some Minister should give an answer to the Question?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY) (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, it should be replied to before the Questions were disposed of. The Solicitor General for Ireland had just gone out to get his notes.

[Subsequently the Chief Secretary entered the House, and the Question was repeated.]

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he did not know that he could do anything more than repeat the answer he had the honour of giving to the House on Saturday. What he then stated was that materials should be supplied to any gentleman who wished

to bring the case before Judge Boyd. He was asked by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) if he would supply him with the information in possession of the Government if he desired to bring the case before Judge Boyd, and he replied in the affirmative. He had already communicated with that hon. Member, telling him that certain Papers were awaiting him at the Irish Office. He did not think it would be desirable to lay the Papers on the Table of the House, as they might be of a confidential character; but the necessary information could be furnished to hon. Members desiring it.

MR. SEXTON: I have to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether Dr. O'Carroll, of the Irish Prisons Board, has reported that Mr. Moroney is on the border between excitement and insanity; whether Dr. Norman, the Medical Superintendent of the Richmond Lunatic Asylum, has made a Report of a more grave character; whether the Visiting Justices of the prison, at two successive meetings, have passed Resolutions calling on the Government to release Mr. Moroney; and whether, under these circumstances, the Executive will either release Mr. Moroney themselves, or move the Judge to release him?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member was aware, from repeated statements made in the House, that it was not in the power of the Executive to release Moroney. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: Shocking.] The Executive had made the frankest and fullest offer to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and had repeated publicly in that house what Judge Boyd in his judicial capacity had stated, that Moroney, or any other person appearing on his behalf, might have the whole case of his health judicially investigated. Under these circumstances, it was quite clear that those hon. Gentlemen who believed Moroney ought to be released on the ground of ill-health, had only to appear before the Judge and that question would be tried.

MR. SEXTON: I must press the right hon. Gentleman to say whether the Reports of the official medical gentlemen which I have cited are in the possession of the Government, and, whether they consider themselves justified in allowing the man to drift into insanity without making a motion themselves?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not answer any questions with regard to particular sentences alluded to in Medical Reports. His recollection of the Reports was that there was not an absolute agreement between the medical gentlemen concerned, but the case was one for the Judge, and the Judge alone; and he was not going in his place in the House of Commons to give his estimate of the varying opinions of the three doctors who had examined Moroney. Every opportunity, however, would be given to those who desired that a judicial investigation should take place into his health.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked, if the learned Judge had the Medical Reports which had been mentioned placed before him; and whether, although it was stated distinctly in the debates on this Question on that day week that the Government had no power in the case of illness, they had now come to the conclusion that under no circumstances had they that power!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Government had not that power, but it rested with the Judge. He believed, with regard to the first part of the Question, that Judge Boyd had had the Reports referred to laid before him.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, did he correctly understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Executive Government had no power themselves to move the Judge in this shocking matter; and, if that be correct, how it was that the Home Secretary was able to move Judge Giffard in a recent case?

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked, whether there was anything to hinder the right hon. Gentleman or the Attorney General for Ireland making the application under the terms mentioned by Judge Boyd.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not answer that Question off-hand; but he noticed a great change in the opinion of hon. Gentlemen who were burning with anxiety a few days ago to move in the matter themselves, but who, now that they were offered every facility for doing so, appeared not to be desirous of availing themselves of that offer.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—FOG IN THE HOUSE.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the apparatus which had been mentioned on a previous occasion for filtering the foggy atmosphere outside the House had been in operation during that afternoon?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): We have not neglected so favourable an opportunity as that which has been afforded to-day of making the experiment; and I think it has been a partial, though not a complete, success. The fact is, the House was quite clear in the earlier part of the day of fog; but when the House assembled Members coming down brought the fog with them. However, we are going to test the experiment further; and I hope it may be more successful on another occasion.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—DESTRUCTION OF A TOWN.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I beg, Sir, to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government have any information as to the statements made in the public prints to-day, or at least in one of them, to the effect that a certain place on the East Coast of Africa has been utterly ruined and destroyed, which two months ago was the most prosperous town on the East Coast; and, whether the further statement, that the only persons who have suffered by these operations so far are the Sultan of Zanzibar and the British Indians?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Information has reached Her Majesty's Government as to the occurrences to which the right hon. Gentleman refers, but it is of the most sparse character; and I think that, on the whole, it would be desirable and satisfactory that the right hon. Gentleman should repeat his Question to-morrow.

EGYPT—SUAKIN—REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): May I put another Question to the Secretary of State for War—a Question on an African subject? It is, whether a telegram in one of the journals to-day is true, that a fresh demand for reinforcements has been made by telegraph yesterday from Suakin to the authorities in London?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I received the following telegram from General Dormer yesterday, dated Cairo, December 9:—

"Grenfell fully understands and telegraphs his opinion of confidence. But in face of repeated offers of reinforcements thinks he may not be justified in continuing to refuse them. Therefore, an Egyptian steamer will be ready, leaving Suez about the 12th of December. I propose to (?) send her back to Suakin with squadron 20th Hussars and 300 men Welsh Regiment."

These steps have been approved. In another telegram, General Grenfell says "I am quite confident of success." The House will probably like to hear the precise number of troops at Suakin, independently of these reinforcements. There are at Suakin 110 Mounted Infantry, over 600 British Infantry; and the total force, including the Egyptian troops, is over 4,500. The last Report as to the forces opposed to us states the number at 1,700, of whom 700 were in reserve at Handoub.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Can the right Gentleman tell us when the repeated offers of reinforcements were made, and what was their nature?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I have already told the House that we ourselves originally offered to add British troops to the force that General Grenfell was about to take to Suakin. Since that time we have pressed upon General Grenfell the immense importance of telling us frankly and fully whether he is completely satisfied as to the forces at his disposal; and we have always led him and others to believe that whatever reinforcements they asked for would be sent.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS IN DONEGAL.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked, Whether it was a fact that a large force of constabulary and military were on the march with the intention of clearing a whole townland in the County of Donegal; and, whether he had directed investigation to be made into the position of those unhappy people before he granted the forces of the Crown?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I believe there are evictions pending in that district; but I cannot answer, without Notice, the Question of the hon. Gentleman.

PRIVILEGE (SERVICE OF A SUMMONS ON MR. SHEEHY IN THE OUTER LOBBY).

In reply to the LORD MAYOR of DUBLIN (Mr. Sexton) (Belfast, W.),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he was not sure that the evidence taken before this Committee would be printed before Thursday; but if it was printed on Thursday he proposed to consider the Report on that day.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): Will the consideration of the Privilege Report be taken as the first Order on Thursday?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I apprehend that if it is put down on Thursday it must be taken as the first Order. However, I will communicate with the right hon. Gentleman opposite before that day.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—CASE OF BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY.

In reply to Mr. MILVAIN (Durham),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said: It is too late to introduce this Session a Supplementary Estimate in respect to the sums promised as compensation to Brannaghan and Murphy; but a Vote will be taken next Session. Meanwhile, should there be any necessity for immediate payment, the amount would be advanced from the Civil Contingencies Fund.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) wished to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to certain items on the Paper for to-night, Whether it was proposed to proceed with the Universities (Scotland) Bill and the adjourned debate on the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the question of Crofter Emigration; he also wished to know what course the Government proposed to take with regard to the Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill and the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act (1886) Amendment Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, it was not intended, so far as the Government was concerned, to proceed with the Universities (Scotland) Bill and the appointment of the Select Committee on Crofter Emigration. The Government had no control over the other two Bills mentioned by the hon. Member; but he hoped the Crofters' Holdings Amendment Bill might be considered when Supply was closed.

In reply to Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that if there was a strong desire on the part of hon. Members below the Gangway that the Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) Bill should not be taken that evening or this Session, the Government must acquiesce.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.) said, the right hon. Gentleman had told them that the Scottish Estimates would be taken to-morrow. Were they to understand that they would be taken whether the Irish Estimates were finished or not?

MR. W. H. SMITH replied, certainly. The arrangements announced for each day this week were made definitely, and would be adhered to whatever might happen in the previous day's Business.

MR. ESSLEMONT asked, If the Scottish Estimates would be taken in the order in which they were printed?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he could not answer that Question without some little Notice.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—THE TWELVE O'CLOCK RULE.

A POINT OF ORDER.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I wish, Sir, to put a Question to you upon a point of Order in reference to the Motion which is about to be made by the First Lord of the Treasury—namely, whether a General Motion to suspend the 12 o'clock Rule would not, by the Rules of the House, be open to debate; and whether a Motion repeated every Monday and Thursday to the end of the Session to suspend the Rule, in pursuance of an avowed purpose, is not a practical invasion of the Rules of the House? Perhaps I may remind you, Sir, of the repeated decisions of your Predecessor,

by which it was held that a combination of Members to secure priority for Motions was a practical violation of the Rules of the House; and that Motions placed on the Paper, in consequence of such an irregular practice, were liable to be struck off.

MR. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. and learned Member that the words of the Standing Order are that

"The Motion may be made by the Minister of the Crown at the commencement of Public Business, to be decided without Amendment or debate."

There is no prohibition against the Motion being repeated.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: My Question was directed to the irregularity of the practice.

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing has occurred to show that the Standing Order has not been observed.

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the Proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 176; Noes 97: Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 333.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £369,288, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the expenses of the Constabulary Force, Ireland."

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe), in rising to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £10,000, said, he thought it was only right he should call attention to the extraordinary state of the Public Business, seeing that the Committee were now asked on the 10th of December to proceed with the first of 93 yet remaining Votes out of a total of 204 Votes in Committee of Supply. Perhaps a remark which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) on Friday night would throw some light on the matter. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to imply that because there was great interest taken in a particular subject, in his opinion there ought to be very little discussion upon it. Now, whether in relation to a Bill laid before the House, or in regard to Votes of money in Committee of Supply, he ventured to say that the Government would make Progress in proportion as they recognized the feeling of the House and permitted freedom of discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he wished to point out to the hon. Member that a general discussion was not allowed upon a particular Vote.

MR. J. E. ELLIS said, he was not going to proceed for more than one sentence further. He believed it was proposed by the Government that within three months of the present time these Votes in supply should be again brought before the Committee, and he took it that that was a promise which would be fulfilled. The Government asked the Committee this year for a sum of no less than £1,500,000 for the Force known as the Royal Irish Constabulary. The existence of this Force afforded perhaps a good illustration of the expenses of governing Ireland under the existing system. He ventured to assert that under a proper system £1 out of £3 might be struck off the cost, and that no less than £500,000 might be saved immediately by the introduction of a Government in accordance with the wants and wishes of the people of Ireland. The cost of the Force had been increasing in an extraordinary manner since 1871. In that year it amounted to 3*s.* 4*d.* per head of the population in Ireland; in 1876 it had risen to 3*s.* 11*d.*; in 1882 it was 4*s.* 6*d.*; in 1886 5*s.* 7*d.*; and for the present year 1888-9 the cost would exceed the sum of 6*s.* per head. Therefore, during the last 15 or 16 years the expense of the Force had nearly doubled. He would not go into minute details of the real reason why this enormous increase had taken place. One of the inconveniences of the present modes of voting the Estimates was that it was impossible in Committee of the whole House to go into minute

details. If they had, as they might very well have, a select Committee appointed next year to inquire into the whole cost and administration of the Royal Irish Constabulary, he was sure that even without any change in the policy of administration or in the handling of the Force very great economies might be effected. One of the reasons why the Force was so very costly lay almost on the surface. He believed there was an economic law that the more disagreeable the vocation or functions a man had to perform the higher the remuneration paid for them. The duties of the Royal Irish Constabulary had been admitted by hon. Members on both sides of the House on more than one occasion to be at times of the most disagreeable nature. They had to perform against their own countrymen—against their own kith and kin—functions that were most unpleasant, and it could not be denied that for the performance of such duties they must more or less be bribed. He ventured to assert that the extravagant remuneration these officers received was largely in the nature of a bribe to them for performing against their countrymen services which they would otherwise not be willing to perform. He saw from the Vote that there were a great number of persons who were called officers of Constabulary, and it would be interesting to learn how it was that almost invariably those officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary were drawn from a particular class. He was bound, however, to admit that even after the experience they had had of the Irish Office it was astounding to hear the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) state in reply to a Question which he had repeated that day from Friday last, that there was no one in the Irish Office who could answer this Question—

"In what manner—whether by examination, nomination, length of service, or any other method—appointments are made to the positions in the Royal Irish Constabulary of County Inspectors, District Inspectors of first, second, and third class, head constables, sergeants, and sergeants (acting); and, whether there are any minimum or maximum limits of age in each of these ranks, and in that case what are they ?"

Neither the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary nor the hon. and learned Solicitor General were in a position to afford the information he had asked for. It was an illustration of the manner in which Ireland was governed. The hon. and learned Solicitor General said that a Report had been called for, but he thought the Government ought to have it at their hands in Queen Street, so that it might be produced at any moment for every information in respect of the manner in which a great armed semi-military force of 13,000 was officered. There were, it appeared, some 300 officers of the rank of Sub-Inspectors and upwards, and one of his objects in putting the question was to discover the maximum and minimum age at which these appointments were made. When with the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) on a certain occasion he had been greatly impressed by the extreme juvenility of the Constabulary officer to whom the maintenance of the peace was entrusted. At a meeting which he attended with his hon. Friend there were present some 4,000 or 5,000 men, most of whom were in a state—he would not say of great excitement—but very keenly interested in what was going on in their immediate district. There was a mere handful of constables there—about 20 in number—carrying rifles and side-arms, ready at a word to carry out any instructions that might be given to them by their commanding officers. He asked who was in charge of the force, because, seeing the state of feeling among the people, and the handful of men in attendance to preserve the peace, he felt that great danger might ensue from the use of a hasty word. He was told that a sergeant was in charge. He went and spoke to the sergeant, who was a most courteous gentleman, but certainly not such a person as he would have looked for in a sergeant of any Police Force in England. He was quite a youth, had not risen from the ranks, and had seen very little service. He (Mr. J. E. Ellis) simply mentioned the circumstance because his contention was that a small force like that, armed with dangerous and deadly weapons, in the midst of a crowd of 4,000 or 5,000 people, ought not to have been under the charge of a man so young. There could be no question that on that occasion, as on many others, the peace was only preserved and a serious disturbance prevented by the exercise of the influence of the hon. Member for North-East Cork. The more violent

among the crowd were certainly inclined to resent the intrusion among them of a handful of armed men. The officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary were mainly drawn from one class—the class which owned the land in Ireland. Many of them were landlords themselves, or landlords' sons, or the near connections of landlords, although, as everyone knew, the difficulties of Ireland arose almost entirely from agrarian troubles. When the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) was brought before the County Court Judge at Dundalk, on the 20th of June this year, there was a District Inspector present who indulged in constant interference with the people, so much so, that on more than one occasion the Judge was constrained to remark, "The people are very quiet; do not interfere with them." This District Inspector in charge of the Constabulary at Dundalk on the occasion to which he referred, was a landlord in Kerry, and if any hon. Member would visit that man's land he would see a picture which would shock even hon. Members sitting on the other side of the House. They had, therefore, this striking contrast—that while the hon. Member for East Mayo, a man universally beloved and esteemed throughout Ireland, was sent off to prison, they had in charge of the Constabulary an individual who was one of the very worst landlords they could find in the whole of the country. He mentioned this as an illustration of the system which prevailed in Ireland. The hon. Member for East Mayo was a so-called criminal, while the head of the Constabulary, who conveyed him there, was one of the worst types of an Irish landlord. He had said that the majority of the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary were drawn from a particular class who were not in sympathy with the people, but, on the contrary, were the cause of all the trouble which existed in Ireland. An hon. Member of that House, speaking years ago upon the Naval and Military Services of the country, referred to them as a gigantic system of out-door relief for the sons of the aristocracy. He would not pronounce any opinion as to the justice of that statement, but of this he was perfectly certain—that, as it was officered and administered now, the Royal Irish Constabulary was a system of out-door relief for the younger sons of the landlords of the country. The Members of the Force were employed in carrying out most un-English espionage. At the village railway stations they awaited the arrival of trains, they peered into carriages, they examined luggage, and they copied the names and addresses found upon it, and they avowed that they were on the look-out for prominent local politicians and members of the National League. It was impossible for visitors to take a country walk or drive without being followed by armed constables, and detectives were posted opposite hotels to watch their proceedings. It was not at all an unusual thing when a visitor to Ireland arrived at his hotel after a drive to find a detective belonging to the Constabulary posted outside the hotel watching his movements. The detestable diary about the late Mr. Mandeville's movements threw a lurid light upon what was going on in the case of any man who happened to take a side opposed to the Government. A good deal of the police espionage was done under the pretence of protection. Baron Dowse, on the 7th of May last, said—

> "I see people guarded by the police every day where there is no necessity for it. They took to guarding me once, and I saw the policeman every day up Mountjoy Square smoking his pipe and reading *The Freeman's Journal*."

The people of this country ought not to be called upon to pay for services of that kind, and he protested against the employment of detectives to follow the people about and watch their movements. The demeanour of the Constabulary in Ireland was at times most offensive. He would mention again the name of the District Inspector to whom he had already alluded. On the 29th of June, Mr. E. K. Supple, District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was summoned by Mr. James Callan, Bridge Street, Dundalk, before the Petty Sessions, held in Dundalk, for having used language calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. During the hearing of the case it was sworn by three respectable witnesses that Mr. Supple said to the plaintiff, on the 20th June, "I will get your neck wrung off." Notwithstanding Mr. Supple's denial of the charge, the judgment of the Court was as follows—

"We believe that Mr. Supple may have used the language complained of, but we do not consider it was calculated to lead to a breach of the peace."

The hon. Member for East Kerry (Mr. Sheehan) was at this moment lying in prison for uttering words far less calculated to do so. On the 2nd of August, 1887, the same member of the Constabulary force admitted that he had settled a case outside the Court for £20, and the Inspector General of Constabulary severely admonished the man, and made him promise never to do so again. It was an outrage upon the people of Ireland that the man Supple should have been continued as District Inspector of the Constabulary of the County of Louth, and should have charge of the Constabulary on an occasion like that of the trial of the hon. Member for East Mayo at Dundalk, on the 20th of June. Conduct of this sort would not be tolerated in England for a single moment, and especially in a Court of Justice. He would quote now what took place at Loughrea when the hon. Member for North-East Cork was before the magistrates, after certain observations from counsel about himself—

"A man named Kielty, a head constable, was standing on the left-hand side of the Court, near the Bench, and muttered to the counsel for the defendant—'You would not say that out of Court.'

Mr. Hodder: I do not think there is any justification for that.

Mr. Bodkin: I am entitled, as an advocate, to comment upon the character of a witness. His prevarication in the witness-box yesterday was simply scandalous.

Mr. Paul: I believe him to be a most respectable officer.

Mr. Bodkin: Well, this most respectable officer could not give his evidence with any frankness yesterday, although he was swearing in the witness-box. It was only with great difficulty that we could extract straight answers from him.

Mr. Harrington: I wish to draw your Worship's attention to the conduct of this man. He has come from the other side of the Court over here, in a most ostentatious manner, to intimidate Mr. Bodkin.

Mr. Hodder (beckoning to the head constable): Go away from there.

Mr. O'Brien: I heard this man distinctly say—'He will not say that outside the Court.'

Mr. Paul: I heard it, too.

Mr. Harrington; This is a nice man to have entrusted with the lives of the people of the town.

Mr. Bodkin: Counsel are always justified in characterizing the conduct of witnesses. The man who behaves himself in this way in the Court is the man who has power to baton the people.

Mr. Paul: The Head Constable had much provocation when he used the expression; but it is very much to be regretted that he used it.

Mr. Bodkin: Not only did he make use of this expression, but he comes around here to intimidate counsel."

He maintained that that was a state of things which could never occur in England. He would now quote a case that was heard at Kildysart Petty Sessions—the case of Sergeant Cotter *v.* Patrick Ryan. This was the report—

"Sergeant Cotter deposed that while on duty at Lisseycasey on the 17th January he heard some groaning, and turning round he saw the defendant near Mr. Hugh Hennessy's window, walked up to the defendant, Pat Ryan, and challenged him for so doing.

Mr. Moloney; Were there others in the street with the defendant?

Sergeant Cotter: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Moloney: Might it not be one of those parties?

Sergeant Cotter: No, Sir; I had my eyes on him, and I knew it to be him by his voice; I may also state that parties are also going into the fields and hills groaning and booing at us as we go out on duty.

Defendant: I assure your worship that I am not guilty; I am a servant to Mr. Hennessy; a Kilrush man gave me his horse to hold; the night was dark; the police were some distance off, and if I were guilty of groaning I could have made off; I acknowledge that I coughed, but not groaned; there were several others on the road, but the police nowadays are not satisfied to allow the people to sneeze; it is unknown what they will try to goad the people into doing, as they are failing in nothing in the Courts; and as my solicitor, Mr. Lynch, is absent, I ask for an adjournment.

Head Constable Hope; We are prosecuting under an old Act.

Mr. Moloney: I have received a telegram from Mr: Lynch. I must accede to the defendant's application, and I very much regret that this bitter feeling between the police and people is on the increase. I would wish to impress on the people that the police must discharge their duties, and that they should not in any way be insulted, and, as far as in me lies, I will not allow it. Again, I would advise the police to try and make friends with the people, and to pass things that they consistently could, which may restore the former harmony between the people and the police."

He was afraid that this advice, excellent though it was, had not been backed up by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He had never heard of any advice having been given by him to the police to pass things if they could consistently, to try and make things pleasant, and to behave in such a manner as not to provoke and irritate the people. It was quite impossible for

anyone living only in England, who did not go about Ireland and make himself acquainted with what went on, to realize the way in which the Irish police dominated the lives of the peasantry in Ireland. Instead of being the friends and protectors of the people against real criminals, the police simply harassed and annoyed them. Now and then the Police Force of London, or of any other large town, might commit an act of indiscretion, but no attempt was ever made to pursue a persistent course of harassing, irritating, and annoying the people. In many instances the Irish Constabulary were guilty of conduct clearly illegal. Not only had the Act of last year created new offences hitherto unknown to the law, but it sanctioned proceedings on the part of the police of a still darker kind. An unfortunate man named M'Nulty, a peasant farmer, was seated by his own fireside, when, without warning, he was dragged into the road and searched, and certain money taken from him, the whole proceeding having been, as was admitted by the Constabulary afterwards, without warrant. In another case the name of the hon. Member for East Clare (Mr. Cox) was forged. It was admitted that Boycotting prosecutions were repeatedly got up. It was by no means an uncommon practice for the Constabulary to send one of their own men deliberately for goods they did not require, and of which there was known to be plenty in the police barracks at the time. The only object was to get a refusal, and then to prosecute the shopkeeper. It was merely setting a trap for these unfortunate people in order to bring them under the Coercion Act. He maintained that that was not a legitimate use of the Police Force. Members of the Constabulary were also employed in defacing and tearing down placards, for which they had no legal warrant; and they had interfered with public meetings in a most gross and wanton manner. He would leave other hon. Members who had been present on such occasions to protest against the use thus made of the police, as many of them had had personal experience of it. He would turn to another point—and it was one of the main causes of the existing trouble in Ireland—the employment of the police at evictions. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) moved some time ago for a special Return in connection with the Royal Irish Constabulary charges from the Votes in 1885-6, and he (Mr. J. E. Ellis) had continued the Return for 1886 and 1887. It appeared that in 1885 the extra pay of the Constabulary for eviction services was £10,776; in 1886 it was £20,297, and last year it was £20,223. These Returns, he supposed, did not represent the entire sum the taxpayers of the country had to pay for eviction services, but merely what those who prepared the Return chose to call extra pay. At any rate, according to the Return, the taxpayers were required to pay more than £400 a-week for the extra services of the Constabulary at evictions. He confessed that he was not so much concerned with the precise amount paid as with the whole policy of these evictions. It seemed to him that when they were told of organized plunder in Ireland, the organized plunder was on the side of those who used the costly Constabulary Force at the suit and beck of certain landlords in order to confiscate the toil of the peasants. But the Royal Irish Constabulary had recently had a new function laid upon them, for which he saw no charge in the Estimates. He did notice that there was a sum of £1,324 entered there for persons belonging to the Force who were in Great Britain. He imagined that a great deal more would have to be charged in next years' Estimate for officers of the Constabulary who were now in Great Britain. He was not surprised at the refusal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to disclose the names of the members of the Force who were attending the Special Commission now sitting in the Royal Courts of Justice. He had no intention of entering into the proceedings there, although some hon. Members would have something very frankly to say upon the matter when the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury moved a Vote for the Commission early next year. In reply to a Question from him that evening the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland stated that two persons, neither of whom, however, was connected with the Constabulary, were at present in London. He would not allude further to that fact, but he would like to call the attention of the Committee to the proceedings before the Commission in reference to

the evidence of a man named James Walsh, who came up for examination the other day. In reply to questions put to him in cross-examination by Mr. Davitt, Walsh disclosed a curious proceeding, which ought to be brought more prominently into notice. This youth admitted that a certain police constable had been to him with respect to his evidence before the Commission, and had some conversation with him, which probably presented a type of what was going on in Ireland. He would read what took place.

"Before the police constable went to you, had you any communication with the police yourself?—No, Sir.

Cross-examined by Mr. Davitt. When you were sent for by this policeman was there any threat to prosecute you for dishonesty if you would not give evidence?—There was.

Was the threat used by the District Inspector or by O'Connor?—By the District Inspector.

Will you tell their Lordships what the threat was?—He said he did not know what would happen me about that insurance company.

If you did not give your evidence here?—He did not state. He said he did not know what would happen me about that insurance company.

And you took that as threat?—I did, Sir.

After the District Inspector referred to the insurance company, what else did he say?—That is all I remember about the insurance company.

What did you say to the District Inspector when he referred to the insurance fraud?—I did not say anything at all.

You volunteered to come and give evidence after he had used this threat against you?—Yes."

It was monstrous that a District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary should be sent about Ireland threatening people about extraneous matters in order to frighten them into coming to London and giving evidence before the Commission. The evidence of the youth, it was true, was not worth anything, for he came to bless *The Times*, and remained to curse. Even the Judges realized that the time of the Court was wasted by taking the evidence of such a person. He protested, in the strongest manner possible, against the Royal Irish Constabulary being employed in touting all over Ireland and making use of threats in order to get up evidence for *The Times* newspaper. It was no part of the duties for which they were created, and he was sure there were many Members sitting on the other side of the House who would frankly admit that it was a duty they ought not to be called on to perform. He had said nothing about the loss of life which had been brought about in Ireland through the fault of the police. It was exactly in accordance with the policy of "Do not hesitate to shoot;" "Fire into the crowd;" "Do not hesitate to kill," given to them from the Table of that House by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He charged the Government and their supporters with maintaining this costly Force at all hazards to harass, oppress, and molest the Irish people in the interests of the landlords who would not come to reasonable terms with their tenants. Knowing these things, and many other features in the present detestable mode of governing Ireland, they were asked to restrain their impatience. He frankly owned that he was unable to restrain his impatience at what was now going on. It was one of the traditions of that House that an hon. Member should be prepared to say inside the House what he had no hesitation in saying out of it. But that tradition was not always acted upon, especially in the case of one of the hon. Members for Cornwall, who talked to his constituents about the affair at Mitchelstown, declaring that it ought to be made the subject of an inquiry, and yet never rose in that House to insist on that inquiry, but sedulously supported the Government in the Lobby when it tried to shirk such an inquiry. For his own part he could not refrain from expressing in that House his sense of the great wrong done to the people of Ireland by the behaviour of a Force of that character for which they were now asked to Vote £1,500,000. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £10,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before I put the Question raised by the Amendment, I must point out to the Committee that it is a growing practice which is likely to lead to inconvenience, if not to indecency, to challenge criticism with reference to remarks made by the Chairman outside the House, while he was in the Chair and it was impossible for him to reply to them.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: I would ask you, Mr. Courtney, how you are aware that I referred to yourself?

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £359,288,

be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. John Ellis.*)

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, that at the end of 1880, or in the spring of 1881, Ministers sitting on the Bench opposite admitted that this was a question of great and pressing importance; that the charge for the Irish Constabulary was unnecessarily large; that it was still growing rapidly, and that it was desirable that something should be done to lessen the scandal and reduce the charge. Seven years had since elapsed and what had they seen. There had been a rapid decrease of population, but the cost of the Constabulary had continued growing at an enormous rate—a fact, he maintained, without fear of contradiction—without parallel throughout the whole of the civilized world. What was the history of this Force? In 1845 a Bill was introduced into that House by way of giving relief under great pressure to those who then controlled the representation of the Irish people—the landed gentry. It was introduced for the purpose of shifting one half of the cost of the Irish Constabulary, which up to that time had very properly be borne by the ratepayers, to the Consolidated Fund. That proposal was a monstrous one; it was debated hotly and the Bill was protested against at the time by some hon. Members, first, because it was a corrupt bribe to the landed aristocracy of Ireland, and next, because it would tend irresistibly to the creation of a large un-Constitutional armed force in that country. It was urged that if they created a Police Force in Ireland, which was not on the local rates for support, but maintained entirely from the Votes of Parliament, it would be emancipated from all control by the ratepayers, and would become entirely a military force, but outside the scope of the Mutiny Act—a thing which the people of any free country would not tolerate for a single moment. That was an example of what happened. It was a bribe to the landlords of Ireland. They felt to their own discomfort that there was a constant tendency on the part of the cost of the police to increase and multiply. They felt the burden growing, and they came to Parliament to demand that the expense of the Royal Irish Constabulary should be borne entirely by the taxpayers of the country. What had been the story of the Irish police since? It would hardly be credited that since 1845, when half the cost of the Constabulary was shifted from the rates to the Consolidated Fund, the total cost of the Force was £430,000, and the population of Ireland was 8,250,000. The state of agrarian disturbance was infinitely greater then, but at present they spent upon the Constabulary, for doing the same work, no less a sum than £1,450,000, although the population was only about 4,750,000. He repeated that this was a monstrous scandal, and that it was impossible to produce another scandal like it in any other country. How had it been brought about? It had been brought about because they had removed the wholesome check which used to exist in the past when the landlords had to pay for their own little game and to bear the burden of their action, they created a disturbance in the country. Irish landlords could carry out any insane a oppressive proceeding they pleased against the people, and entail those monstrous charges which were now borne by the Imperial Exchequer without a single shilling falling upon themselves. No landlord in England would act as Lord Clanricarde did, because, if he attempted to do so, he would disturb the country, and public opinion would make him suffer socially until he abandoned such conduct. Probably the reason they had not got in England the same oppressive conduct was that no English landlord dared to do what the landlords were doing in Ireland in these days. If he did, his brother landlords would bring pressure to bear upon him. They had removed that wholesome check from the Irish landlords with the result that £1,000,000 had been added to the taxes as the cost of the Irish police, practically in order to enable the landlords to misbehave themselves. He was not aware that there was any other country in the world in which the Central Government bore the entire cost of the police. He was not sufficiently learned as to the condition of Europe to say whether that was so or not, but if it was the case, he maintained that it was a radical mistake, and would surely lead to disastrous results. Where the Central Government bore the cost of the police that Central Government would naturally insist upon having the

control of the Force. In the United States of America, where local liberty was best understood of any country in the world, the policy pursued was exactly the reverse, and this condition of things prevailed—that each county in the State made provision for the police of its own district. He believed that that was one of the most valuable checks that could be placed upon any Executive Government. At all events it could not be said of Ireland that it had not enough police. It was pointed out in the debate upon the Education Vote the other day, that the cost of the police in Ireland was double as much as that for education. In England they voted over £3,000,000 towards primary education, and short of £1,000,000 towards the police, excluding the police of the Metropolis; in Ireland they voted for the police nearly double what they voted for education. What was the cause that in Ireland they voted only £800,000 for the education of the people, and £1,500,000 for the police—or, in other words, double as much for police as for education—whereas in England they voted three times as much for education as for police? It was a deplorable and monstrous mistake. It might be said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that that disproportion was due to the political agitation of himself and his hon. Friends; but he asserted that it was in full swing before he or any of his Friends stood on any platform in Ireland. It existed in 1879, and, on the contrary, their agitation was the direct result of the detestable system of which that Police Force was the expression. It was because millions were voted for the police and the Force was placed at the disposal of evil-minded Irish landlords that Ireland was in an agitated state, and the people saw in the National movement their only hope of redemption. He defied any hon. Member to point to any part of the world where so much was spent upon the police as in Ireland; notwithstanding which fact they found in that country the poorest and most disturbed districts. Things went on in a vicious circle in these districts, where sums were levied from the unfortunate people for extra police. First, there existed great distress in a district, then came disturbances arising out of that distress, then extra police were sent down, their cost being thrown on the impoverished district; and thus the evil was perpetuated. As a means of relieving the distress of the people, heavy and unnecessary burdens were thrown on them, and the little that they had was taken from them. In County Clare, a very poor district, and one of the most disturbed, he found the Grand Jury protesting the other day against the levy upon the county this year of a sum of £6,000 for extra police. Notwithstanding the large sum which the taxpayers had to pay for the support of the Irish police, a heavy burden was imposed upon poor and disturbed districts locally. The necessity for the employment of extra police arose solely from the oppressive evictions carried out by the landlords. It was important for the Committee to understand what was the occupation of the police in Ireland, and why it was that such an enormous number of men was required in peaceful and quiet districts where ordinary crime was actually unknown. What was the proportion of the police to the population? The hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham (Mr. J. E. Ellis) had alluded to one of the occupations of the Irish police—namely, that detestable practice of waiting at the railway stations and spying into the carriages as each train arrived. There could not be fewer than 300—probably 500—men engaged in that occupation at the stations.

An hon. MEMBER: More likely 2,000 or 3,000.

MR. DILLON said that two or three men took their stand at every railway station and peeped into every carriage, taking a note of every person they saw there, Putting down the force so employed at 500, and possibly he underrated it, for its maintenance at least £50,000 was spent. It was a monstrous waste of money on a system of espionage that was most odious and detestable to the Irish people, and would not be allowed in any other country under any circumstances whatever. Another occupation of the police in Ireland was the organization of outrages. It, indeed, became a question whether or not a Select Committee should be appointed in order to find out whether the Irish police kept agents in their pay for the purpose of keeping up outrages. The story of Cullinane, the informer, certainly pointed in that direction. Information had been placed in their hands to the

effect that there were men similar to Cullinane now going through Ireland, whose occupation was to induce the young men of the country to enter into secret societies and then to hand them over to the Authorities. Another occupation of the police was that of attending evictions. He would not go into that matter now, but he would simply say that the system of employing police had been carried to such an extent in Ireland as to become a gross abuse. If a citizen of London wished his house to be watched by the police, he understood that the citizen so desiring police protection had to make a contribution towards the expenses. What was the case in Ireland? If an Irish landlord had an empty farm on his property and chose to say that the state of the district was disturbed, constables were sent, not only to watch the farm, but to reside on it at the expense of the British taxpayer. The landlord got all he needed without a question being asked, and he paid no part of the expense. Take the case of Lord Clanricarde. The action of Lord Clanricarde was not only condemned by hon. Members sitting on that side of the House but by hon. Members on the opposite side and even by the Authorities. Now, what was the state of things existing on the Clanricarde estate? At the present moment there were a considerable number of evicted farms, most of which he had visited, and he had seen four or five members of the Constabulary living on those farms and so tied down by the duties they had to perform there that it was impossible for them to do anything else. The last time he was there, there were 16 men on Lord Clanricarde's estate engaged in watching those farms, and doing nothing else, at a probable cost of from £1,600 to £1,700 a-year. Now every single individual who paid taxes looked upon Lord Clanricarde as an unmitigated public nuisance, and strongly condemned the conduct he had pursued towards his tenants. Nevertheless, the country had to bear the expense. Considering the opinion held of Lord Clanricarde by the Executive, as well as by the people generally, he could not understand on what principle he was to be treated with this extraordinary generosity, and he awaited with curiosity an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. This was one of the functions now discharged by a vast number of the police in Ireland—namely, living upon and watching evicted farms, and there could be very little doubt that many thousands of pounds were expended every year in carrying out this objectionable system. As it was a system which the Executive were not bound to carry out at all, he thought that it ought to be stopped at once, and a great saving in the public expenditure effected in consequence. With the permission of the Committee he would examine for a moment the cost of some of those operations. It was a question which hon. Members below the Gangway had brought before the House over and over again, and he thought the time had arrived when Her Majesty's Government should put an end to the system of marching large bodies of the Constabulary out into the country in order to take part in evictions at an enormous cost. When Lord Clanricarde evicted his tenants in the parish of Woodford it cost the country between £3,000 and £4,000 to evict four families. A similar large cost had been incurred in many other cases, and he was informed that at the present moment a large miscellaneous force was advancing on a remote and extremely poor district of Donegal for the purpose of carrying out evictions in the district. He referred to the march of an armed force upon the Holford estate in the County of Donegal. It was in the power of the Executive to stop these evictions that were about to take place in the vicinity of one of the most scandalous and disgraceful transactions in the whole history of police operations in Ireland—he referred to the successive expeditions against the tenantry on the Hill estate at Gweedore, which, although they resulted in absolutely nothing at all, had put the country to enormous cost. There were most spurious circumstances connected with the expeditions themselves, and had led to no good results whatever, because the tenants and the landlord had arranged on the terms originally asked by the tenants, and even if the landlord failed to get the rents he wished to exact, he was able to obtain compensation in a totally different way. Besides, it so happened that the landlord was the owner of a large hotel at Gweedore, and every year, sometimes twice a year, there had been a large encampment of British officers

and men, Resident Magistrates, Constabulary officers and police quartered in the district, who lived at the hotel, so that the landlord was able to realize out of the expeditions a sum quite equal to the rents, and this, too, was realized by the landlord out of the taxpayers' money. This was the story that was current, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether it was true or not that the military and constabulary lived at Captain Hill's hotel while they were being employed in carrying out the evictions? If it was, it was one of the most monstrous scandals that had ever occurred, that money should be voted by Parliament for bogus expeditions which resulted in nothing beyond a waste of public resources, a considerable portion of which found its way into the pocket of the landlord on whose behalf the expeditions were conducted. They were now to have a large expedition marched upon the Olphert estates. He was told that there had been a total failure of the crops in the district, that the tenants were in a state of extreme poverty, and that even if they carried out the terms they had offered to the landlord it was extremely probable that they would be compelled to set up a claim for relief. Unhappily that was a state of things that had occurred in Ireland over and over again, and it was one of the things which made Irishmen so bitter when harsh extremities were resorted to. He knew cases in which, after the tenants had been compelled to pay rent and sometimes costs in addition, before the year was out they had to be fed by the British public. Surely, in cases like that, the armed force of the country ought not to be employed by the Executive in wringing the last shilling from an impoverished tenantry who were absolutely unable to provide themselves with a livelihood. He would invite hon. Members to go over to those remote districts of Ireland where the troops and Constabulary had been, and were being employed, and visit the cabins of the people, so that they might ascertain for themselves how the Irish people lived. He did not think if they had experience of that kind that they would consent to allow the forces of the country to be kept up at such an inordinate expense, in order that it might be employed in carrrying out such a vicious system—a system which resulted in the demolition of the cottages of the people by the battering-rams of the authorities. He thought it would be only wise for hon. Members to satisfy themselves what the real facts of the case were before they allowed expeditions of this kind, of a semi-military character, to be despatched. He must remind the Committee that they were notordinary police operations, but operations of a character which endangered the peace of the district, in regard to which the Executive Government ought to exercise some degree of discretion before arousing those wretched people to a state of absolute madness and despair. That was the condition of things where the last great police expedition was now actually in motion for the purpose of carrying out their evictions. The tenants on the Olphert estate had offered to pay a fair rent. There were not many arrears, and where they existed they were due to the state of destitution which had prevailed in the locality. The country was a very poor one, and the tenants were extremely impoverished, and it certainly appeared to him that it was an act of inhumanity, and of purposeless inhumanity, to allow this expedition to proceed. He thought he was only doing what was fair and right in bringing the matter before the Committee, inasmuch as the money they were now asked to vote might be used for the purpose of paying the expenses incurred in this very expedition. He proposed now to say a word or two upon the conduct of the police generally throughout the country, in reference to public meetings and political demonstrations. As he understood, the general notion of the Police Force was that it should have no Party feeling whatever. The very essence of the usefulness of the Police Force was that the people of the country among whom it operated should have confidence in its absolute impartiality between all parties. How on earth could they expect the Police Force to be useful in discovering crime if they forfeited the confidence of a large section of the people? He regretted to say that the police had been encouraged and incited to assume an attitude of hostility to the people by the authorities themselves. Even the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had gone out of his way to make strongly inflammatory

speeches to them in the Phœnix Park. This course of treatment rendered the police almost entirely useless for the two purposes for which they were supposed to exist. He was sorry to say that this feeling of hostility towards the people was growing, and was encouraged day by day—and to such a pitch had it now come that in considerable districts the police could hardly get anybody to speak to them at all. If the Police Force of the country could not get on speaking terms with the people of the country, how on earth could they proceed to carry out their real functions, which related to the prevention and detection of crime? At the present moment there was a great gulf yawning between the police and the people, and for all the ordinary purposes of the police the Constabulary Force in Ireland were almost entirely useless. Where they were able to succeed in doing anything, it required 10 men to do the work of one, and even then it was not done as effectually as if they had at their command the assistance of the people outside. To give an instance of what he meant, he would refer to an incident which occurred, within his personal knowledge, in the town of Kilrush. In the month of May last, on a certain evening, the Nationalist Party held a meeting in the district, and had succeeded in holding it without the police being aware of what was going on. After the meeting was over he went into the town of Kilrush. No doubt the local sergeant was exasperated at the holding of the meeting there without his knowledge. He (Mr. Dillon) was seated at the priest's house at dinner, when he noticed in front of it, upon a large open square—containing at least an acre and a-half of land—in the middle of the town, with houses very wide apart, that some people had assembled to the number of about 100. They were principally boys and girls and women, with a few men, and they were doing what was a very common thing in Ireland, burning tar-barrels and making bonfires. There was no obstruction whatever, and the proceedings that were taking place were a very common occurrence all over Ireland. When he saw the light he got up from the dinner-table and went to the door. To his horror, the moment he got there he saw a body consisting of some 20 police drawn up and formed on the flank of the crowd. Before a single word of warning, or any kind of notice whatever—just in the twinkling of an eye—he and seven or eight priests who were standing at the door of the house of the parish priest's saw what was about to take place. A crowd of boys and girls rushed past, and then the police, with their rifles clubbed, charged upon them. Now, he maintained that nothing whatever had been done by this innocent assemblage of men, women, and children to justify the police in coming out of their barracks at all for the purpose of opposing the mob. No difference had taken place, and all were standing in the square in perfect good humour, without the possibility of a difference of opinion arising. The police had no business there at all. Fortunately the priests were courageous men; they rushed between the people and the police, and the police, without orders, stopped their charge, and then contented themselves with kicking over the tar-barrels and scattering the bonfires all over the place. Of course the public objected, but no harm was done. "Are you mad?" said one of them to a police constable. "No, I am not mad," replied the police officer; "but they are booing my name, and I cannot stand it." Was conduct like that to be tolerated on the part of the police? Was it to be laid down as a principle that if a handful of men, women, and children "booed" the police, without offering them violence, the police, who had come there with a determination, if possible, to provoke acts of violence and to insult the people, should charge the crowd with clubbed muskets simply for the new offence of "booing?" He thought that a monstrous outrage had been committed by the police, and it was one which certainly made his blood boil at the time. He made an inquiry into the matter subsequently, and he found that the officer in charge of the police was a very young man. On asking who he was, he was told that he had been promoted over the heads of a great many older men, for the simple reason that he had married the daughter of a bailiff of one of the neighbouring landlords. He had certainly been surprised to see a head constable in charge of a police force so young and evidently inexperienced. It was only a specimen, however, of what they had to submit to in Ireland. The result of the system was

that the relations between the police in Kilrush and the people of the surrounding districts were as bad as bad could be. Before he left this particular case, he should like to give an instance which occurred under his own eyes, to show how unjust the charge was that was levelled against the Irish Members by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary the other day in reference to their inciting the people to disorder. On one particular occasion, when he was going to attend a large public meeting at which there were from 7,000 to 8,000 people present, as he was proceeding along the road about 200 young farmers from the County Clare followed the car in which he was seated, and in the middle of the road they met a solitary police constable driving a dog-cart. There was a great feeling of exasperation existing in the locality against the police. The constable was passing along the middle of the road, and those farmers only needed to have backed one of their horses to have thrown him into the ditch, yet that great body of men rode by and never lifted a hand to injure him; and yet it was charged against the Irish people, by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that they were incited by agitators, whenever they were in numbers and found a police constable alone, to attack him and murder him. There was not the least foundation for the charge. Whenever the police came in contact with the people in inferior numbers, and found themselves greatly outnumbered, the peace was perfectly preserved and no disturbance arose. It was only when the police were in great force that trouble took place; and a disturbance was invariably started by the police themselves, who, under such circumstances, displayed an anxiety to annoy and attack individuals who were engaged in carrying on political demonstrations in a public and orderly manner. What happened not long ago at Dundalk? He was on his way to be tried at the Court, and when he entered the town, and was waiting at the Dundalk Station, various Public Bodies of the district, including the Poor Law Guardians, the Harbour Commissioners of Dundalk, the Town Commissioners of Dundalk, and five or six other bodies of respectable inhabitants waited upon him, and presented him with addresses. At least such a proceeding ought to have been treated as a fair and legitimate one, but what happened? Before the train came into the station at all, the police, who had marched up where they had no business whatever, ordered a charge to be made, and cleared out the entire body of men who had collected there. When he arrived in the train great confusion prevailed; and he found members of the Town Council and Town Commissioners, and a considerable number of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, scrambling over walls and diving under hedges, in order to escape an indiscriminate charge of the police armed with batons. Well, he drove to the Court House. It had always been his rule on such occasions to express his willingness and anxiety to enter into arrangements with the magistrates in charge to stop the people at any distance from the Court House which he might chose to name. He had always publicly stated that he did not claim the right of bringing a large crowd in direct proximity to the Court House. On such occasions the magistrates had generally said—"I cannot allow the crowd to go beyond a certain point." In every such case the wishes of the magistrates had been complied with. On this occasion, however, at Dundalk a body of Dragoons had been brought down to the station to act in conjunction with the police, and on the way to the Court House those Dragoons rode over the people, trampling upon them, and dispersing them in every direction. He saw policemen running by the side of the carriage in which he was seated, butting at everybody within reach with their rifles. What was the result? The whole crowd of military, police, and everybody else arrived at the Court House pell-mell together, so that, instead of drawing a cordon round the Court House, and preventing the crowd from getting there—in doing which he would willingly have assisted the authorities—the whole affair was so mismanaged that the entire crowd was brought there together. The result was that there was considerable pressure and squeezing round the Court, whereupon the police were ordered to clear the people away. In carrying out their orders an English lady was knocked down and considerably crushed. He thought this was an instance which

clearly proved the want of confidence that existed between the police and the people. These circumstances naturally produced a feeling of irritation; and later on, in the evening, upon the same day, when the people had assembled in the street, and were listening to a speech made from the hotel wimdow, a small body of police took two prisoners into custody, and attempted, as at Mitchelstown, to draw them by main force through the crowd, claiming a right of way. That showed anything but a conciliatory spirit. The force of police was very small, and might easily have been attacked. As it was, the crowd was broken up, and two or three stones were thrown, and a number of respectable persons were afterwards summoned for taking part in an illegal assembly. They were brought up before a special magistrate, convicted, of course, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment each. He, himself, had the pleasure of seeing 15 or 16 of the most respectable men of Dundalk walking round the prison yard in convict's dress for no offence whatever, so far as he could see, than that they had gone to the railway station to meet him in order to present him with an address. This proceeding only entailed upon the police considerable trouble and annoyance. They found themselves unable to go out alone, and the patrols were doubled. Therefore, considerable expense must have resulted from that act of folly. Those were the kind of matters they so strenuously objected to on behalf of the Irish people; and it was perfectly futile to make baseless charges against them, and assert that they were the cause of all the difficulty. He asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, who made this charge against the Irish Members, to enter into questions of detail, and explain on what occasion they had been the cause of those evils. Would the right hon. Gentleman justify such acts as those he had mentioned? Would the right hon. Gentleman stand up and say that the spirit of the police in Ireland was to stand perfectly neutral between the Nationalists and the power of the Executive Government? He maintained that the right hon. Gentleman ought to do so. He contended that the police in the discharge of their duty ought to have no politics. He had noticed that when the Tories were in Office they invariably instructed the police to baton and break up every Liberal meeting, while they extended their protection to Tory meetings. If such a thing took place in this country, would the people stand it? Yet it could not be denied that such was the spirit and training in which the Irish police had been brought up. He knew it had been charged against himself and his Friends that they had laid themselves out deliberately to incite the people against the Executive. So far as he was concerned that was not the fact, although he had always resented, and should continue to resent, the employment of the Royal Irish Constabulary in an oppressive manner against the Irish people. He had always spoken, and always should speak, with the greatest respect of those policemen who exhibited a spirit of neutrality; but those who acted in a contrary spirit ceased to be, in any sense of the word, policemen. They became, all over the world, a term of reproach. They were not policemen, but they were a kind of political *gens d'armes*—the same class of people as those against whom, as agents of the Third Empire in France, the English people had so strongly inveighed. They were political agents who were instructed to work with the political enemies of the people of Ireland, and to show the people that they were their enemies. This was thoroughly well known to everybody who had lived in Ireland, or who had anything to do with Irish legislation. It was quite a matter of notoriety. In proof of it, he would refer to an incident which occurred in the County of Limerick about two years ago. There was a large force employed in carrying out evictions at Herbertstown. It happened that an English gentleman, from the town of Oldham, was standing in the road looking on. He was charged by the police, and batoned so severely that he was rendered black and blue all over with bruises. But what occurred on the following day? The magistrate waited upon him, and said—"I have called upon you to offer an apology on the part of my men who batoned you yesterday. Their excuse is that they took you for an Irish Member of Parliament." The gentleman in question wrote to him stating the circumstances, and giving him his name and address. It was no

isolated or no absurd case at all; but it was entirely characteristic of the spirit of both men and officers in the Irish Constabulary, or, at any rate, of the spirit which the Executive endeavoured to put into them. He knew perfectly well that there were many men in Ireland who wore a policeman's jacket who hated the system as much as he did. Indeed, there were many hundreds of them. He had frequently received kindly offers from Irish policemen. He recollected one night while driving through a town in the North of Ireland that a man came to him and tucked the rug under his feet, saying, "God bless you, Sir, and give you success." Just as the carriage was going away, he saw from the gold lace on the arm of the man that he was in command of the police of the town. Of course it was impossible for him to mention the locality. If it had been daylight, and not in the dark, that officer would never have spoken to him at all. He knew that there were hundreds of men connected with the Irish Constabulary who hated the system under which they lived, but who had yielded to the temptation of enormous pay, and which made them continue in a career of which their conscience did not approve. The spirit which the officers sought to imbue their men with—the spirit of the speeches made to them by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—was a spirit by the practice of which the authorities of Dublin Castle held out the only way to obtain promotion. It converted the Force into political *gens d'armes*, animated by a spirit of partizanship, of hatred and hostility to the people among whom they lived. Any man animated by a different feeling, who was suspected of entertaining sympathy and kindly feeling towards the people, was certain not to get promotion. It was only when he was prepared to act as an enemy of the people that he might expect promotion. He was not surprised that it was found necessary to back up such a detestable system by the payment of enormous salaries. In the whole history of political police there was not to be found out of Ireland a more expensive, and, in the truest sense, a more worthless Police Force in all the world.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, the reason why he should oppose the Vote in every way he possibly could, in order to show his dissatisfaction with it, was, that it was not a question of a small character at all. It was not a question that affected the conduct of one or of certain men in a particular district. If it were simply a question of the conduct of this policeman or of that Constabulary officer, the matter would be of trifling importance, and could be remedied at once in the proper way. But unfortunately a state of things had grown up in Ireland which constituted a system which, to some extent, excused every man whose conduct they were compelled to condemn, because the fault did not rest wholly on the Force, but on the system, which put them in an entirely false position. Now, what they had to remember was that the police in Ireland were no longer the guardians of the public peace, but part of a political organization for the purpose of maintaining despotic rule in Ireland. That was simply what it came to. They might put it in any way they liked, but sooner or later every honest and intelligent man must come back to this—that it was a simple question whether they could establish or retain—where they had already established it—in some parts of Ireland, a despotism which was as terrible a despotism, and as perfect a tyranny, as was ever known in any part of the world. In order to maintain it they were compelled to convert those who were supposed to be the guardians of the public peace, and who ought to hold a perfectly fair and even balance between the different Parties of the State, into a political organization, using them for carrying out evictions in a way which was utterly indefensible and extravagant. He wanted to know by what right the police were to be called on to support a landlord in making a demand which the Head of the Police himself, or the Resident Magistrate, admitted to be an unfair demand? That was exactly what took place at Coolroe. He heard the magistrate at Coolroe give evidence afterwards, at the trial in the little village of Arthurstown, in regard to the circumstances of the eviction. Before an attempt was made to put the evictions in force Canon Doyle made an offer on behalf of the people whose property was about to be attacked, and which offer was, in the judgment of Mr. Considine, the Magistrate, a fair one.

Mr. Considine then and there stated that the offer was a reasonable and fair one. But what happened? He thought he was entitled to say, as a matter of fair argument, that, inasmuch as the offer made by the tenants was a fair offer and was not accepted, the tenants' house ought not to have been battered down. The proceedings that were resorted to subsequently were, in his opinion, an act of gross tyranny and oppression. He did not care whether the act was legal or not. If it was legal it only made the matter worse. It was because the landlords had power to shield themselves under the protection of British law, with all the power of the police and military, that those proceedings became bad and painful. Whatever the law might be, when an entirely unprejudiced witness like Mr. Considine was of opinion that the proposition made on behalf of the tenants was a fair one, it was a monstrous thing that the police in such a case should be called in afterwards to take part in an attack upon the houses and property of the people. But that was not all. This kind of work was now going on everywhere, and it was carried out with an extraordinary amount of cruelty. He was not at Coolroe at the time of the evictions; but when the case was tried, on returning from Arthurstown, where the trial took place, he went out of the way in order to examine the locality. As he passed by the house of Mr. Byrne, the landlord at whose instance the evictions took place, this was what happened. The police at that time were watching Byrne in order to protect him, as it was said, from the indignation and wrath of the people of the neighbourhood. Greater nonsense he believed had never been talked than the dangers which the Constabulary were supposed to prevent. The danger did not exist at all, and Mr. Byrne in this case would have been perfectly unharmed if he had been left alone. It was a settled purpose, however, of some people to make a tremendous parade of protecting certain men in certain places, and the case of Mr. Byrne was an admirable illustration of this. On the day of trial the little village of Arthurstown was crowded with police. He took occasion the other night to mention the number of police whom he and some of his friends actually counted at the time. The fact was an important one in regard to the circumstances he was about to mention. The entire number of civilians he saw was 58, and the number of the police who mingled with them in order to keep them in order was 68; therefore it would be perfectly clear that Mr. Byrne would be quite safe when he got there. An hon. Member of that House who was employed to defend the Coolroe prisoners desired that Mr. Byrne should be brought into Court for the purpose of cross-examination. A police officer was accordingly sent out in order to procure Mr. Byrne's attendance. Perhaps it was as well that he should state that in the first instance it was reported that Byrne did not choose to go there, and would not go for anybody. No doubt if such a message had been sent in from the other side it would have created great indignation, and the man who made such a statement would have been brought in by force. It was not till the following day that Mr. Byrne came to the Court; the magistrate was in attendance on the Bench at 10 o'clock in the morning, and the Court House was surrounded with police, but it was not until 2 o'clock in the afternoon that Mr. Byrne came. In the meantime the Resident Magistrate, who had obviously received his instructions, made an excuse for the non-appearance of the witness, because he said that the man was unable to attend until a force of police went out to protect him. Under any circumstances the distance was only a mile-and-a-half, and his attendance ought to have been secured in a couple of hours, but there was no reason whatever why he should not have been there at 10 o'clock in the morning. As a matter of fact, all the parties interested in the case had to wait until it suited the convenience of this gentleman to attend. When he did arrive, the procession which escorted him was something touching. There were four outside cars crowded with police. Perhaps it might have been necessary to have preceded the car by which Mr. Byrne rode by a police car; but he failed to see why it should have been followed by two more cars. It was just one of those pieces of wretched, pitiful parade which had often occurred in Ireland; and, so far as Mr. Byrne was concerned, there was really no more danger to him than if he had been on the floor of the House of Commons. Mr. Byrne was to be protected all day long, and all night long.

When all the police went away he must have trembled for his life, for all that he could find out was that he was attended by two constables who were supposed to be engaged in taking care of him. As he (Mr. Waddy) drove by the house they were certainly not doing much for him—one of them was standing in a ditch, and the other was leaning against a wall, while Mr. Byrne had gone away to attend his farming operations, with nobody to take care of him at all. The whole thing was a miserable delusion and a snare from beginning to end; and the evil of it was that the country had to pay for the use of the police for such ridiculous purposes when there was no necessity for their employment at all. The other night he had occasion to mention an occurrence which took place in the town of Limerick. At a meeting on the 27th of September, 1887, in the oounty of Limerick, there were some 30,000 or 40,000 people present. The police did not appear, and everything went off peaceably and quietly. Afterwards there was a disturbance; and, of course, it was said that the disturbance was caused by the people. He did not believe there was the slightest truth in that allegation, because he held in his hand a description of the conduct of the police given by *The Dublin Daily Express*, which was the organ of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the Government, and, therefore, might be regarded as a witness of truth. The writer of an article in that paper —and it must be remembered that *The Dublin Daily Express* invariably undercoloured everything against the police, while it overcoloured what told against the people—the writer in *The Daily Express* said—

"The disorder has abated. The police are charging down the streets"—

why they should be engaged in charging down the streets when the disorder had abated he could not understand—

"there have been hissing and groaning and throwing of stones"—

Under such circumstances, what did the police do? According to this witness—

"the ordinary passers by have been knocked down."

That was a description given of this occurrence not by hon. Members who were filled with wrath at the wrongs of Ireland, but by an organ of Her Majesty's Government—

"A part of the body of police passing Cruiser's Hotel"—

the largest hotel in Limerick—

"a body of police passing Cruiser's Hotel commanded some gentlemen looking out of the window to shut it, and as their request was not complied with one constable flung his baton at the window and smashed the glass, while others threw stones through, one of those missiles grazing Mr. R. W. Fitzgerald's head. It appeared that the attack upon the hotel originated in this way—some gentlemen opened the window in order to pull in a boy whom the police were abusing. The police thereupon attacked the window with their batons and stones, smashing three of them, and threatening to enter the establishment. In consequence of the continued assaults of the police the lower part of the hotel was vacated. It would further appear that a number of the police went to Miss M'Burnie's establishment, from which they said they had been assaulted; they rushed upstairs and beat the occupants, including a young lady named White."

That was a description given of those occurrences by a Tory organ thoroughly anti-Nationalist in its views and opinions; yet in every street along which he rode, when there were between 30,000 and 40,000 people present and there were no police, the people were kept in perfect order and good humour. On the occasion of which he spoke there was not the slightest disorder during the whole day, nor any complaint, and he believed that it was because no policemen or soldiers could be found in the whole city that that result was produced. Exactly the same kind of thing took place at Arthurstown, and without trusting to the views of Nationalist supporters he had given chapter and verse of the affair at Limerick from the organ of the Government itself. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) had told them what took place under his own eye, and in that case the interference of the police was just as unjustifiable. Nevertheless, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary rose in his place and told them that this unfortunate state of things was solely the consequence of the incitement of agitators who paraded the country. Probably they would be told the same thing again. The statement had been repeated *ad nauseam*. It was said that agitators did all the mischief, and that they were attempting to rule the country

by a system of terrorism and force. He had instanced what occurred at Arthurstown, and he certainly failed to see how 58 civilians could have attacked and mobbed 68 constables. At Limerick, if the people had been allowed to go straight home, as they had a perfect right to do, no disturbance would have occurred. It was, as a rule, the foolish and unnecessary presence of the police, and their unjustifiable interference with the people, that produced all the rows and disorder which took place. There was one point upon which he thought the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland might with advantage give some information to the Committee. He did not know himself by what authority soldiers were told off to help the police at evictions. No Riot Act was read. It might be that there was some power of which he knew nothing. That waslikely enough; but, so far as he knew, although it was right that the Sheriff with the whole of his *posse comitatus* had to be present at an eviction, he failed to see by what right, or in accordance with what law, soldiers were told off to the extent of 100 at a time to go out and assist a landlord in the eviction of his tenantry. There was another matter upon which he should like to have information. He referred to *The Times* police witnesses now in London, and he should like to know to what extent those police constables were to be allowed to be the agents of *The Times?* That was what they actually were. He hoped he knew his duty professionally a great deal too well to say anything whatever in the shape of a commentary upon the proceedings now taking place before the Special Commission; but he was entitled to say, in reading the accounts which had been given by the police themselves, and to which he gave unlimited credence, that there was at this moment in London a body of Irish police by scores in the interests of *The Times.*

An hon. MEMBER: Of the Government!

MR. WADDY said, he was coming to the Government presently. Those police were here in the interests of *The Times*, although their salaries were going to be paid by the country; at any rate they said they were, and expected to receive their salaries. The evidence of the witnesses from Ireland was that they were interviewed on the other side of the water not by a solicitor or a solicitor's clerk, but by a policeman, and in one instance they were told by a witness that if he did not do such and such things he would be proceeded against for something else. He maintained that this was a use of the Royal Irish Constabulary which was contrary to right and contrary to law and order. He would like to know how long they were to go on paying for this league of *The Times* and the Government in maintaining the action of *The Times?* How long was this to go on at the expense of the country? If the presence of these policemen was now required in Ireland, he could not see how they could be spared. On the other hand, if they were not required, these District Inspectors and others might cease to perform the duties which, up to the present time, they had been supposed to discharge. The result of what was going on was that a hatred was growing up in Ireland, which did not exist a few years ago, between the Irish people and the Constabulary, and that he thought a very serious and fatal thing. The place was being divided, in reality, into two hostile camps, and he thought that there were many amongst the Irish Constabulary who were sick of the work they had to do. Yet they must not be unfair to these people. The Executive gave them orders which they were bound to carry out; they got into conflict with the people in consequence, and he did not wonder that in that conflict which had gone on they should sometimes lose their tempers. But, as he had said, the result was that there was this growing feeling existing, and he suggested that the Constabulary should be kept for their own work and purposes. He suggested also that the specific incidents mentioned by the hon. Member for East Mayo, and by those who had not shut their eyes to the facts, should be fairly answered, and that they should not be attempted to be got rid of by a flourish that it was the work of paid agitators. In England the people knew better, and he believed they were learning to know better day by day, and that by degrees light would be introduced into the mind of some hon.

Gentlemen on that side of the House, as well as into the more dense minds of those opposite.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to share the belief of which he had seen traces in other hon. Gentlemen opposite—namely, that they could make his speeches for him much better than he could make them for himself, and they filled up the interstices of their speeches by imploring him not to say this, and not to employ this or that particular argument. For his part, he should endeavour to make such observations as he had to give, unmodified by the excellent advice given by the hon. and learned Member. On the first speech made that evening he had little to say. It was not a very distinguished speech, and one of the most remarkable incidents in it was an attack, in the worst taste he had ever heard in that House, upon the only Member who was unable to answer it.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to pursue that topic.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, in deference to the suggestion of the Chairman, which he fully appreciated, he should say no more upon that point. The hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Waddy) seemed a great deal agitated by the number of police now in London who were subpœned as witnesses for *The Times*, and he had made special reference to an allegation, first made by the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham (Mr. J. E. Ellis), with regard, first, to the alleged examination, on the part of *The Times*, of a witness by a County Inspector in Ireland, and, secondly, of the Inspector not only having examined him, but actually of having intimidated him to give evidence for *The Times*. The hon. and learned Gentleman derived his information solely from a certain incident which took place in the Commission Court the other day. How far it was desirable that what went on before the Court of Commission should be discussed in that House he did not know, but he would just state the information that he had himself obtained on this matter from other sources. It appeared to him that the examination of the witness in question was not, as alleged, undertaken by the Inspector on the part of *The Times*, but that it was an examination conducted in Ireland under Section 1 of the Crimes Act in the course of an inquiry into the Plan of Campaign, which had been adopted on one or two estates in the County of Mayo, and that examination, as conducted by the Inspector, had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with *The Times*.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, whether the witness was the only person examined under Section 1 of the Act?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, it was altogether untrue that this man was threatened by the Inspector with the exposure of some fraud.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he rose to Order. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was now denying evidence which had been given on oath before the Royal Commission, and if the right hon. Gentleman was allowed to bring rebutting evidence forward in that House in answer to what was stated in the Court, he thought that other Members would bring forward evidence to contradict the right hon. Gentleman's statement, and thus the House of Commons would become a Court of Appeal from the Royal Commission.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he was afraid he could not say that the right hon. Gentleman was out of Order. He felt the inconvenience of the matter, and had felt it when the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division (Mr. J. E. Ellis) first introduced it. That hon. Member had referred to the evidence of a person who it appeared had been somewhat infamous, and it was at once plain that this would bring up statements on the other side, the Royal Commission having as yet intimated no opinion on the subject. It was extremely inconvenient that this matter should be entered into, although he could not say that it was out of Order.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Committee would judge of what had fallen from him just now, but he would follow scrupulously the indication given by the Chairman upon this point, and not another word should drop from him upon the subject. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] He was sure that hon. Gentlemen opposite

did not think it was a proper case for a Minister of the Crown in his position to enter upon. He had only been led to refer to the matter by the observations of two hon. Gentlemen, one of them learned in the law, who had preceded him. He would now turn to the important speech which had been delivered by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon). The hon. Gentleman had dealt with a great variety of topics. He had first brought forward many well-worn arguments in reference to the cost of the Irish Police, and had added to these a new illustration of the old position by telling the Committee that in 1845, when the population of Ireland was greater than at the present time, the police had cost far less; and he asked how it was possible that, at a time when disorder was greater than now, it was possible to get on with a less number of police? There were two answers to that question. In the first place, the Committee, in listening to the hon. Gentleman, would probably have inferred that the number of police required in 1845 was so far less than the number now required. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had not the figures for 1845 at hand, but he had those for 1848, and he found that on the 1st of January, 1848, the number was distinctly in excess of the number required at the present moment, whereas the hon. Member, though not saying so, seemed by his reference to the cost to infer that the number of police was now greater than in 1845. The hon. Gentleman might ask how it was if the number of men was not greater that the cost was so much greater? The cost, although it was not so great as the hon. Gentleman had mentioned, had no doubt increased, but it was owing to increased pensions, pay, and privileges given to the police, and also partly to the increased duties which had been thrown upon them. The Committee ought to bear in mind the conditions under which the Constabulary now worked as compared with those under which they worked before, and they ought to bear in mind also the enormous addition to the labour thrown upon them — duties not directly or indirectly connected with anything relating to the controversial aspect of the Irish Question, but simply connected with the administration of various Acts of Parliament which had been passed from time to time by that House. He held in his hand a Memorandum, too long to read, but containing a list of the Acts of Parliament under which duties of a wholly new character were thrown on the police. Then he came to the question of the more trivial duties thrown upon the police. The hon. Member for East Mayo, and the hon. Gentleman who preceded him (Mr. J. E. Ellis), had been very indignant at the character of these duties. They had complained of the police being employed at railway stations and elsewhere to watch certain persons. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Rushcliffe Division had been moved to great wrath at the watch kept by the police in various parts of Ireland on members of the National League; but he would remind hon. Gentlemen that Ireland had been the theatre—he did not say now who was responsible for this—of organized crime carried out by the agents of secret societies; and were the Government to be told that these people ought not to be watched? Could such a contention be supported before the Committee for a moment? It appeared to him sufficient to state the contention for the Committee to say that it should at once be rejected. The second allegation of the hon. Gentleman was one which he regretted to hear. The hon. Gentleman said that the one duty of the police was to get up outrages, and he put that statement in the most generalized form. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) could not at the moment help thinking what opinion might be formed of him by the right hon. Gentleman opposite who once occupied his position, and was responsible for the government of Ireland, if he were to admit such a contention? He was sure that those who had held the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland would not get up in the House and say that one of the main duties of the Constabulary was the organization of crime, in order to make up statistics of outrage.

MR. DILLON said, he had never said that it was the main duty of the police. He had said they did it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he admitted the explanation of the hon. Gentleman, and would withdraw the word "main." But this was one of the four charges brought against the police by the hon. Member; but even as to the modified statement of the hon. Gen-

tleman, he was sure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), and other occupants of the Front Opposition Bench who had filled the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, would feel that it was an outrage on one of the most loyal bodies of public servants which had ever served any Government in any country. Then the hon. Gentleman went on to discuss the next duty of the police—namely, that they provided protection upon evicted farms and elsewhere, where persons were living in danger of their lives; and the hon. and learned Member for the Brigg Division of Lincolnshire (Mr. Waddy) had alluded to a case which came under his observation, in which he appeared to think that the police had very improperly carried out their duties. He admitted that the hon. and learned Gentleman was an authority on law; but he did not think he was a judge of the precise evolutions which the police ought to perform in matters of the kind he had referred to. The hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo would not say that he was indulging in any exaggeration when he said that no man more than he had stirred the people of Ireland against those not undeserving members of the community who ventured, against his will, to exercise their undoubted right of citizenship in taking evicted farms and hiring men who desired to be hired. The hon. Gentleman had carried on the agitation knowing, and having in his mind the consciousness, that a number of foul crimes had resulted, and yet he complained of those persons being afforded police protection; he came down to the House and complained of the cost of protection which the Government in Ireland gave to those unhappy individuals. The fourth duty of the police, which the hon. Member, of all hon. Gentlemen who had spoken, had alluded to was the cost of protecting Sheriffs' officers at evictions, and a very singular doctrine had been laid down on this subject. The hon. Member for East Mayo appeared to think that it was the business of the Government to inquire into the precise circumstances of each eviction in which protection was given, and that, if they thought the landlord was acting improperly in evicting, protection ought to be refused. He thought the Committee would see that this was a duty which it was impossible to perform; that the doctrine was carried to an extravagant and impossible limit, and that no responsible Government could adopt it. [Mr. DILLON: It was done.] The doctrine of the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo, he was going to say, sank into sanity—but into moderation, as compared with the doctrine of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down. The hon. and learned Gentleman had quoted a case, which came under his own notice, of eviction, in which an offer was made by a priest shortly before the eviction, and where the Resident Magistrate on the spot expressed his opinion that the offer made at the last moment was a fair one. The hon. and learned Gentleman held that in that instance the Executive were bound to withdraw the protection given by the Sheriff's officers. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would see that the doctrine which he propounded would subvert the law altogether. Let the Committee recollect what that House had done for the Irish tenant. It had given him a competent tribunal to settle his rent, and a tribunal which he might appeal to to stay eviction, and these two great privileges were not enjoyed by any tenants in any other country in the world. But this, in the opinion of the hon. and learned Member, was not enough. They must, in addition, leave it to the Resident Magistrate on the spot to determine whether or not protection should be given to the Sheriff's officer. That was the doctrine laid down by the hon. and learned Gentleman. He thought the Judges before whom the hon. and learned Gentleman practised would be very much amazed at this principle which was to govern the Executive. The hon. Member for East Mayo had made special allusion to what was going on on the estate of Mr. Olphert. He had been able to obtain an answer to the Question which the hon. Gentleman put to him at Question time, but he knew that Mr. Olphert was a landlord living on his property; and that up to a recent date he was on excellent terms with his tenants. As far as he could learn this gentleman had been known for many years as a good landlord, and it appeared that the difficulties which occurred between him and his tenants were synchronous, or nearly so, with the starting of the land

agitation. The Plan of Campaign extended to his estate, and had become the cause of disagreement as well as the ultimate cause of evictions and loss of property by the tenants. The hon. Gentleman then went on to discuss two or three cases in which he said that the police had behaved with undue violence, and he referred to the cases of Kilrush and Dundalk. He had the account of what had occurred at Kilrush, and it differed so profoundly from that given by the hon. Member for East Mayo to the House that he could hardly recognize it as referring to the same subject, but he would point out to the hon. Gentleman that his own doctrine was rather an extravagant one. He said there was a crowd at Kilrush, that a bonfire was lighted in the square, that the police charged the people, and that the officer ultimately alleged that he could not allow the police to be "booed," and, that, therefore, he had cleared the square. That account differed in all essential particulars from the other account. The hon. Gentleman said that the police ought not to have shown themselves; that they had no right to be in the square.

MR. DILLON: I did not say that they had no right to be in the square, but if they had been handled by a prudent officer they would not have been there.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought he had perfectly quoted the expression of the hon. Gentleman, but nevertheless he would admit his explanation. It was perfectly clear that on an occasion like that in question the police had every right to be in the square. The hon. Gentleman was aware that when a great crowd was assembled it was proper that there should be police present to preserve order. He was given to understand that the police ordered the crowd to disperse, and that they did disperse; and, therefore, the statement of the hon. Member as to the charge of the police appeared to have no foundation.

MR. DILLON: Is not that going too far? I was nearer to the police than I am to the right hon. Gentleman, when they rushed up with clubbed rifles to within two yards of me.

THE CHAIRMAN: The right hon. Gentleman must withdraw.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he would, of course, withdraw his remark. He was saying that the account he had received was so totally different from that of the hon. Gentleman, that he could not conceive that they related to the same thing. Of course he was bound, in the interests of truth, to give his statement to the Committee, and he ventured to say that, having given the Committee a version so different from the hon. Member's, he could not have done it in much more Parliamentary language. Then the hon. Member referred to the case at Dundalk, into which he should not go in detail; but there was one consideration which he thought should modify the judgment of hon. Gentlemen. In the first place, there were trials going on, or about to begin, which were exciting the most profound interest at the time, and the Committee would be aware that to allow large excited bodies of men to assemble in a town at a time when such trials were proceeding was very likely to lead to the intimidation of those who were administering justice, as in itself would constitute it an unlawful assembly, and let it be noted that the decision did not rest alone with the Resident Magistrates. There were appeals to the County Court Judge and the Court of Exchequer, and it was absurd to say with such an assembly the police had no right to interfere. On appeal the decisions of the Resident Magistrates had been upheld. He believed he was right in saying that, and, therefore, it was not open to the hon. Member to say that there was such a peaceful crowd that the police had no right to interfere, and that their action was wholly gratuitous. The hon. Gentleman had attacked him for some observations the other day with regard to attacks made on small bodies of the police by large and excited mobs; and he appeared to think, in the first place, that he had accused him of being one of those who excited the mobs to make onslaughts on the police; and he also appeared to think that to bring forward a case in which a handful of police were not attacked was sufficient to refute the proposition which he advanced. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had much to complain of in the public action of the hon. Member for East Mayo; the course which he thought it right to pursue appeared to

him to be open, in many cases, to the gravest censure in his position as a Member of Parliament; but he was glad to be able to say that he did not believe that he was capable of exciting a large crowd to attack a small body of police. He believed that was entirely foreign to the hon. Member's character—he did not believe it for a moment. But, notwithstanding that, it was a fact that small bodies of police had often been attacked in Ireland by crowds, and obliged to fly for their lives, and to fight their way to barracks, and that they had been injured seriously by stone-throwing on the part of the mob; and he regretted to say that much of the feeling which manifested itself in this shocking way had been aroused by the speeches of some of those who were the allies of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman give us one instance?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought if the hon. Gentleman would examine the occurrence at Midleton he would see there was plenty of justification for what he had stated. Of course, he could give further instances of the police being attacked, if the hon. Gentleman desired it. [Mr. DILLON: I do.] The Committee would recollect that two policemen were taking a man to barracks who was drunk and disorderly in the streets, and those two policemen were attacked by a large mob, driven into a house in fear of their lives, and were finally only rescued by the most determined conduct on the part of two other constables who were in the barracks. Then, on the 25th of September, 1887, at Fermoy, there was an excited crowd assembled, in consequence of something which had fallen from a friend of the hon. Gentleman, which brutally set upon and stoned three policemen, who had to run for their lives to barracks, and it was only after the Inspector had taken out all the available men at his disposal that the mob was dispersed. Again, on the 14th of January, 1888, at Gweedore—a locality to which the hon. Gentleman had called attention—hundreds of men made an organized attack on the police; they placed—according to the custom more than once employed—the women in front; and the men, thus sheltered, poured in volleys of stones on the police, who had to retreat to their barracks, flying for their lives, and 14 of their number out of 20 were more or less seriously injured. At Cork, again, on the 11th of January, 1888, where a very bad feeling existed between the people and the police—and he was sorry to say this was again fostered by certain friends of the hon. Gentleman—a patrol of eight men, armed only with truncheons, was attacked with stones and sticks. A crowd of about 4,000 persons came up the street; the policemen defended themselves to the best of their power with their batons, and eventually the crowd dispersed, not, however, until six or eight men had been struck with stones. He did not want to deal with these facts, but, having been challenged by the hon. Gentleman, he had thought it his duty to bring them before the Committee, to show that he was absolutely accurate in his statement. Having now surveyed the greater part of the ground that had been traversed by the hon. Gentleman, he would point out that it had been alleged, over and over again, in the course of this discussion, that the relations between the people and the police of Ireland were getting worse. But all the information that he could get led him absolutely to disbelieve that statement. He believed it to be wholly unfounded. In almost every part of Ireland—in every part except where determined efforts were made to prevent the revival of good feeling—the relations between the people and the police were better than they had been for many years past; and he agreed with every word that had fallen from the previous speaker as to the expediency of the Government doing all in their power to increase that good feeling. What other object could the Government have in view? By that good feeling the whole work of administration became easier; the detection of crime became easier; the whole work of the Executive became easier, and the responsibility of the Government was infinitely lightened. Of course, there was nothing they desired more earnestly; there was nothing for which the Government were prepared to strive so strenuously as to restore the relations between the people and the police to what they were before hon. Members opposite took in hand the interests of their fellow-countrymen. In conclusion, he would remind the Committee how slight, after all, were the attacks made by the

police when they considered the enormous difficulties by which they were surrounded. Considering the provocation and irritation produced by the kind of treatment they had received at some evictions—considering that vitriol, red-hot pokers, and that filth of every kind were the weapons used against men who had been guilty of no crime except that of carrying out the duty imposed upon them by the laws of the country—the Committee, he believed, would think that it spoke volumes for the discipline and patience of that great Force that in so few instances they had allowed their provocations to get the better of their discretion and duty. And let it be remembered that the police were doing their duty; not merely under the critical and hostile inspection of Members of that House who represented Irish constituencies, but of others Members, such as the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division, whose holidays were agreeably spent in getting up a brief in Ireland against the Government. Would not everyone who realized the character of the provocation to which the Royal Irish Constabulary had to submit come to the conclusion that there never was a body of men trusted with the guardianship of the law who had shown themselves to be more worthy of the trust reposed in them? He was glad to have that opportunity of paying—not for the first time—his tribute to the discipline and the excellence of that admirable body of men, to whom, in his opinion, civilization in Ireland owed so much.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.) said, the right hon. Gentleman had returned to-night to the charge—the shocking charge—that hon. Gentlemen on those Benches went down deliberately to different parts of the country where there was but a handful of police, and deliberately incited the people to attack them, thereby putting their lives in danger.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that if the right hon. Gentleman had made any such statement he would have called him to Order. He had heard no such charge.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, that within the last few minutes the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Colleagues and allies of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) had used language which was an incitement to violence towards the police.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had listened with great care to what was said by the right hon. Gentleman, and he had undoubtedly referred to Members sitting in the House of Commons. He said that they had gone to various parts of Ireland and excited a feeling out of which there arose attacks on the police and disturbances.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman certainly had used the language attributed to him.

MR. W. O'BRIEN said, he would deal very briefly with what the right hon. Gentleman had submitted to the House that evening. The first stage of the right hon. Gentleman's reply was a reference to what he himself had represented as a drunken row in Midleton, the result of which was that the police bayonetted a man. A verdict of wilful murder was returned against the police, and, in the face of that, the right hon. Gentleman dared to repeat in that House that the allies and friends of the hon. Member for East Mayo had gone down and endeavoured to incite the people against the police. His second case was at Fermoy, on the 25th of December of last year. But the fact was that instead of these three policemen being attacked by a large crowd, while his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) was addressing a perfectly peaceable crowd from the window of the Royal Hotel, in the Square of Fermoy, without a moment's warning, a large body of police charged in the dark, striking the people with their bâtons, and putting them to flight. His hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork went out to remonstrate with the police, and he was told to go to ——; his hat had been knocked off with a bâton, and his hon. Friend had been able to pick up a bâton in the street which had been broken on a woman's head. His third case was the attack of 20 armed policemen on a chance crowd in the streets of Cork. Anyone who knew how the police in Ireland were armed would be aware that the notion of danger to their lives in an affair of this kind was the purest fiction. These men were armed with weapons which were practically irresistible. He knew the brutal use that would be made of these weapons when 20 armed policemen went into the midst

of a crowd in Ireland. It was a gross and unfounded statement that hon. Members from Ireland had ever used their power, or attempted to use their power, unfairly against the police. They could point to many instances in which, when the police had been in force, they had used their power to commit murder. But he defied the right hon. Gentleman to point to a single instance in which a policeman had lost his life in an Irish crowd except in his own dominion of Belfast. They had heard a good deal of the Mitchelstown meeting, and of the bloodshed which occurred there, because the police had forced their way through the crowd, under the miserable pretext of making way for a police reporter. What were the facts? His hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) was attending a meeting a few months afterwards on the very same spot; and on that occasion the police reporter applied for accommodation, and he was supplied with a seat under the platform. There was only one policeman to protect him in that enormous crowd, and yet he was not injured. That was how the Irish people behaved when they were trusted, and when they were not treated like Hottentots and Black men. He would give the Committee another instance in point. His experience could supply him with a case from Kilrush. Two months ago he attended a meeting in the County of Clare; and such was the good feeling which the right hon. Gentleman observed to be growing up between the people and the police, and so complete was their communication, that although the arrangements for that meeting were made four days previously, and although 10,000 people were aware that the meeting was coming off, not a single policeman attended until the proceedings were almost closed, three policemen came up on a car, just as a vote of thanks to the Chairman was being proposed. Those men could have been torn limb from limb without the slightest trouble, but not an arm was raised against them. That was how the people exercised their power. He would show how the police used theirs. The police, infuriated by their failure to surprise the meeting, got their innings during the night. When the people were returning from the meeting, perfectly peaceably, into the town of Kilrush, the police rushed out upon them in the dark, attacked and bâtoned them, and 18 persons, instead of getting redress, were summoned to the next Kilkee Petty Sessions. That happened to be when an hon. Friend of his was released from prison—the people lit a bonfire, and exactly what his hon. Friend had described occurred—a large body of police rushed out on them. That was the state of things which the right hon. Gentleman had decided to give to the House, and at the same time he represented that the Irish police were the victims of violence—and cowardly violence—on the part of the Irish Members and on the part of the people. He ventured to say that there was no police force in the world that could show a smaller number of deaths by violence than the Royal Irish Constabulary. He was perfectly sure that the history of Ireland might be rummaged, and that not a single instance could be found in which policemen had lost their lives by the violence of an Irish crowd, excepting, always, in Belfast, which region was dominated by the friends of the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that, instead of the people being answerable for any collision with the police, the fault was all the other way, and he believed that the police used their power in the most wanton and barbarous manner against the people who were perfectly at their mercy. They did not blame the rank-and-file of the Irish police; they had no bitterness against them. The wonder really was that they were not a thousand times more brutal, owing to the incitement and encouragement they received from Ministers in that House. For it was not the first time that the right hon. Gentleman himself—and his Predecessors and Colleagues—had made speeches in that House which, however they were intended, were simply interpreted at the Irish police stations as incitements to violence. The whole Irish police system was the most horrible and repulsive in the world. The beginning and end of every young policeman's teaching was that he had to regard the people—his own countrymen—as his enemies, and he had to learn that if he wanted promotion he could only get it by making himself obnoxious to the people; or, better still, by bludgeoning or murdering them. Any young policeman looking around him would find that all police officers within the last few years

who had signalized themselves by attacking the people had been promoted. There was the case of Inspector Milling, who had bludgeoned two of his (Mr. W. O'Brien's) hon. Friends in the streets of Cork, and, instead of being punished for the offence, he was now County Inspector. Everyone who had distinguished himself by shooting down men and women had been promoted, whereas everyone who did not come up to the official standard of swearing had been victimized in one way or another. The real wonder was that these policemen managed to retain any human feeling at all. For that Members from Ireland did not blame them. It was one of the most painful and lamentable things for Ireland that there was such a lack of employment and such an utter absence of career, that so many fine young men were obliged to revert to this odious and unnatural calling. But, at all events, no one could go through Ireland and see the relations between the Irish people and the police without coming to the conclusion that the right hon. Gentleman's charge against himself (Mr. W. O'Brien) and his hon. Friends was a most vile and unfounded one. An Irish village crowd was one of the most harmless in the world, and the Irish Constabulary suffered less in life and limb than, he believed, any other Police Force. And, further, he believed that there was no Government in the world which had done more to arouse the worst passions of the police by appealing to them, pampering them, and encouraging them to attack the people. The right hon. Gentleman had sneered at his hon. Friend the Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham (Mr. J. E. Ellis) for going over to Ireland, at much inconvenience and at considerable risk to himself, to get up proof against the Government. He had not to go far for materials. He only wished that many other Englishmen would take the pains which the hon. Member, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and other hon. Members had taken to ascertain the truth. If other hon. Members did that they would have a very different impression of the uses to which the Government applied this £1,500,000 than they had at present. He believed that the House did not half realize the horrible magnitude and character of the struggle which was going on in Ireland, and the work for which the Government were paying the police. The right hon. Gentleman had taunted them several times with bringing forward the same old cases from Mitchelstown and Killeagh, and with having nothing new to advance. But there was not a parish in the South or West of Ireland from which they could not produce cases of just as great severity and cruelty as those of Mitchelstown and Killeagh, although they had not been brought into notoriety by bloodshed. It was the curse of Ireland that, unless there were murders or crimes of some sort, the English newspapers took but very little interest in what was going on. It was a dangerous lesson to teach the Irish people that unless someone was murdered, or something sensational happened, the right hon. Gentleman was able to get up in that House and give rose-coloured descriptions to the relations between the police and the people. It was very hard for him to speak with patience upon that subject. He would take one matter alone; the village tyranny which these policemen exercised in conjunction with local landlords. The prosecution of prominent persons in Ireland by the police was by no means the worst part of their conduct; it was the atrocious village tyranny that the local landlord and the local policeman were carrying on from day to day, almost unnoticed and unknown—it was that which made the employment of the Irish Constabulary the fearful instrument of oppression that it was, and of such things hon. Members heard next to nothing in that House. It was almost maddening to think that they had no means of bringing home these things to the minds of the English people. Thousands of men, like John Sweeney, throughout the country were really bearing the brunt of coercion night and day, because they were imprisoned for upholding the right of combination among the people. They were, from time to time, put in prison on one pretext or another, and he wanted to point out that imprisonment was the smallest part of the sufferings which the Irish police had the power to inflict upon them. They were absolutely at the mercy of some local tyrant of a policeman. Their steps were dogged night and day, as were the steps of John Mandeville; their trade was

destroyed, their licences were attacked by the police; they were deprived of the means of obtaining their livelihood, and their private houses were entered. He had received a letter the other day from Fermoy, from one of the leading men of his own constituency, the Chairman of the Town Commissioners, Mr. Mannix, who stated that a couple of Sundays ago Sergeant Black forced his way into his private drawing room without a warrant—burst his way in on the pretext that a few friends he was entertaining were holding a meeting of the National League; and when this policeman was remonstrated with his reply was to snap his fingers at Mr. Mannix, and tell him to go to hell, and that he might do his worst. He would like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland what he thought of the conduct of this sergeant? But, of course, that was a case which did not interest the right hon. Gentleman. It did not stir his noble soul. The right hon. Gentleman did not even do him the honour of listening to him.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am listening.

MR. W. O'BRIEN: The right hon. Gentleman was aware that these were the miseries of the mere Irish, and he (Mr. W. O'Brien) should not be surprised if, after he had mentioned the name of the sergeant in that House, that he would be promoted for his exploit and that Mr. Mannix would be prosecuted because he had resisted the man who had forced his way into his drawing room. That was the sort of thing that was going on to-day over one-half of Ireland. Englishmen could form no conception of the thousand and one petty crawling ways in which men like Sergeant Black could render the lives of men like Mr. Mannix and respectable traders miserable. He believed that if they could have a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Crimes Act—and he hoped that possibly next year, if they lived so long, they might look for it—they would be able to show such a system of terrorism and intimidation and Boycotting on the part of those who had the machinery of the law at their disposal, as to throw completely into the shade the evidence which had been given before another Royal Commission with regard to intimidation and Boycotting. Before he sat down he would give one other instance to show the methods pursued by the police. Take the case of Loughrea. What had happened there? Why, 18 of the most respectable people in Loughrea, including the Chairman of the Town Commissioners—because every representative of the people was sure to be first looked to—had been prosecuted with himself for contradicting publicly the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that the National League, in the suppressed districts, was a thing of the past. That statement was made six months ago, but he scarcely thought it would be repeated to-day. Nevertheless, 18 of them were convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and only for the point raised in the Court of Exchequer, all these men would long ago have suffered their three months' imprisonment for telling the English people what Mr. Leonard, Lord Kenmare's agent, told the English people on his oath the other day, in a Royal Court of Justice—namely, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was utterly astray as to the state of Ireland, and that the National League was never so powerful an institution as it was at the present moment. And actually, only a very short time after the conviction of these 18 persons, the magistrate who made out the conviction made an affidavit in reference to an action for libel, and swore that every respectable farmer in the whole country side, even including those whose qualifications were over £100 a-year, had all been, and continued to be, members of the National League. The point he (Mr. W. O'Brien) wanted to make was this: Look at the miserable spite with which the police pursued those whose politics they did not agree with—or perhaps he ought not to say the police, as they were very humble instruments in this matter. Look at the spite with which every prominent man in a district was pursued. They broke down in a Court of Exchequer—the prosecution failed. What did they do when they failed to get rid of these men in that way? They first trumped up a monstrous and ridiculous charge of larceny, because these men helped a poor evicted widow to remove her hay off her farm; but the charge was so shameful that they did not dare to bring it to trial. Instead of bringing the charge of larceny

they brought a charge of conspiracy in reference to the very same thing. They moved these men away from their own County of Galway, and from their own neighbourhood of Loughrea; they tried them before a packed jury in Wicklow, and there were a number of these men serving long terms of imprisonment to-day, and he had no doubt that by-and-bye, when they returned from prison, the local sergeant of police would meet them with their convictions marked upon their licenses, and so deprive them of their mode of livelihood. Then there was the case of Dennis Macnamara, which had been referred to the other evening, who had been prosecuted for selling *United Ireland*, a paper published under the very nose of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, which was at this moment in the Reading Room of the House of Commons. He should like to say a word or two about another case as an illustration—for they could not have too many of them—of the sort of miserable local tyranny and oppression under which the unfortunate people of Ireland were groaning. Take the case of Father Kennedy, arrested on Friday last at Meelin. See how the police behaved in reference to this gentleman, and what the history of the case was. Father Kennedy had written him (Mr. W. O'Brien) a letter the other day, in which he said—

"I went to Newmarket especially to give them an opportunity of arresting me quietly. I surrendered my recognizances, but I was told the magistrates and police would have nothing to do with the matter. I was suffering so much still from the effects of brain fever, that in order to avoid the misery of being dragged about by the police, I was inclined to go up to Cork and surrender myself at the gaol gate, but I was afraid if I did so I should have my journey for nothing, and that the police were determined to give me all the annoyance they possibly could."

The result showed how correctly the rev. gentleman had understood the police arrangement as to his arrest; for what had happened? Here was a telegram giving the facts briefly—

"Father Kennedy arrested this morning at eight o'clock. The police would not wait until the rev. gentleman dressed and opened door. Policemen broke through window. Servant was frightened by soldiers and police, would not open door. Police went to bedroom to force door, when Father Kennedy asked did they believe he was going to abscond, and submitted to arrest by extending his hand through door, when he was allowed to dress. House was surrounded by police. He was not permitted to have conversation with parish priest in regard to parochial matters."

The police in this case had desired to make the arrest in the most provocative and offensive manner to the feelings of the people possible. They insisted upon parading a troop of Hussars, and in surrounding the house of this priest and dragging him at the tail of a body of soldiers from town to town through the County of Cork, where the morning's work ended by the police bursting in upon the defenceless people, attacking and assaulting even the Mayor—the chief magistrate of the city. What could possibly be the object of this?—what good object could be served by a proceeding of this kind unless it was part of what he (Mr. W. O'Brien) and his friends believed to be, and what they thought all these things were—namely, a deliberate conspiracy got up between the landlords and the police in order to victimize and strike down every man who took the side of the people. He believed these things were merely bits of political vengeance because the police were unable to suppress the National League, and because they had failed—he would repeat distinctly the charge made by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon)—to find anything criminal in the people. These prosecutions were got up because the Government had failed to tempt the people into some crime which would give the police a grip upon them, and which would enable them to placard murders and outrages in chromo-lithographs against the Irish people. He would tell the Committee how this infernal system of police terrorism worked in that one parish—and this was a perfectly fair specimen of the way in which it worked throughout the country. Here was a district composed of poor, wild mountain land—land which was not worth a shilling an acre, apart from what the wretched people had done by their own improvements. What was the Government plan of campaign for the destruction of the people? First the Plan of Campaign was declared suppressed—the only constitutional weapon which the people had the Government attempted to wrench out of their hands, in order that the Devil might tempt them to take up a blunderbuss instead. Then the leaders of the people were struck at—

every one of them. First the hon. Member for North Cork (Mr. Flynn) was sent to prison. Then five of the most respectable shopkeepers in Kanturk were sent to the plank-bed for conspiracy —for refusing to sell goods to a landlord who had never dealt with them for a shilling's worth of goods before, and who admitted that he only entered their shops for the purpose of getting up a charge against them, and for the purpose of getting people sent to prison. Then Father Kennedy was struck at—a man who would give his life for the people, and for whom the people would give their lives. He was sent to gaol as a common convict for two months, and for what? Solely for attending a meeting of the National League, an offence which was unknown to the English law, and which was created by this Crimes Act. Father Kennedy was sent to gaol, and batch after batch of his unfortunate people—44 of them in all—were prosecuted for the same offence, the offence which no man had ever dared, since the days of the Stuarts, to punish an Englishman for. All these people were sent to gaol, and as soon as the people were deprived of their organization and of their leaders, suddenly Captain Plunkett swooped down by special train with an evicting army of policemen in the service of the landlord, and eight families were thrown out on the roadside. Because the tenants refused to surrender their little homes, which they believed to be, and which really were theirs as much as the Chief Secretary's ancestral acres were his—because they refused to give up possession without a protest, they were attacked in their little cabins, driven out bleeding, and packed off to gaol. God only knew the amount of suffering that this diabolical system was responsible for and which eviction entailed upon these poor, humble village communities in Ireland. It was not enough that they had a powerful landlord organization against them, but they must have the overpowering forces of the Crown, which the English people paid for, in order to do this Devil's work in Ireland. Let him ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary what was the result of all this? What did they gain by this £1,500,000 they were spending on the Irish police? Take that single instance to which he had referred. Now he supposed that if there was a single parish in Ireland that was at present scourged and where it might be supposed that the effect of the action was simply crushing, it was this one of Kanturk. What, however, had been the effect of their proceeding? Had they conquered the tenants' combination—had they suppressed the League? No; not a single tenant on that estate had surrendered, not an evicted farm had been let, and not a crime had been committed, which was the sorest point with the Government. There stood these poor unarmed Irish peasants, enduring this sort of thing for two years. There they stood, patient and unconquerable still, and all the powers of landlordism and of Dublin Castle put together had failed to prevail against them. Had the Government even suppressed the League? Why, the police had actually given up the pretence of attempting to suppress the League. In this parish of which he had spoken, the week Father Kennedy came out of prison last time, a meeting of the local branch of the League, which, according to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, was "a thing of the past" six months ago, was so largely attended that the floor of the loft in which it was held gave way, and Father Kennedy and 250 of these "things of the past" were precipitated into the store below. That was the result, and the Government had to begin all this miserable round again. Father Kennedy went to gaol for three months, and 15 of his parishioners were going with him one of these days, several of them for six months' hard labour and cruel and barbarous and inhuman punishment, simply for attending a meeting of the National League. That was all they had gained by their policy, and the whole thing would have to begin again *da capo*. That was all the Government got for the £1,500,000 which they wrung from the British taxpayer, who did not know the use to which the money was put, and who certainly would not want to spend it in this way. This was a perfectly fair specimen of the state of things on every estate in Ireland on which the right hon. Gentleman tried to put a stop to the Plan of Campaign. It was the most miserable and humiliating record that any coercion Government had ever had to show. Former Go-

vernments, when they had used the police in an energetic manner, had had vast conspiracies and fearful crimes to deal with. Where were the crimes however, where were the conspiracies now? All the Government had to do was to put down an open combination of unarmed Irish peasants on less than 100 estates out of 10,000 in the whole country, and they could not do it. After all these years, and with all their despotic powers, they had absolutely and ignominiously failed to do it. Mr. Forster had the excuse that he had to deal with whole counties, and, indeed, with whole provinces, in a state of open and universal revolt against rent, and that at a time when the country was honeycombed with terrible murder conspiracies. How was it now? Why, there was not a county in the whole of Ireland more than the campaign estates to be dealt with. There could not be the slightest pretence, even in the Royal Courts of Justice, for declaring that any secret machinery for murder or outrage was now in existence, and yet, year after year, all the forces of England were directed against these few groups of unarmed, helpless Irish peasants, and directed in vain. This was the curse of the thing, that because this immense combination of the peasantry was a peaceful and bloodless one, practically speaking it attracted very little attention. He regretted to say that not one-tenth of the terrible character of this struggle was realized in England. The Irish people were so patient and so determined, they had so much confidence in their own organization and much confidence in the sense of justice and in the sympathy of the English people—they were so confident of help coming to them—that they left all the bitterness of the outrage on the side of the police, and on the side of law and order. But he could tell the Committee that this was a desperately serious and terrible matter. He and his friends were preaching patience and peace; they were determined to preach it to the end, because they had a lasting and an abiding faith in the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) and in the sense of justice of the English people. But he could assure the Government—and his friends would bear him out in this—that the task of preaching patience to their people was sometimes a hard task. Things occurred sometimes that were really too much for human nature to bear, and if the struggle was to go on in this way—if the police were to be used for these infernal purposes year after year, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was to be cheered by his friends behind him on every jaunty comment he made upon the misery and oppression of millions of his fellow men—if that sort of system was to go on year after year, it would be hard to make the Irish Nationalist Members answerable for the consequences in the future. They were sowing the storm, and it would be a very lucky thing for them, and a still more lucky thing for the Irish people, if they did not reap the whirlwind—if they did not reap a crop which such husbandry usually produced to itself. He would not detain the Committee any longer, but he should like the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to tell them, in plain English, what he had gained, or what England had gained, by the expenditure of this enormous sum for the crushing of the poor peasantry of Meelin. Let the right hon. Gentleman answer that if he could.

MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough) said, that hon. Members had been twitted with spending their holidays in going about Ireland and making political speeches. But not long ago they had been twitted with just the opposite course—namely, of keeping away from Ireland. If English politicians did keep away from Ireland under present circumstances, no doubt it would be better for the right hon. Gentleman's system of governing the country. Certainly, if the right hon. Gentleman would spend, he would not say his holidays, but a portion of the time he gave to his official duties, in obtaining information first-hand for himself as to the condition of the country over which he ruled, his policy would, without question, be a very different one when presented to the House, and he (Mr. Rowntree) was persuaded that hon. Members on all sides would listen to it with much greater respect. One of the things which he would hear, and which would probably make some impression upon him, would be this—that even in the midst of these proceedings feelings were aroused against the policy of the Government,

and when the action of the police had been of the most cruel description, the people were in the habit of saying to their English visitors—"We are sure that if the English people knew of these things, there would soon be an end of them, and we believe that if the Chief Secretary himself could come here and find out the exact circumstances he would not say the things of us he does, or do the things he is now doing." If there were any hope of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary doing this, he (Mr. Rowntree) would make an earnest appeal to him, but it was useless to do any such thing. If the right hon. Gentleman would only give attention to the facts placed before him in these debates, and weigh them carefully, he would see that something more was required as an answer to the charges made against the Government than he was in the habit of giving. What were the facts as to the action of the police, and the statements of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to that action? Why, on many occasions they found that the official statements made to the House in the name of the Government had been contradicted by the sworn evidence of the officials under the right hon. Gentleman. He would not go into specific cases, but would merely remind the Committee of the cases of Youghal, Mitchelstown, and Ennis. In every one of these cases the statements officially made had been contradicted on sworn evidence. The Government declared that these cases against the Irish Constabulary were very few. Well, let the Government give hon. Members time, and they would be able to go on night after night bringing charges against the police which they had inquired into themselves. Last June he (Mr. Rowntree) himself had ventured to ask a Question of the right hon. Gentleman as to the conduct of the police in the streets of Dundalk, and he was met by a repudiation of the suggestion, which he could only make in the form of a Question. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the police did not attack the people, but that, by order of the Resident Magistrates, they endeavoured to clear the streets, which were quite blocked, in order to prevent further disturbance. Well, he (Mr. Rowntree) had been looking out of the window of the hotel directly upon the scene, and he could say that the main road was cleared by the Cavalry, and that a vehicle of any description could have gone up and down without difficulty. The police then came charging along the pathway on the other side of the road. The pathway was not blocked, but there were a number of persons standing upon it who had left the road, and the police, without being attacked, raised their rifles by the muzzle and deliberately struck at the people, who were only anxious to get out of the way. He was referring to what took place in Dundalk after the trial of the hon. Member for East Mayo. A more cruel and brutal thing than for men to be struck down in the street for no possible offence, when the roadway was comparatively clear, he had never seen in his life before, and he hoped never to see again. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary denied these occurrences; but the Committee would not be content with denials from him founded on the mere *ipse dixit* of the police who were incriminated. They were told that these occurrences were owing to the efforts of the agitators, and he desired to say this one word upon that point, because he thought, after the suggestions which had been made, it was only right that they should have some statement on the other side. After all, he took it that hon. Members of the Committee desired to be satisfied, on whichever side of the House they sat, and would not be content with a mere throwing out of a charge on the one side and throwing it back again on the other. He contended that they had a right to expect cordiality towards the whole body of the people by the Government. He would ask any hon. Member who had any knowledge of occurrences which had taken place in Ireland recently to say whether justice had been done to the people. On occasion after occasion the peace of a village or of a town had really been maintained, not by the Constabulary, but by hon. Members below the Gangway and the priests of the Catholic Church. When the feelings of the people were worked up to fever heat, they would see, as he had seen, old men go down on their knees and call forth curses from Heaven on those whom they believed were inflicting the most cruel wrong on the people of the country. When they saw an officer of the Constabulary kick aside

a laurel leaf covering the spot on which one of his countrymen fell, when there were people around whom they heard declare ready to die for the man who had lost his life, it must be confessed that there was a state of tension existing which it was painful to witness. Then it was that hon. Members who visited Ireland saw that it was not the Constabulary, and least of all the Constabulary officers, who were keeping the peace, but hon. Members below the Gangway, who, by dint of great exertion, were able to restrain the people and induce them to go to their homes in quiet, yet they never had the suggestion from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that such a thing happened. The right hon. Gentleman should go a little more into Ireland to govern, when he would find that the treatment continually meted out to the people, even in the course of justice, was such as we should be shocked to see in this country or in Scotland. People were treated as an inferior race, and were made to feel themselves an inferior race. They welcomed the arrival of an English visitor—no matter what his politics—because they believed it would in some manner assuage the severity of their treatment. A friend of his had written to him a description of a trial which had occurred in Galway not long ago, and he said that whilst the trial was going on, one of the witnesses who had been sent for to give evidence was passing by some policemen, when three of them seized him and jammed him against the wall, throttling him in a brutal manner. Luckily, Mr. Becket saw what happened, and the police had to let their victim go. The police ought to have been severely punished for their action; and his friend considered it a shocking thing that such an incident should occur in a Court of Justice. Occurrences of this kind would not be believed by English people unless they saw them with their own eyes. He (Mr. Rowntree) confessed himself guilty of that which the right hon. Gentleman regarded as a great sin—namely, of having spent a part of his vacation in Ireland—but he might say that magistrates, with, perhaps, a few exceptions, holding opinions entirely different from his own, had said this—that these visits, and the policy of English Liberals, though these gentlemen did not agree with it, was producing a beneficial effect on the people of Ireland which had never been expected. He appealed to the Government to look further into the condition of the district on the north-west coast of Donegal. He was sure they would hear more about this district during the coming winter. Instead of relying upon the declarations of the Constabulary there, there was something which required far deeper looking into if a very painful state of things was to be averted. A gentleman who was not at all allied with the National Party had spoken to him in the strongest possible manner of the harm the police were doing amongst these people. He had said that he had never seen such an estrangement between the police and the people before. There was no contact between the two. The people were going on living their lives, refusing to recognize and to hold intercourse with the police, looking upon them, not as protectors, but as persecutors; and yet there was no rioting or disorder. The effect of this was that the people were their own police and protectors, and would as soon think of applying to the French Nation for a remedy as of going to the police, in the event of their having lost something or having a complaint to make. There was really a comical aspect to this question, for the police evidently thought it a very wrong thing for Englishmen to go over and spend any time in Ireland; and in this matter he would venture to make a suggestion to the Government. It was a serious thing to find such a fine body of men as the Irish Constabulary devoting their time to standing in the police station, staring like sheep at every new arrival, and then following visitors about like poodles. The thing was in the highest degree ludicrous and silly. On one occasion he had asked one of these men, who was exceptionally zealous in dogging his footsteps, why he was tracking him, and the only answer he got was—"Well, we understand, but we are not wished to give replies." That was the most foolish part of the whole business. Although English visitors were not charged with associating themselves with secret societies whose motive was assassination—and that was something in a country where coroners' juries had to reconcile themselves to the presence of such people—it still would be a saving of time, and a great con-

venience to Englishmen, if the passport system were put in force. He was sure that this system would be to the convenience of English visitors and greatly lighten the labours of the police. When a visitor went to a village or a town it would be an easy thing for him to go to some police office, once and for all, and explain who he was, and where he came from, and get his passport *viséd*. At present he considered it a disgrace to this old country of England that an Englishman could not go across to Ireland — although he had not the slightest intention of addressing meetings there—and could not take his wife to a place of worship, and could not call with her upon a friend, without being tracked and followed by armed men. If that were the way it was proposed that the union between Ireland and this country was to be cemented, it was the most remarkably silly suggestion ever made to any intelligent mind, and he earnestly appealed to the Committee to look into the results of this policy rather closely. In this country people were getting to understand this question better than they did before. The more they agreed in the matter the more it would be seen that the rule of the rifle and the baton over people, who were as anxious as any Englishman to live peaceably and quietly in their own land, was at once a great injury and injustice to them, and a shame and disgrace to ourselves.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, that the main argument the Chief Secretary for Ireland used in his defence of the Irish Constabulary was that the Representatives of Ireland were only able to adduce a very few instances of brutality on the part of the police during the last 12 months.

Notice taken that 40 Members were not present, Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. LANE said, he could assure the Committee it was not for want of sufficient material that numberless instances of police misconduct had not been brought forward to-night. It was because the hon. Gentleman who had preceded him thought it better to lay stress on certain circumstances, and also because they knew that at the present period of the Session it was absolutely necessary to curtail the length of the debates in Supply, that many of them had decided not to refer to matters in connection with the management of the Irish police of very great importance to their own constituents. In what they had done they had been prompted by a desire that specific cases of the first magnitude should be dealt with in the short time that remined at their disposal. He himself, if he were merely to confine his remarks to his own Division, and to the City of Cork where he lived, could bring forward scores of cases of misconduct on the part of police officers, any one of which cases, had it occurred in London or any town in England, would have had a more disastrous effect upon the Ministry than the case of Miss Cass a short time ago. He did not intend, however, to weary the Committee with a number of these cases. Indeed, he rose for the specific purpose of calling attention to one particular case. It was thoroughly characteristic of the Chief Secretary to anticipate this case—which he knew was about to be brought up and dealt with seriously —by a statement which was not at all substantiated by the facts, and which was inaccurate in every detail; and that then he should run away before a reply was made. The particular case he desired to bring to the notice of the Committee was that of the brutal and bloodthirsty murder which was committed in Midleton within the last few weeks. It was impossible for any man to justify the action of the police in that case unless he was prepared to justify wilful murder. The Chief Secretary, upon more occasions than one during the past week, had sought to prejudge the discussion upon this case, for he had endeavoured to lay down the doctrine that the murder which was committed by his emissaries in Midleton was the result of speeches made and of an agitation got up by some of his (Mr. Lane's) hon. Friends. The right hon. Gentleman went out of his way last week, and again to-night, to give the Committee and the public to understand that this horrible murder would never have occurred if it had not been for the visit of some Irish Members to Midleton some time previously. The Committee, of course, would infer from the right hon. Gentleman's statement that the occasion upon which the murder took place must have been some day of poli-

tical excitement, or some occasion when there was an unusual commotion in the town of Midleton, and that the police were only acting in accordance with their strict duties when this lamentable occurrence took place. He had made inquiries personally, and he desired to state to the Committee the result of his investigations. The facts were simply these: Upon the night of the 1st of November two policemen were walking along the streets of Midleton. The streets were in their ordinary state, very few people being about. In the swaggering manner which the Irish police have adopted since the present Chief Secretary came into Office, the two policemen came up to two men who were standing quietly upon the footpath and told them to "move out of that." The men moved aside, but that was not sufficient, for the policemen told the men to "go home out of that." One of the young men, who was named Mansfield, did not see any reason why he should go off the highway in his own town at the bidding of a policeman. He felt that he had a perfect right to be there, and he refused to go away. He was surrounded by his friends, every one of whom was able to testify to his sober condition at the time. The two policemen rushed at him, seized him by the throat and dragged him through the principal street in Midleton in the most brutal and barbarous manner. Of course conduct like that in a small country town naturally excited considerable curiosity, and a good deal of people followed the policemen. Amongst the crowd was the father of the young man, and he went over to the policemen and told them that they need not treat his son like that, for they knew who he was and could summon him if they had any charge to prefer against him. Some of Mansfield's friends remonstrated with the police for arresting him, and also for the shocking manner in which they treated him in dragging him through the town. The young man very properly resisted being dragged through the streets like a culprit and a criminal when he had done nothing whatever. The policemen, when they saw the crowd following them, dragged Mansfield into a hall and remained there for some time. The father went in and tried to get them to release his son. A struggle took place in the hall between the policemen and the father and son. The crowd outside got excited over this, and he (Mr. Lane) regretted to say that three stones were thrown through the fanlight over the door. No more than three stones were so thrown—the police did not say so. The crowd increased and became very excited when they saw the police maltreating the two men inside the hall. But he maintained that it could not have been a very bad crowd when the policemen were allowed to illtreat two respectable inhabitants of the town, and when one policeman who stood at the door with a stick in his hand was able to keep it back. Another instance of the desperately riotous condition of the crowd was that the head constable and another constable marched up from the barracks through it, and walked without any molestation into the hall where the two policemen and their prisoners were. When the head constable went in and saw the state of the young man who had been dragged through the town on a charge of drunkenness, he ordered the constables to release the man. That was the origin of this unfortunate and lamentable occurrence at Midleton which the Chief Secretary wanted to make out was produced by speeches made and excitement given by hon. Colleagues of his (Mr. Lane) to the people to make attacks upon the small number of policemen who were stationed in the town. He was glad to say that in so far as the number of the police established in Midleton up to that time was small, the Chief Secretary was absolutely correct, but that was the only part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech to-night in reference to the Midleton incident which was correct. The town had the name of being one of the quietest in the South of Ireland; indeed, if its records were searched it would be found that there was no such thing as violence in that town before. He was especially glad that, notwithstanding all the provocation the people had since received, and notwithstanding the most exasperating display of a numerous and hostile police force that had been paraded up and down the town for the last four weeks, there had not been a disturbance of any kind since the occurrence of the 1st of November. Information was sent to Mr. District Inspector Creagh, who had charge of the police in Midleton, that a disturbance was going on in the town, and so tumul-

tuous was the mob that Mr. Creagh walked down, without any weapon with which to protect himself, to the place where the crowd had been some time previously. Some time before this one of the clergymen of Midleton had come upon the scene and persuaded the people to go away from the house in which the police were, but the first thing Mr. District Inspector Creagh did when he came on the scene was to order the police to fix their bayonets and to charge the crowd. The clergyman told Mr. Creagh that there was no necessity for work of that kind, that there was no riot, that the police were in no danger, that there was no danger of the peace being broken, and that it was monstrous for the police to charge the crowd, which consisted mainly of women and children who were doing nothing whatsoever. Perhaps it would be better and more satisfactory to the Committee if, in relation to this point, he quoted the evidence given by the police themselves at the investigation which took place afterwards. Constable M'Veagh said—

"I won't swear that tumult was going on outside the door until Mr. Creagh came up."

Then the constable was asked—

"Do you know that the crowd had been sent away by Father Kennedy before Mr. Creagh came?—I don't know."

"Were you very much afraid?" asked the Counsel. "Indeed I was not," was the reply. Then he said—

"Mr. Creagh directed us to charge the crowd with sword in hand, and we did so. Mr. Creagh went with us. We rushed at the people with our bayonets in hand, and the people fled before us."

He was asked "Were you not content with that?" and he replied—

"No; there were people down in Charles Street. They were runnig away and we ran after them."

"Were not the people running away, and why did you follow them?" asked the Counsel for the next of kin, and M'Veagh replied—

"It was my duty. I was acting under orders."

The constable then volunteered the statement—

"We cleared the people out of all the public houses. I thought it was a most legitimate thing to do. The people were doing nothing there, only standing at the counter taking drink."

That statement gave a very fair idea of what was going on at the time the charge commenced. Many respectable citizens came forward to corroborate M'Veagh's evidence. The clergyman, who was on the spot at the time, came on the table and swore that the crowd had, to a very large extent, dispersed long before Mr. Creagh came upon the scene, and that at the time the Inspector arrived there was nothing going on which would justify the charge made on the people, which resulted in the death of the young man Ahern. Let him refer for one moment to Ahern's participation in the doings of that evening. Ahern was in a house a long distance from where the police had been besieged, as it were, or locked up for a while, in the hall. When the charge took place, and he heard the people running away, he came out upon the street to look at what was going on. He leant against the railings of the street. So innocent was he of what was going on, and of the danger in which he stood, that he never stirred from the railings, and it was while standing there that he was stabbed by an infuriated policeman. Not only were the police not satisfied with stabbing him, but they pushed him out into the middle of the street, knocked him down, and, according to the testimony of one of the bystanders, who had no object whatever in stating what was untrue, they kicked, when on the ground, the man who was bleeding to death before their eyes. A more unwarrantable or unjustifiable attack was never made upon an unarmed and harmless crowd of people than the attack made by the police on the orders of Inspector Creagh. It was not the first time that Mr. Inspector Creagh had shown his powers of gallantry in attacking unarmed crowds, and particularly crowds flying away from him or with their backs turned to him. He (Mr. Lane) remembered an occasion in the City of Cork last February, when one of the Representatives of the people was liberated from prison. On that occasion the bands of the City, and the citizens themselves to the number of thousands, had assembled to show their respect for the Member of Parliament and their resentment of his unjust imprisonment. They escorted the Member to his home, and having done that, the vast crowd broke up peaceably. The bands, with

their contingents, went off to their rooms in different directions, and there would have been peace and quietness in the whole city in the course of half an hour if it had not been for the action of Inspector Creagh and the men in his charge. Inspector Creagh and his police went into ambush in a shady corner of Great George Street. So little truth was there in the statement that the people attacked Inspector Creagh and stoned his men that the presence of the constables in the dark and shady corner was utterly unknown to the people until they turned into the street leading directly to their band-room. There was not the slightest disorder; the bands were playing and the people were following. When, however, they had gone about 300 yards past the place where Inspector Creagh and his baton-men were posted, the police rushed upon them in the most uncalled for and unprovoked manner. They batoned the people right and left, and made a special attack upon the men who at the time were playing the musical instruments. They smashed the instruments, doing damage to the amount of from £150 to £200, and then retreated, without the slightest attempt to justify the attack. This was one of the antecedents of Mr. Creagh, whose action was the cause of Ahern losing his life at Midleton. Far from its being the intention of Members of Parliament or the people of Midleton to provoke ill-feeling and bad blood and disorder in Midleton, he had proof positive that it was the police, acting under the orders of Inspector Creagh, who were responsible for what occurred. Two days before the unfortunate death of Ahern an event took place in the Court House of Midleton which led to the greatest exasperation. Seven lads were summoned before Mr. Redmond, the magistrate, for singing and whistling on the wall near the Court House. The Court House was outside the town, and therefore it could not be alleged that singing or whistling on the wall was annoying to anyone. But the head constable summoned the boys; and in bringing them before the magistrate he stated that the defendants were guilty of riotous and disorderly conduct on the 19th of October. Mr. Redmond, who was one of the two magistrates who distinguished themselves in the Killeagh case, said—"Are you going to give any evidence in this case?" The head constable said he was not; and then Mr. Redmond, with that same legal acumen he displayed in discovering in the evidence put before him in the Killeagh case a different crime from that the accused were arraigned for, discovered that the boys were guilty of riotous and disorderly conduct, although no evidence at all had been brought before him. The learned gentleman said—"It is clear to me that they are guilty of riotous and disorderly conduct." The head constable, however, said—

"I have no desire that these boys should be punished; but I think it is my duty to bring forward the case."

It was then that Inspector Creagh came upon the scene, remarking—"It may be the beginning of a worse state of things." That remark alone showed that Mr. Creagh and his henchmen had evidently made up their minds to goad the people into the commission of some crime or outrage, so as to justify the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland that crime always followed the movements of the National Leaders. A number of the inhabitants of Midleton were brought up subsequent to the killing of Ahern, on summonses taken out under the Crimes Act, for having taken part in what was called a riotous assembly. The magistrates, in sentencing them, gave away the whole case of the police, for they said they were of opinion that the whole of these disturbances was caused by the people of Midleton trying to take upon themselves the responsibility of carrying out law and order. Such was the description of the proceeding by the magistrate who tried the people and sentenced them—some to six weeks and some to two months' imprisonment with hard labour. As a matter of fact, the people were trying to prevent two policemen committing the illegality which they undoubtedly did commit in arresting a sober man as a drunken man, and literally dragging him through the streets of the town. He (Mr. Lane) had given Notice that he would move to reduce the Vote by a particular sum in reference to the salaries of two police officers; but since he put down his Notice the Chief Secretary had made an admission which caused him to alter his determination.

Last Friday the right hon. Gentleman told them that the duties of Divisional Magistrate for the County of Cork had for the last two months—during which time Captain Plunkett had been in London assisting in the conduct of *The Times* case—been conducted by County Inspector Eard, of the Cork Police Force, and that at the time of the occurrence at Midleton the police were under the control of County Inspector Eard. This officer went to Midleton the day after Ahern's death; but whether in his capacity of County Inspector of Police or as Divisional Magistrate, it was very hard for anyone who was not behind the scenes to be able to state. County Inspector Eard was accompanied by Mr. Redmond, the magistrate; but instead of taking any steps to discover who committed the murder, or who was responsible for the loss of life which took place, what did they do? If one was to judge from the subsequent events, these gentlemen gave the police orders to watch the office of the solicitor of the next-of-kin, and take the names of all those they saw going in there. It was inferred that the people who were seen to go in this office would give evidence at the inquest against the police, and therefore they were marked out for prosecution. The police served summonses upon seven or eight of these people, and to a very large extent prevented the people doing anything whatsoever to lead to the elucidation of the question who was responsible for the murder. At the inquest a police officer attended on behalf of the Crown; but, in reply to the Coroner, said he had no evidence to give as to the cause of death. The Coroner thereupon said it was the duty of the representative of the Crown to produce evidence as to the cause of death if he could, but Mr. Seymour, who was the gentleman who represented the Crown, said he had no evidence to produce. The Chief Secretary had said to-day that no attempt was made to prosecute the matter because of the reluctance of the people to give evidence. As a matter of fact the police did everything in their power to prevent the people giving evidence; therefore it was ridiculous for the Chief Secretary to tell the Committee that the Crown were unable to get evidence. Mr. District Inspector Creagh, who ordered the charge, and was responsible for the peace and the lives and liberties of the people of Midleton, was put in the witness box. When asked by the counsel for the next-of-kin what steps he had taken to discover the person who killed Ahern, he said that under the circumstances he had not taken any—the circumstances he (Mr. Lane) had detailed. As the Representative of the people of Midleton, he (Mr. Lane) felt it his duty to give this matter all the prominence he possibly could upon every occasion that the Rules of the House and the subject under debate would permit him to do so. He had scrupulously refrained from saying a single word that would prejudge the case of the unfortunate men who stood before the country at the present time charged with the wilful murder of Ahern. He thought it was clear that the murder was committed by the police, and that it originated in an act of illegality on the part of the police. What had the police authorities and the magisterial authorities done from the beginning to the end? They had made every effort in their power to exonerate the police, and they had strained the law in a most unnatural and objectionable form to punish the people of Midleton who had the misfortune to be witnesses of the proceedings of the 1st of November. The only matter of surprise to him was that the police did not serve a summons upon the clergyman who tried to keep the peace that evening, and who had succeeded in dispersing the crowd before Mr. Creagh came up. Of course the Committee knew by this time what had happened to the seven men who were supposed to be about to give evidence against the police at the inquiry. These people had the misfortune to be in the street when the disturbance took place, and the result was that Walter Mansfield was committed to prison with hard labour for six weeks, Patrick Toomey for two months, Patrick Nolan for six weeks, Maurice Murphy for six weeks, Patrick Conway for six weeks, Timothy Holland for six weeks, and John Walsh for six weeks. A remarkable circumstance was that the magistrate who tried them remarked that no one in the world knew why Patrick Mansfield was arrested on that evening. Mr. Patrick Mansfield was let off with a fine of 10*s.*, whilst every man likely to give evidence against the police got six

months or eights months' imprisonment with hard labour. That was what led to this unfortunate crime by the police, and those were the circumstances under which this murder was committed. As he had already stated, he should take every opportunity open to him of reverting to this matter until the Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench were as sick and tired of it as they were of the Mitchelstown affair. In conclusion, he desired to bear his humble testimony to the fact that visits to Ireland by such gentlemen as the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division (Mr. J. E. Ellis), the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree), and the hon. and learned Member for one of the Divisions of Lincolnshire (Mr. Waddy), and speeches such as those made to-night, did more to preserve law and order and peace and tranquility in Ireland than all the forces in the hands of the Chief Secretary for Ireland at the present time—which forces he used, not for the preservation of peace and quietness, but for the exasperation of the people, and to drive them to despair so as to give the right hon. Gentleman an excuse for getting up in his place here, and on platforms all over England and Scotland, and declaring that whatever crime and outrage existed in Ireland was due to the conduct of political agitators. The right hon. Gentleman was almost driving people out of their minds, and it required all the influence and advice of the Irish Representatives to prevent the outburst of a regular hurricane of crime.

SIR HENRY TYLER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put;" but the Chairman withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, that in the discussion of this Vote, two very distinct questions had been raised, one financial and the other executive. In dealing with the financial question no one could fail to be impressed and alarmed by the enormous growth of the cost and number of the police. The Chief Secretary, in his remarks, had pointed out that in 1848 the number of the police was 13,000, and that the present strength of the force was not very largely in excess of that number. In making that statement, however, the right hon. Gentleman should have considered that the year referred to, which was just after the famine, was the very worst year from the point of view of disturbance ever known in Ireland; and further, he should have recollected that at that time the population was 8,500,000, whereas it had now decreased to 4,750,000. There had been a reduction in the population of nearly 4,000,000, whereas the number of the police had been maintained, and the cost had risen from £400,000 to £1,500,000. Comparing the police force in Ireland with that of Wales, where the economical conditions were very much the same, taking the proportion of the population, it would be fonnd that the police in Ireland was four or five times as numerous as that of Wales, and four or five times as costly. That showed a state of things which could not be defended in any possible way. In Ireland a great deal of work was done by the police which was perfectly unnecessary, and in this connection he must call the attention of the Committee to one part of the subject which was entirely evaded by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—namely, the system of espionage which was carried on by the police in Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did notice that.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he certainly did not hear the right hon. Gentleman refer to that point.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Ah! that is another matter.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he wished to give the Committee some of his experience in this matter of espionage, and he thought they would rather surprise the Committee. When he went over to Ireland he found that wherever he went he was followed by policemen. This was the case at Dundalk, whither he went for the purpose of being present at the trial of the hon. Member for East Mayo, and when he afterwards paid a visit to the estate of Lord Massereene he was followed by a car containing four or five policemen, who pursued him through the district. Now, he wanted to know whether this was done by order of the officials of Dublin Castle on their own responsibility, or in pursuance of instructions given by the Chief Secretary. Afterwards, when he went to Clare, for the

purpose of going over Colonel Vandeleur's estate, he found that his intention had become known to the police, and, on arriving at the little town of Kilrush, he found the police there prepared for his visit. They interviewed everybody he saw there, and apparently communicated all the information they obtained to the Government in Dublin. Among others, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had an interview with a Government official there, an officer of the Local Government Board, a gentleman whose intervention had been invited both by Colonel Vandeleur's agent and by the tenants; and to his (Mr. Shaw Lefevre's) great surprise, he subsequently found, on authority which he could not doubt, that the fact of his having had this interview was communicated to the authorities in Dublin, and this gentleman was reprimanded for having been seen in his (Mr. Shaw Lefevre's) company. This gentleman was called to account for the reason he had mentioned —would the right hon. Gentleman say whether that was true?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Does the hon. Gentleman——

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The right hon. Gentleman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that the officer in question was called to account for having been seen in his company?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I do.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then, certainly, there is not a word of truth in it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could only say he firmly believed it to be true. ["Oh, oh!"] He ventured to say it was true—["Oh!"]—whether the Chief Secretary knew of it or not.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: We ought to have some decency on the Treasury Bench. [*Interruption.*]

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! This is the third time the hon. Member for Scotland Yard—[*Laughter*]—the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool has been very disorderly. I must beg him to observe proper Parliamentary decorum. Order will be well preserved if the hon. Member will be quiet.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: This is the second time I interrupted, Mr. Courtney, and not the third. ["Order, order!"]

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the gentleman in question was afterwards removed from that part of the country and sent to another part of Ireland. He ventured to say that this system of espionage of which he now complained was altogether unprecedented in this country, and ought not to be allowed. Were they to understand that Members of this House who wanted to go to Ireland were in future expected to go to the Chief Secretary for Ireland and ask for a passport in order that they might be freed from this espionage on the part of the police? He maintained that such a state of things as at present existed should be brought to an end, and that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should give orders to the police to desist from a policy of this kind directed against persons visiting Ireland. Another point of complaint which had been brought out in the course of the debate was the extent to which the police were employed at railway stations, and he believed it was nearer the truth to say that not 500, as stated by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), but three times that number of policemen were so employed in Ireland. Was it really necessary that a couple of policemen should be present on the platform of a railway station at the arrival of every train? Did it serve any useful purpose? The Chief Secretary stated that the police visited the railway stations in order to prevent criminal organization; but he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) should like to know in what sense the right hon. Gentleman used the word criminal. Did he mean it in the ordinary sense, or in the wider sense in which the word was used under the Coercion Act? He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) should have said himself that Ireland was extremely free from crime in every true sense of the term. Another question brought under the consideration of the Committee was the action of the police with respect to public meetings. On that point he was bound to say, from his own experience and observation, that the police, in a great many instances, were the real fomenters of disturbance. He did not know that he could give a better illustration than a case which occurred in the spring of this year in Limerick. He was not present there himself; but he understood that a de-

monstration was organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to the so-called Manchester martyrs, and on that occasion a large number of police were in the town. There had been several collisions on the Saturday night and on Sunday, and, in consequence of this, the authorities were seriously alarmed as to what course things would take on the Monday. In this position of affairs, the gentleman in charge of the police consulted with the Mayor and asked his assistance to quiet the town. The Mayor said he would be responsible for the safety and peace of the town if the police were confined to barracks and not one of them allowed to show himself. Well, wisely enough, this was done—the police were confined to their barracks, and the result was that not the least disturbance took place on that occasion. He had personally had an experience of a similar kind at Loughrea, where a meeting of his was held. Before the meeting the police came to him and stated that instructions had been received from Dublin to allow the meeting to take place, and had asked what they should do on the occasion. Having in his mind what he had mentioned in regard to Limerick, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had replied that he would be responsible for maintaining order at the meeting, and that the best thing which could be done would be to withdraw the police and confine them to barracks, and not to let a single constable show himself, except the one who took shorthand notes on the platform. In this case, also, the result was that the meeting passed over with perfect quietness and order. He was convinced, however, that if there had been a large body of police present, there would have been the greatest possible danger of disturbance. He would also mention a case in which an opposite course was pursued—namely, the meeting at Ballinasloe, where the police did interfere, and where he was certain, but for the action taken by himself and others, there would have been a violent conflict. On this occasion the attitude of the police was menacing, and the officer at the head of the force had addressed him (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) in menacing and almost insulting terms. The attitude of the police, in short, was such that he was afraid of allowing the large body of people to remain outside the hall where it had been intended to present him with an address. He accordingly abandoned the meeting in the hall, counselled the people to disperse quietly, and went to his hotel, the address being presented to him there. He was certain that if he had not adopted this course there would have been a serious collision between the police and the people. There was not the slightest reason for bringing the police, unless it was for the purpose of interrupting the meeting. As to the Dundalk affair, he admitted the authorities were perfectly right in not allowing the people to assemble near the Court House, and if they had confined themselves to that, there would have been no disturbance. The account of that meeting given by the hon. Member for East Mayo was, however, strictly accurate. The authorities on that occasion sent a detachment of troops and police to a railway station a mile off to prevent that hon. Member from receiving a deputation from the town authorities. So far as he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) could see, the police made an unprovoked attack upon the procession, and a state of feeling was brought about which resulted later in the day in conflicts of a serious character, and to several persons being sent to prison. He thought the whole action of the police, which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary defended, was very unwise in endeavouring to interfere with the people at the railway station and on their way to the Court. There was another matter dealt with in the course of the debate, and that was the use made of the police in carrying out wholesale evictions. He admitted that the police might be used in an ordinary way in single cases of eviction, but not, he ventured to submit, in depopulating a whole district. The right hon. Gentleman had said that it was necessary for the Government to carry out the law, and that they had no option in the matter. Now he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) quite admitted that on ordinary occasions it was necessary to carry out the law, but he thought it was the duty of the Government in those cases where they had to deal with wholesale evictions to take into consideration whether those evictions were justifiable or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary seemed to think that even in the case of wholesale evictions he was justified in

supporting them with the whole force of the law, but he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) ventured to point out that that was not the view of the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor in Office, the present President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). Let them take, for example, the Clanricarde evictions. Everyone admitted that they were unjust under the circumstances. Wholesale evictions by Lord Clanricarde were impending, and the late Chief Secretary had personally communicated with that nobleman through his agent. He had said that, having regard to the fact that his Lordship was not prepared to make an abatement, such as other landlords were making, the Chief Secretary was not prepared to support him with all the Forces of the Crown. He did not go the length of saying that under no circumstances would he do so, but he said that he would postpone doing so until the latest period, and that then he would require test cases to be taken, and that evictions should only be carried out in those cases in which it was absolutely certain that the tenant could pay the rent demanded. That was not the course the present Chief Secretary had taken. The right hon. Gentleman was allowing Lord Clanricarde to evict a whole township, 24 individual families, and he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) wished seriously to ask the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary, whether he intended to allow the whole Forces of the Crown to be used for the purpose of carrying out these evictions? Then, as to the Gweedore case, the reply of the Chief Secretary to the questions put to him was that the Irish tenants were the most favoured tenants in Europe. How was it that they were the most favoured tenants? Why, because they were the only tenants in Europe who effected all the improvements in their holdings. He did not believe that in all Europe there existed another class of occupiers who effected all the improvements in the land they held, excepting freeholders, or persons holding under a system of dual ownership even more secure than that now existing in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the stay of proceedings given by the Judge as a sufficient protection to the tenant; but this stay of proceedings was never given for more than a few months, and many of these evictions were in respect of proceedings commenced before the Act of 1887 came into force. He considered that there was an immense distinction between wholesale evictions of the kind referred to and individual evictions occurring from time to time in the normal course of things. Another matter which he thought it necessary to allude to was the case to which he had called the attention of the Committee a few nights ago, in which the police got up prosecutions for the non-supply of goods which they did not really want. An answer had only been given in respect of one of these cases, that in which certain constables had been refused a supply of turf; and the answer given was that men who had so refused to supply goods to the police had pleaded guilty. No doubt they did, but they did so simply because the Judge had been increasing sentences on appeal, and they were therefore afraid of running the risk of an increased sentence by appealing. His argument was not affected by these persons pleading guilty. If the Killeagh case were taken into consideration, there was no evidence whatever on which they ought to have been convicted in the cases to which he was referring, and the convictions were absolutely and clearly illegal, and he challenged the Solicitor General for Ireland or the Chief Secretary to produce a case where prosecutions got up by the police in this manner—namely, where they asked for goods which they did not want—and where the convictions could be upheld under the ruling in the Killeagh case. In conclusion, he wished to say that his chief point was that the action of the police during the past few months had only led to disturbance, and that much of the work they performed it would be much better not to perform, and that their numbers were greatly in excess of anything that was necessary.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The right hon. Gentleman seems to be indignant with the police, because, as he describes it, they have applied for goods in order to get up a case and to support prosecutions for Boycotting. Well, Sir, I admit that if the police induce people to break the law for the purpose of obtaining a conviction, they would be guilty of a grave breach of duty, if not of something worse. But

that has never been the action of the police. All that they have done in these cases is this: When there has been in existence a conspiracy to refuse to supply goods they have simply taken the course which is taken under the Adulteration Act in this country of getting evidence or proof of that conspiracy. They did not induce people to engage in a conspiracy, but when a conspiracy existed they felt themselves absolutely justified in getting up the necessary evidence to prove it. Then the right hon. Gentleman drew a broad distinction between what he called wholesale evictions and evictions of single families, but did not do the Committee the honour of explaining on what he based that distinction. What he called "wholesale evictions" appeared from a remark which fell from him later on in his speech—namely, the eviction of 24 families instead of one family.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The whole of one township.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, a township of 24 families. The right hon. Gentleman thinks it perfectly justifiable, and not only justifiable but necessary, to support evictions in which one person is dealt with, and criminal to deal with cases in which 24 people are dealt with, though the circumstances of the 24 people may be the same as the circumstances of the one person. Such an amazing statement, such a paradoxical statement, requires a better justification than any which the right hon. Gentleman has adduced to support it. The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to say that the protection given under the clauses of the Land Act to the Irish tenants was inadequate, and that Irish tenants were not the most favourably situated tenants in Europe. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the fact that all the improvements on the land were the work of the tenants. But I should never have made the statement that the Irish tenants were so carefully guarded if the law merely protected the tenants' improvements. The law does a great deal more than that. The Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a member made it their boast that the tenants' improvements were protected, but the Act of last year gives the tenant power to come before the Court and prove that his non-payment of rent is due to causes of which he is not to blame, and obtain a stay of proceedings. I maintain, therefore, that the privilege given to Irish tenants, quite irrespective of the provision dealing with improvements, is greater than is enjoyed by the tenantry of any other country. Then the right hon. Gentleman, in the earlier part of his speech, discussed the system of police espionage, which he said he and his friends are subjected to in visiting Ireland. He boasted he had committed as criminal an act as Mr. Blunt.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I never said it was criminal.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not say that the right hon. Gentleman said that Mr. Blunt's was a criminal act. The right hon. Gentleman does not seem capable of understanding a plain English sentence. What I said was that the right hon. Gentleman boasted that he had committed an act quite as criminal as that of Mr. Blunt. The act may not have been criminal, but we now have the measure of the right hon. Gentleman's criminality in his own eyes. According to the law, as decided by a competent tribunal, Mr. Blunt's action was criminal. I, however, differ from the right hon. Gentleman, and think that he has taken ample precautions that in no circumstances he should come into conflict with the law. I think he was well advised in taking those precautions, but, at all events, his own view is that he was as guilty as Mr. Blunt. Well, under the circumstances, I cannot conceive how he can possibly complain of the Irish Government holding him under espionage. The Irish Government held Mr. Blunt to be guilty, and an Irish Court held him to be guilty, and a Court of Appeal had confirmed that decision. It is, therefore, impossible to see what the right hon. Gentleman's grievance is, for whilst Mr. Blunt was sent to prison, the right hon. Gentleman, who confesses himself to be quite as guilty, has only had his movements watched. At the same time, if the right hon. Gentleman ever wishes to proceed to Ireland as a tourist, or merely to investigate facts, I can assure him that I will give him every facility in my power. [An hon. MEMBER: A passport.] Then the right hon. Gentleman seems to be under the impression—and this is the last observation I will make—that Mr. Micks, the Local Govern-

ment Board Inspector, drew down upon himself a reprimand on account of an interview which he had had with the right hon. Gentleman. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that in this matter he has over-rated his own importance. I never heard, till this moment, of the right hon. Gentleman's interview with the Local Government Board's Inspector. I was cognizant of all the circumstances which preceded the transfer of this gentleman to another part of Ireland, but amongst those circumstances his interview with the right hon. Gentleman was never so much as mentioned, nor should I have thought it an offence if I had had any knowledge of it. Even if I had considered it an offence it would have been one of so slight a character that I should have held it to have brought with it its own penalty. And now, Sir, I have gone over all the allegations which the right hon. Gentleman brought forward. I have not gone over all the ground he traversed, nor all the ground traversed by the previous speakers, but I have touched upon all the new ground opened up. Perhaps I shall not be going beyond my duty if I say that we have a large number of Votes to consider to-night, and this is the last occasion for an indefinite period when it will be possible to consider Irish Votes. Therefore, in the interest of those Gentlemen from Ireland who very naturally desire to discuss the Irish Estimates, I would recommend that the Committee should finish the discussion of this Vote and go to others which stand on the Paper, and which raise issues not less controversial, and upon which Gentlemen opposite can make no less violent speeches against Her Majesty's Government. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Withdraw!"] I do not use that word in any spirit of aggression. What I mean is this. I am aware that hon. Gentlemen desire to discuss the action of the Government, not only critically, but adversely, and all I would suggest is that, having discussed the burning questions that arise on the Constabulary Vote, they should proceed to the discussion of the burning questions which also arise on the Magistrates Vote and the Prisons Vote, in order that we may be able to discuss adequately on this, which, as I have said, is the last occasion for an indefinite period that we shall be able to discuss Irish Votes, those questions which are of interest to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. I hope they will not misunderstand the spirit in which I make this suggestion.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he must say the right hon. Gentleman opposite must have a peculiar idea of conciliatory language. If he wanted to point to a right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench more calculated than another to prolong debate and accentuate and embitter controversy, he should unhesitatingly point to the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman's aggressive style was growing upon him, and he was extending his favours in this direction from the unfortunate Irish Members to his equals on the Front Opposition Bench. If the right hon. Gentleman thought it right to tell the Irish Representatives that they would have an opportunity for making speeches equally violent upon another Vote, then he must say that the right hon. Gentleman was as little master of his tongue as the statesman who lately gave 250,000,000 of his fellow subjects the title of "blacks." He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) desired to deal with one or two observations of the right hon. Gentleman on the general question. The right hon. Gentleman had thought it right on this Vote to repeat the statement that the Irish tenant was in a more favourable position than any other tenant in the world; but he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that if he wished to curtail discussion in Committee he should avoid subjects which were not strictly germane to the Vote. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) should not have endeavoured to go into this matter if the right hon. Gentleman had not initiated it without being provoked into it by any observations from anybody else. He maintained that the statement, as applied to certain parts of Ireland, was absolutely and wholly and completely devoid of foundation. The right hon. Gentleman had the coolness to turn to them and to say that the fact that the tenants had not gone into Court was a proof that the Irish tenant was in a favoured position; and he said this in the face of their fresh recollections of the Clanricarde evictions. How had these evictions arisen? Why, because the landlord, who was possessed of a long

purse, took the tenants from Court to Court, until he entirely broke down the poor tenants, who could go no further. The right hon. Gentleman knew very well that the landlords, by the use of their purse and repeated appeals to higher Courts, had closed the doors of the Land Court as effectually to tenants as if legislation in their favour had never been passed by Parliament. Would the right hon. Gentleman produce to the Committee a Return of all the cases in which the section in the Act staying evictions had been operative? Could the right hon. Gentleman tell them how often it had been applied? He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said distinctly, and challenged contradiction from the hon. and learned Gentleman sitting beside the Chief Secretary—namely, the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden)—who did know something about Irish affairs, that the section of the Land Act referred to, staying evictions, was a section which had proved a dead letter in Ireland. And yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary could get up and talk about the relief given to the Irish tenants under this section. And now, with regard to another point—the right hon. Gentleman made an allusion to the Olphert estate, on which, to-morrow, according to the information contained in the newspapers, an eviction was to take place. The right hon. Gentleman had declared that the landlord in this case was a resident who had had no differences with his tenants until the Plan of Campaign was started there this year. ["Hear, hear!"] The Solicitor General for Ireland cheered that statement. Did he, or did he not, agree with the statement of the Chief Secretary that there had never been any dispute or unpleasantness between this landlord and his tenants until the Plan of Campaign was put in force in January of this year.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): Yes.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The hon. and learned Gentleman did—then he was as ignorant as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the other Members who were going about the country boasting of their superior information with regard to the condition of Ireland. Did the right hon. Gentleman, or the hon. and learned Gentleman, know anything about the Reports of a Committee of the House which sat from the 3rd December, 1857, to the 3rd August, 1858? According to the minutes of evidence taken before that Committee, considerable mention was made of the destitution in Gweedore. So far back as 1858 a Committee of the House was examining into the management of the estate of this landlord, who was said to be a good landlord by the Chief Secretary and the Solicitor General for Ireland. The Plan of Campaign was put in force on that estate, and, because of it, the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) had suffered barbarous, savage, and cowardly punishment under the direction of the Chief Secretary. The name Olphert was familiar to all the Irish Members. He did not believe there was a Member of the old original Irish Party who had not at some time or other asked a score of questions of Secretaries for Ireland with regard to the management of this same "excellent and good landlord," who never had a dispute with his tenants until the Plan of Campaign was preached on his estate by the hon. Member for East Mayo in January, 1888. Now, with regard to this good and resident landlord, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would give part of the evidence given before the Committee which sat in 1858, and this excellent landlord, it seemed, was about to be assisted by 1,000 police in turning his poor tenantry out on the roadside. Anterior to 1858 this landlord, it appeared, took away from his tenants 3,000 acres of land without giving them compensation. He raised the rents, and, according to the sworn testimony of two priests who lived in the district, the people had to live upon sea-weed. This was the model landlord whom the Chief Secretary had named as an excellent landlord, who was reduced to disputes with his tenants by the action of the Plan of Campaign and the agitators on the Irish Benches. It had been proved by one clergyman, who gave evidence, that one woman on this estate had died from hunger. Tenants had been fined and made to pay rent for sea-weed gathered from the sea. And these were the model landlords whose kindly relations with their tenants the Plan of Campaign agitators were destroying,

according to the veracious complaints of the right hon. Gentleman upon platforms in England! He wished hon. Gentlemen opposite had the advantage which Irish Members had had of listening earlier in the evening to the most impressive and instructive speech delivered by the hon. Member for North Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien). He thought every one who heard that speech must have had his blood boiling at the petty and malignant persecution which the hon. Member described. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the provocation given to the police. He agreed that terrible provocation had been given them, and it had been given by the right hon. Gentleman himself. There was no single act of outrage and violence, or even of bloodshed, committed which had not found in the right hon. Gentleman peremptory, emphatic, and ruthless approval. The right hon. Gentleman had defended the police by statements proved to be inaccurate, and, in fact, he had said in words, as plain as language could be, that the police in Ireland, the more they murdered, the more they outraged, the more they insulted, and the more they killed the people of Ireland, the better they would recommend themselves to the attention of their superiors.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must be aware that the language he has just used exceeds the limits of Parliamentary debate. I must ask him to withdraw it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I beg pardon, Mr. Courtney; did you speak to me?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly. I must ask the hon. Gentleman to withdraw the last sentence, which he must know exceeded the Rules of Debate in this House.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I will certainly withdraw it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that in view of what he had to bring before the Committee he claimed to move that the Question be now put.

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid), seated and wearing his hat, said, he wished to call the Chairman's attention to the fact that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had deliberately attacked him in connection with the disturbances at Fermoy, and, although he had been sitting in the House for some time, the right hon. Gentleman had not given him an opportunity of replying. It was a most cowardly proceeding.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 166; Noes 99: Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 334.)

Question put accordingly, "That £359,288 be granted for the said service."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 100; Noes 169: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 335.)

Mr. A. J. Balfour claimed, "That the Original Question be now put."

Original Question put accordingly,

"That a sum, not exceeding £369,288, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of the Constabulary Force, Ireland."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 182; Noes 110: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 336.)

MR. DILLON rose to speak.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member rise to a point of Order?

MR. DILLON said, he rose to speak on the original Question.

MR. PARNELL (Cork) said, he rose to Order. He claimed that he had the right, until a further question of closure had been put, to continue the debate on the original Question. He claimed that right under Rule 48 of the 18th of March, 1887. In the second paragraph of that Rule he found that when a Motion, "That the Question be now put," was carried—that was to say, the Motion they had divided upon before the last Division—and the Question thereby had been decided—which Question had just been decided by the last Division—any further Motion might be made—the assent of the Chair, as aforesaid, not having been withheld—which might be requisite to bring to a decision any Question already proposed from the Chair. He contended that the words "any further Motion," if there was to be no other discussion, plainly referred to the necessity of a further Motion of closure being made before the debate

was closed. Any other interpretation would be an absurdity, because the Motion that the original sum be granted, that had just been put from the Chair, had been already made, and the words "any further Motion may be made," could not refer to the original Motion which had been made already. Therefore, he contended that the words, "any further Motion may be made, the consent of the Chair not having been withheld," plainly and obviously referred to another Motion than the Main Question.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Question "that the sum, not exceeding £1,439,288, be granted," was the original Motion put from the Chair. The Question raised by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) would, he thought, have been open to some doubt if it were not precluded by a series of decisions, all deciding that after a Motion for closure had been agreed to, followed by a claim to close the Main Question, the Main Question could be at once put without a second closure Division.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, on a point of Order, he would ask whether, in this case, there had been any discussion on the original Question. He submitted that the first hon. Member who spoke on the Question—namely, the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division (Mr. J. E. Ellis), had moved an Amendment to the Main Question. Therefore, in this case, there could have been no discussion on the Main Question, because the Question was that a reduced sum be voted.

MR. PARNELL said, he submitted, with great respect, that there had been no decision on this Question. [*Cries of* "Order!"] The Question, he thought, had never been raised.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Gentleman was quite misinformed. The Question had been decided several times. With respect to the Question of the hon. Member for North Longford, if the Motion which had been closured had been a Motion to reduce an item, it might have been contended that no discussion had taken place on the whole Question, and it might have been open to the Chair to withhold assent to the Motion "that the Main Question be put;" but the Motion was for the reduction of the whole Vote, and the discussion had been on the whole Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £35,750 (including a Supplementary sum of £3,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin."

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he was sorry the Government had not reciprocated the spirit in which the Irish Members had met them on Saturday, who let them have so many votes which they could easily have stopped, by moving the closure on the Main Question of the last Vote before the previous Question had been disposed of. He rose now, however, to make some observations on the Resident Magistrates in Ireland, who had the law at their disposal. In the first place, he asked for some information as to the law which enabled a number of magistrates to be created at will. He had noticed in *The Gazette* the creation of magistrates for some particular purpose on a particular day, after which they disappeared into the background for ever. There appeared in *The Gazette* a notice making a certain man So-and-So, and, as a man of whose legal knowledge the Lord Lieutenant was satisfied, appointing him as Resident Magistrate in such-and-such a county. After the notice appears these gentlemen went down to a place where they had never had any business or interest and administer there local justice. Although Lord Ashbourne had dismissed a magistrate for going 15 miles out of his petty sessional district, yet Mr. Cecil Roche was allowed to go a long journey in Clare because, on the day preceding, a notice was in *The Gazette* that he had been appointed a magistrate of Clare. The aim of the License Act was to bring local opinion to bear on the question of licensing, but it was an intolerable thing that these magisterial waifs, without knowing anything about the places concerned, were to go about the country and give their votes for the creation of new licences on the extinction of old ones upon Party grounds. The Irish Members had been attacked by the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) with being supported by the publicans of Ireland, but in the North

of Ireland licences were imposed on scores of towns where they were not wanted by the Resident Magistrates who gave them to the bailiffs of landlords and people of that kind, for the purpose of creating a loyal minority; and, further, this was done in face of the protests of those who wanted to keep drink out of the villages. The Resident Magistrates backed up this system, but, on the other hand, they endeavoured to prevent licences being given to Nationalists. It was a monstrous thing that Mr. Roche should have gone into Ennis and given a corrupt decision in favour of the Government against Mr. Macnamara, whose only crime was that he sold *United Ireland*. This man first got a month, then two, and then three months' imprisonment for selling the paper, and the Resident Magistrates then deprived him of his licence, and, consequently, the means of making his living. He called this Boycotting of the worst description. Why did not the Government attack *United Ireland* themselves, instead of selecting this unfortunate individual for such treatment? The right hon. Gentleman said he was not going to allow the leaders to escape while their unfortunate dupes, as he called them, were punished, and here was an unhappy dupe who had been excessively punished. He had frequently asked in that House on what principle these men were selected to do their work; and he had pointed out that they were in the habit of sentencing the same persons two or three times. Mr. Welsh had got three weeks for publishing a resolution of the National League; last January he was sentenced to six months for publishing notices of the National League, and then he was prosecuted a third time, and was, at the present moment, undergoing imprisonment to which he was sentenced by the Resident Magistrates. He respectfully submitted that a man who had been convicted over and over again by the same magistrate was not likely to have a fair trial. On what principle were these gentlemen selected? It seemed to him that the system was one of giving out-door relief to broken-down military men or bankrupt landlords. Under the circumstances he desired to know how many Resident Magistrates it was intended to appoint? Would there be any stop to the appointment of such officials, and what was the test of their fitness? One Resident Magistrate had recently died; who was to fill the vacancy? He also desired to know on what principle certificates of competency were given; was there a competitive examination? What was the principle acted upon by the Government? It was no answer to him to say that Lord Spencer certified in any cases to the legal knowledge of these gentlemen, for there was not in the Coercion Act of the late Government, a clause like one which was in the present Act. He, therefore, thought that some greater precautions should be taken than were taken at present to ensure that Resident Magistrates should possess the necessary legal qualifications.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, that this Vote, like the last Vote, showed a very considerable increase, and if the Committee were to meet for any more useful purpose than that of merely acting as a dumb record of what the Government wished, serious attention should be given to this Vote. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had showed from time to time how annoyed he was that the expression "Removables" was applied to the Resident Magistrates of Ireland who were such pets of his. The reason why that expression had been used was that these magistrates were removable, not alone removable by the Executive at Dublin Castle, which meant the right hon. Gentleman himself, but removable from County to County, and even from Division to Division of a County. Some months ago he asked the Chief Secretary whether there was any foundation for the slanderous rumour in Ireland that the Resident Magistrates were removable from one County to another. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to be in considerable doubt, but assured the House that if such a removal were possible it never took place. But, as a matter of fact, these magistrates were removed from place to place, and their track was generally marked by a number of prosecutions of unfortunate men, all of whom were very much more honest than any of the Resident Magistrates who tried them. He had taken a few notes, and would the Committee believe that in a month or two one particular magistrate, Mr. Hodder, heard cases in no less than three different

counties? One day this gentleman adjudicated in Limerick, sitting in a number of cases under the Crimes Act; and lo and behold, a week after he was found in the City of Cork sitting in judgment on the Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane). By-and-bye he turned up in his (Mr. Flynn's) Division, which was 50 miles away from the City of Cork, and sent him (Mr. Flynn) off to prison; and subsequently he was found in another County, sending another Member of Parliament and half-a-dozen farmers to gaol. Were they not justified in calling that gentleman removable in every sense of the term? When they came to consider the case of this gentleman they felt thoroughly justified in asking the Committee to pause before they voted the salaries now asked for. He found that under the head of salaries there was an increase of £1,000, and this was under the right hon. Gentleman's *régime*, which was said to be restoring law and order in Ireland. Another item in the Vote was that for personal and travelling expenses, and it was no less a sum than £2,500. If the right hon. Gentleman could spare a little time from the consideration of matters of very great importance, and direct his attention to a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, he (Mr. Flynn) would like a little information in regard to this item. Was any part of this sum for the journeys of Captain Plunkett to London on behalf of *The Times*; did the extra remuneration of four Divisional Magistrates for 12 months — £1,500, come under the head of Captain Plunkett's visit to London, where he spent his time most usefully and agreeably to himself? As to the duties of Resident Magistrates, were the Committee aware that a Resident Magistrate in Ireland was not only a magistrate but a policeman? He did not mean a policeman in the sense that he had been a policeman—though he believed about 45 per cent of the Resident Magistrates of Ireland had been in the Constabulary—but he meant in the sense of his actually being in charge of the Constabulary Force in the very place where he was supposed to adjudicate. In his (Mr. Flynn's) district there was a very charming young man, who had admitted that he had no knowledge of the law, and yet that young man was called upon to try cases in which conspiracy was alleged. One day they found this gentleman, Captain Seagrave, on the Bench, and on the following day they found him heading a number of policemen in a baton charge. Could the Committee conceive how a man who was to perform executive duty and magisterial functions could carry any calm and judicial mind to the Bench, and adjudicate in cases of a somewhat exciting character? He did not complain particularly of Captain Seagrave, but of the system adopted. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had discovered a new star — namely, Colonel Cadell. One day this gentleman might be found sitting on the Bench in Cork; the next day he might be found in another portion of the county, perhaps 50 miles away; the third day he might be found in charge of a number of troops at an eviction; and on the fourth day he might be found in the streets of Cork at the head of the police. Hon. Members wanted to know from the Government whether there was a broad line of distinction between the executive duties and the judicial functions of the Resident Magistrates, or was there not; and, if there was, where it was drawn. It could not be expected that the people of Ireland would entertain any great respect for law and order when they found that the man in charge of troops, on occasion of a collision between the people and the authorities, was, on the following day, sitting in judgment on the people who might have taken part in the tumult. It was necessary to speak at great length on this Vote, and he assured the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that they would not be in the position the right hon. Gentleman thought they were in in regard to the last and other Votes. Upon the last Vote the Chief Secretary had said that they had only brought four or five cases forward. They might have brought others forward but for the fact that they were clotured. He trusted that the Government would act a little more practically on this Vote, and give them an opportunity of discussing it properly. He assured the right hon. Gentleman there was no dearth of examples of the improper conduct of the Irish Resident Magistrates, for these unfortunate men gave only too many of them. He maintained that it was a

violation of all judicial decency to find a magistrate rushing from the bench after having delivered a decision, seizing a stick or some other weapon, and heading the police in an onslaught upon a peaceable population. That occurred in the case of the notorious Mr. Cecil Roche on several occasions, and even the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had never taken an opportunity of controverting the statements in regard to the notorious Mr. Cecil Roche. On a certain occasion, on which the hon. Member for West Kerry (Mr. E. Harrington) was tried and sent to gaol, a large number of people assembled outside the Court House in Tralee. Mr. Cecil Roche, who assisted in sending the hon. Gentleman to prison, immediately afterwards came out of the Court House and led a police charge upon the people, because they had indulged in the heinous and unpardonable offence of cheering the hon. Member for West Kerry when he was being conveyed upon a car to the railway station on his way to gaol. He did not believe that even the most rabid partizan opposite would contend that the conduct of the people was deserving of any severe treatment—it certainly was not deserving of the treatment which Mr. Cecil Roche accorded it. There was no riot, no disturbance, no disorder; the whole offence, if it were an offence—and he made a present of it to the right hon. Gentleman—was that the people cheered, as crowds did cheer those with whom they were in sympathy. Mr. Roche hurriedly left the Bench, took up a blackthorn stick, and headed an armed Police Force in a charge on the crowd. The people had not been asked to disperse, the Riot Act had not been read, but in the most savage manner the people were attacked, until, in a few minutes, the large number were hurt seriously, many of them so seriously that they had to be conveyed to the hospital or infirmary. Naturally a strong feeling of indignation was aroused by the occurrence. The Board of Town Commissioners held a meeting a day or two afterwards, and protested in strong language against it, and they forwarded a copy of the resolution to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. A meeting was held by the Chamber of Commerce, and presided over by a well known and respected magistrate, and attended by some of the principle men of the town; and at that meeting a resolution was passed expressing condemnation of the brutal conduct of Mr. Cecil Roche, and asking the attention of the Executive and of the right hon. Gentleman to his conduct. Resolutions were also passed by the Tralee Harbour Commissioners to the following effect:—

"That we condemn, in the most emphatic manner, the cowardly conduct of the police officers in brutally and wantonly attacking innocent people of the town yesterday, without a semblance of provocation, and that we further call upon the Government to hold a sworn inquiry into the conduct of one of their Resident Magistrates, who gave instructions to the police to assault the people on the occasion of the removal of Mr. E. Harrington, M.P."

Was any notice taken of the action of Mr. Cecil Roche? As far as he (Mr. Flynn) understood, nothing at all was done. So brutal was Mr. Cecil Roche's conduct, and so wanton his behaviour to the people on this occasion, that the occurrences of the day in question, even without other circumstances, were really sufficient to provoke a local insurrection. A short time ago, he (Mr. Flynn) was witness of the man's conduct towards the Representatives of the people. His hon. Friend the Member for East Kerry (Mr. Sheehan), who was now in Tralee Gaol, was in his own house at night, when the police made a search without a warrant. They said they had a warrant but never produced it, and it was now known that they had no warrant. They searched the premises, and afterwards a warrant was issued by Mr. Cecil Roche for the arrest of the hon. Member (Mr. Sheehan) on a very miserable charge. The charge was so trivial that had the hon. Gentleman consented to give bail for his good behaviour he would not have been sent to gaol at all. The hon. Member for East Kerry was Chairman of the Poor Law Guardians and of the Town Commissioners, and he was a large hotel proprietor, the owner of several other businesses, and a most respected man in the locality. Arrested on this trivial charge, he was brought before Mr. Cecil Roche, and would the Committee believe that though the case was to be tried on the following day, though bail to any amount was offered, Mr. Roche absolutely refused it and assigned no reason whatsoever for the refusal? The hon. Member was a man in delicate health, and was taken at the expense of the

ratepayers a distance of 25 miles that night, and brought back the following day the same distance on a trivial charge which was met by an offer to release him if he entered into his own recognizances to be of good behaviour. But for one night Cecil Roche refused bail, while no reason could be alleged for the exercise of such arbitrary and irresponsible authority. Conduct of this kind was indulged in for the purpose of intimidating the people of the district, and that it had not done so did not make the conduct of this man the less reprehensible. There were scores of other magistrates who had been guilty of conduct equally arbitrary. Let him take the case of the Removable Magistrates in connection with the Mayor of Cork some time ago. It was part of the policy of the present Government to sneer at representative authority in Ireland; Mayors and Sheriffs and such people were looked upon with some respect in this country, but in Ireland they were regarded by the Executive as deserving of no respect or consideration. The Mayor of Cork, guilty of what was acknowledged to be a technical assault, was brought before two Removable Magistrates, and instead of being fined, as he would have been had he been a drunken rowdy, he was sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment by Mr. Gardner and the other Resident Magistrate, whose name he did not recall. He would like to know from the Chief Secretary, or from the Solicitor General for Ireland, if the Executive had any explanation to offer as to the conduct of these Removable Magistrates in regard to the imprisonment of the Mayor of Cork? The Mayor simply laid his hand on the shoulder of a policeman, and, said "You had better leave this." The policeman acknowledged that he was neither pushed, struck, nor hurt, so that the offence, if offence there was, was that well known in law as a technical assault. He (Mr. Flynn) thought that had the person charged been one of the most worthless characters of the City of Cork, merely a small fine or nominal fine would have been imposed upon him. Why was the Mayor of the City sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment on a paltry charge like that, and why was the case brought before the Resident Magistrates? Who had the direction of this prosecution, and who had the selection of the Magistrates to try it? This was a case which clearly ought to have been tried under the ordinary law; but, as a matter of fact, magistrates were being paid £600 or £700 a-year for trying cases of this kind? What did it all mean? It meant it was part and parcel of the system. If the right hon. Gentleman really thought the opinion of the people of Ireland was worth having, and that it was well to remove from their minds ugly suspicion—nay, something more than ugly suspicion, for it had developed into positive belief—he would give them stronger proof than he had yet given as to the *bonâ fide* manner in which these magistrates were appointed, as to the manner in which they were removed from one district to another, and also to the suspicious manner in which they were moved about, like pawns on a chess board, at the will of the right hon. Gentleman or of the Executive of Dublin Castle.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, they had now reached the hour of half-past 12 o'clock. They commenced the sitting at 3 o'clock, and when the 12 o'clock Rule was adopted, it was adopted to enable them to commence their sittings at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. It was fully understood that no controversial Business would take place after 12 o'clock except, as the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) said, on the occasion of a great debate. This was not a great debate; at the same time the matters they were now discussing were of very great importance. Again and again during the Session it had been urged, when any complaint had been made about the Resident Magistrates, that the Irish Members would have full opportunity of going into the matter on the Estimates for the salaries of the Resident Magistrates. Anyone had only to look at the House at the present moment to see how wearied the House was. There was not such an attendance as one would anticipate when such a Vote as this was under discussion. He did not suppose that the Government imagined for a moment they were going to force this Vote through the Committee to-night, and he did not believe that they would gain in any sort of way by prolonging the discussion to 1 or half-past 1 o'clock, and renewing it on some future occasion. He therefore

begged to move that the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not notice that the proposal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Labouchere) was received with any great favour by hon. Gentlemen who sat behind him. This would be the sixth or seventh day on which they had discussed Irish Estimates. He quite admitted that full opportunity should be given to hon. Members to discuss this Vote; for his own part, he was extremely unwilling that the time for discussion should be curtailed, and he could not but think that, as this was the last occasion for an indefinite period on which they would be able to discuss the Vote, it would be most unfortunate if, by the action of the hon. Gentleman, the time for discussion were shortened. He trusted that the hon. Gentleman would allow hon. Members from Ireland an opportunity of laying their views upon this subject before the Committee. It was not very late. He quite admitted that when they met at 3 o'clock they ought not to sit very late, but, considering that to-morrow night the 12 o'clock Rule would not be suspended, he hoped that the hon. Gentleman would not persevere with his Motion.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would be a little more explicit. Two or three times the Chief Secretary had said that this would be the last occasion on which they would be able to discuss the Vote. He did not understand what the right hon. Gentleman meant by saying that this would be the last occasion for an indefinite period. If the right hon. Gentleman would be a little more explicit, the Committee, he was sure, would be exceedingly obliged to him.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his statement meant that he intended, or that the Government intended, to force not only this Vote through to-night—which he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought would be strongly unjustifiable—but all the other Irish Votes.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he never expressed any view of the kind the hon. Member indicated, but he was bound to remind the Committee that the Leader of the House had apportioned all the days up to the 18th of this month for various Estimates other than Irish Estimates. Whether they would finish by that time the other Estimates he did not know, but it was perfectly clear that the Irish Votes could not be discussed again before the 18th, and it was not clear that they could be discussed then, and therefore he was justified in using the words, indefinite period.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he did not know whether his hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) was desirous of pressing his Motion. He, for his part, was quite willing to say a few words upon the Vote now.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not wish to press his Motion if he could arrive at some understanding with the right hon. Gentleman that he did not intend to go on to-night practically indefinitely until he got this Vote. If the right hon. Gentleman would mention a fair and reasonable time that they ought to sit to, of course there would be no objection to continuing the discussion; but, after the experience they had on the last Vote, they were a little suspicious of what might occur.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that what he desired to do was to give hon. Gentlemen opposite the fullest and amplest power of discussing this Vote. Of course, if they desired to cease discussion to-night, he should consider the question.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then I understand we shall have another opportunity, as well as this, of discussing the Vote?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No; I said nothing of the kind. I hope hon. Gentlemen will not put words in my mouth which I never uttered. I never talked about a further opportunity; on the contrary, I said that further discussion would have to be postponed for an indefinite period.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then I understand that after an indefinite period we shall have another opportunity for discussion?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman will please understand nothing except what I have stated.

MR. W. O'BRIEN said, that it was as well that they should have a clear understanding upon this matter. They were willing to go on for an hour or two hours longer, but he was sure that the right hon. Gentleman must know that two hours were utterly insufficient in which to discuss the questions raised by this Vote. He had to raise the question of Colonel Turner's administration in Ireland, and his exercise of dispensing power, a matter which it would be utterly impossible to discuss at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. A number of his hon. Friends around him had matters of great importance to raise: in point of fact, this Vote embraced the whole Administration of Ireland for the past 12 months, and it was only by discussions on this Vote that they were able to bring home responsibility to the officials who would have, for the next three months, the lives and liberties of the people of Ireland in their hands. He, therefore, put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether it was not reasonable that they should go on, and get through such a portion of this discussion as was possible within an hour or two, but that it was not reasonable to oblige them to bring to a conclusion at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning the discussion of a Vote which, it was quite plain, could not be discussed under, at all events, four or five hours.

MR. T. M. HEALY suggested that the Vote should be withdrawn, and that the Government should rest satisfied with taking the Votes which might reasonably be taken to-night. It was impossible that the Government should expect to get a Vote of this character to-night. It was an important Vote, not because of the amount of money involved, but because of the character of the gentlemen whose salaries were included in it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that they had already discussed the Vote for nearly two hours. [*Cries of* "No! not for one hour yet."] He begged pardon, he was in error. He could not help thinking, however, that within reasonable time the discussion upon this Vote might be concluded. The time already spent on it would be wasted if they were to withdraw the Vote. As he had already expressed the opinion that this was probably the most convenient time to discuss Irish Estimates, he suggested that the Vote, which was regarded as of such importance, should be taken now, without wasting any of the time which still remained for discussion. Personally, he would have preferred that a Vote of this importance should have been brought on at an earlier period of the evening.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should select such of the remaining Irish Estimates as he considered to be non-contentious, and which might be taken after reasonably brief discussion. If it was money that the right hon. Gentleman wanted, that would be the easiest way of getting it. The period of the year was a question of some importance to the Irish Members, but the one question they considered to be of vital importance was that the Votes should only be taken, whatever the period of the year was, after full discussion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could not promise any better opportunity of discussing the Vote. If hon. Members deemed the Vote to be of great importance, he strongly urged them to continue the discussion now.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, that there was a great deal in what the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had said—unless the Vote was passed to-night it would be better to withdraw it. He (Mr. T. W. Russell) should certainly object to sit up to 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning if the Vote was not to be taken.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman whether, upon occasions of this kind, the best plan was not to come to terms with an adversary and arrange matters, so that it would be possible for the House and its officers to disperse at the proper time? The Irish Members were willing to give the Government some money upon this occasion. There were a large number of Votes which it would be possible to allow to pass to-night. Unless the right hon. Gentleman had present to his mind the possibility of getting all the Irish Votes to-night, there was no force whatever in his contention. It would be impossible to get all the Irish Votes to-night; it would be absurd for the right hon. Gentleman to suppose that he could get all those Votes by any other means than the

closure, and he (Mr. T. M. Healy) did not imagine that the closure would be permitted without a reasonable amount of discussion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR wished it to be distinctly understood that the Government had no power to afford hon. Gentlemen a better opportunity of discussing this Vote than the opportunity they now offered. If, knowing that, hon. Gentlemen still preferred other and non-contentious Votes to be taken to-night, he saw no reason to object to the course suggested.

MR. SEXTON thought that Vote 22, Supreme Court of Judicature; Vote 24, Admiralty Court Register; Vote 25, Registry of Deeds; Vote 26, Registry of Judgments, might be taken, after brief discussion, to-night.

MR. WADDY said, there was just one thing he thought someone ought to say. If, by the somewhat doubtful expression which had been used just now by the Chief Secretary, they were to understand that some day or other these matters would be brought up, and then they were to be told there was no time for discussion, and that it was their fault—[Mr. A. J. BALFOUR nodded assent.] He thought as much. Well, he would not say he thought as much, because he did not wish to think it—he did not wish to think that the Government would be likely do a thing of that kind; but now they had it admitted that what was proposed to be done was to take advantage of the absolute impossibility of getting this Vote to-night, and then, on some other occasion, to turn round upon them and say—"You did not take a discussion when you might, and now you shall not." That was a course of procedure against which he desired to protest.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL asked hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway whether it would not be possible that all the Votes in the class, with the exception of Vote 27, for the Irish Land Commission; Vote 28, for County Court Officers, &c.; and Vote 31, for Prisons, should be taken to-night?

MR. SEXTON remarked that on Vote 23 they desired to raise the case of Moroney.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Surely we can take all the Votes, with the exception of Votes 23, 27, 28, and 31.

MR. SEXTON thought he had enumerated all the Votes which he and his hon. Friends could allow to be taken after brief discussion?

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(2.) £32,562, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

(3.) £585, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, there were several points arising out of this Vote which was it of material interest to the City of Cork should be raised in Committee, but owing to the somewhat unforeseen mismanagement of public affairs hon. Members could not be expected to have the materials at their fingers' ends with which to discuss the Vote. He trusted, however, that on a subsequent occasion, and at a reasonable hour, an opportunity would be afforded of discussing this Vote.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £5,346, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, that the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) would remember that the condition of the Registry of Deeds Office had been discussed every year. In 1880 a Royal Commission reported on the question, and it was understood that a Treasury Committee had endeavoured to over-ride the decision of the Commission. If there was any Department they had any reason to be satisfied with in Ireland it was the Department for the Registry of Deeds, and he desired to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he had any objection to lay on the Table the reply of the Registrar of Deeds to the Report of the Treasury Committee? There had been some dissatisfaction in the Office for some time, and he was anxious that some satisfaction should be given to the clerks of the Department as to what their future was to be.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he could not on the spur of the moment state what the reply of the Registrar of Deeds was 10 years ago.

MR. T. M. HEALY remarked, that the reply was made only three years ago;

the Report of the Royal Commission was made eight years ago; and then there was a kind of rebuttal of the Report, and a reply was made by the Registrar. Nothing had been done, as he understood, from that day to the present, and he wanted the Government to tell the Committee what their position exactly was. Was it not a fact that there was a grave amount of dissatisfaction in regard to the proposed re-organization of the Department?

MR. JACKSON said, he was not aware that there was any dissatisfaction such as the hon. and learned Member had stated, but he would look up the Papers, and communicate with the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £913, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.

(6.) £1,962, to complete the sum for the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that if hon. Gentlemen would look at Class IV., he did not think that they would see any objection to Vote 14 for Teachers' Pensions being taken.

MR. SEXTON said, they would discuss the question on the Vote for National Education, and, therefore, he did not think there would be the slightest objection to take that Vote.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(7.) £720, to complete the sum for the Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.

(8.) £1,401, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I suppose we may take this Vote?

DR. TANNER: No.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR had only to repeat his previous observation, that he could not say when they would be able to take the discussion.

MR. SEXTON said, that this was a Vote for the maintenance of the National Gallery, and for the allowance of £1,000 for the purchase of pictures.

DR. TANNER said, that the simple reason why he objected to the Vote being taken without discussion was that a great many improvements were taking place in connection with this Department in Dublin. A certain amount of money was being spent, and many people maintained that it could be better and more properly spent. He thought that many hon. Members concurred in the opinion that it would be a great deal better to postpone this Vote; at any time it would not take more than a few minutes to pass, and yet by postponing it an opportunity would be afforded for raising questions it was very desirable should be raised.

Vote *agreed to.*

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, if hon. Members would now look at their copies of the Estimates, Class VI., Votes 5 and 6, they would probably allow that these were of a non-contentious character—the first for Pauper Lunatics, the other for Grants to certain Hospitals and Institutions—and allow the same course to be followed with these.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(9.) £460, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said he had no desire to oppose the Vote, but he was anxious to elicit an assurance from the Chief Secretary, with which he would be content, that something specifically and practical should be done in regard to a matter which was of great concern to a large number of these afflicted beings in workhouses in Ireland. He believed it was true of every part of Ireland that in workhouses there were many insane people, not properly looked after and classified, whose treatment was of the most cruel and heartless description. The other night time did not allow him to make his statement, and, as it was now late, he would abbreviate his remarks. He might adduce the instance of Dingle Workhouse, in West Kerry, where the lunatic ward was a shed, about a third the size of the House, having only an earthen floor, and which was a playground for the children in wet weather. In this shed he saw four poor, miserable, lunatic women—and both on account of the children, and on account of the lunatics, this arrangement—this want of classification—was most improper and inhuman. Even during the few minutes he was there he saw what a terrible

infliction on the poor patients was the presence of the children, and he saw also how bad for the children it was to be brought into close proximity with these afflicted beings. This was not an isolated case; almost the same thing might be seen in every Irish workhouse, very few having any better arrangement. Successive Chief Secretaries had promised inquiry, and that something should be done; for 10 years past he believed such promises had been renewed, but he would content himself now with extracting yet another promise from the present occupant of the Office, that he would not allow another year to go by without a full and complete inquiry; and, where he found there was good ground for complaint, he would take steps to prevent a continuance of the scandal.

DR. TANNER said, he would add a remark, not in the nature of a request, but as a remonstrance against the neglect of duty in the way in which unfortunate pauper lunatics were treated. He could speak from knowledge of one of the largest unions in the South of Ireland. In extenuation of the right hon. Gentleman's many shortcomings, it might be said that his neglect was not greater than that of his Predecessors in Office. Cork Asylum, enlarged from time to time, had accommodation for all classes —the more violent, the idiots, and the milder forms of lunacy. And yet, in Cork Workhouse, as elsewhere, a certain number of these unfortunate people were retained in wards altogether unfit for their physical and mental condition. A little looking after, the expenditure of a little more money perhaps, and the removal of these unfortunate creatures to institutions where they would receive proper treatment, would, in many cases, effect a cure. He could enumerate at least eight cases removed to lunatic asylums from unions that had thoroughly and entirely recovered; at least he did not know of any relapse. Remonstrance after remonstrance had been addressed in vain to Dublin Castle. He sincerely hoped the time had come when the Chief Secretary would do a stroke of good in connection with this poor suffering class, for whom, at least, he ought to have some consideration.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, in answer to the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he did not think he could be added to the list of Secretaries who had given pledges on this subject. He was perfectly aware, however, of the difficulty of dealing with lunatics in workhouses; that difficulty was felt also in England and Scotland. He was perfectly willing to carry out an inquiry, such as was suggested, to see if anything could be done to remedy that of which the hon. Gentleman complained.

DR. TANNER asked whether the right hon. Gentleman agreed with them; the expression of such an opinion would naturally influence the situation.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had replied to the hon. Member that he was aware of the difficulty, both in Ireland and England, in the way of classification of lunatics in workhouses. It was desired that he should make inquiry into the subject, and this he had undertaken to do.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether under the law at present operative, the Irish Local Government Board had not the power to direct that any necessary arrangements should be adequately carried out, and whether the Board could not compel Guardians to give separate accommodation for this afflicted class? In the case to which he had referred this children's playground was the only place where these unfortunate women could be put; it was the lunatic ward, and spoken of as such. Under the powers of the Local Government Board, was it not competent for the Board to make arrangements to prevent this and equally cruel proceedings going on probably in many workhouses in Ireland? Would the right hon. Gentleman exhaust all the powers of the Local Government Board immediately to remove those evils, so far as it could be done?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was not quite sure whether the powers of the Board extended so far as the hon. Gentleman suggested. He knew the Board had no power to determine what cases should be sent to the asylum. He thought, however, there was power to prevent any other persons being placed in the wards where lunatics were confined. He would take care to investigate the matter, and see what powers could be used.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £658, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the support of certain Hospitals and Infirmaries in Ireland."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL asked whether the Government had given any consideration to the recommendations of the Commission on Hospitals, and whether they intended to take any action thereon.

MR. SEXTON asked that the Vote should not now be taken. It must necessarily give rise to some discussion in reference to the allotment of grants next year. He had also to press for a public inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of a person—Dr. Parten—poisoned in one of the Dublin Hospitals. Considerable discussion must arise.

MR. JACKSON said, in answer to the hon. Member for South Tyrone, that the Government had given considerable attention to the Report of the Commission which inquired into these hospitals. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that the late Member for the St. Stephen's Green Division, who had since died, did introduce a Bill for the purpose of giving effect to a considerable number of the recommendations of that Commission, and he (Mr. Jackson) had the opportunity of speaking to that hon. Member on several occasions in reference to that Bill. Further, he understood that the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Murphy) had in contemplation the introduction of a Bill, and he thought he was justified in saying that the Government would look very favourably on a Bill that would consolidate the hospitals in the direction in which the Commission reported, and generally effect economy in management and expenditure not now distributed so advantageously as it might be. He hoped, therefore, that next Session they might have, at an early date, either that Bill introduced, or a Bill of the Government containing some arrangement by which the desired objects might be effected.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's), supplementing what the hon. Gentleman had just stated, said that after the lamented death of the late Member for St. Stephen's Green, overtures were made to him by the Government with reference to this subject, and as the result of negotiations the points of difference were not now very great, and he hoped that a satisfactory Bill would be agreed upon and introduced either by themselves or the Government next Session.

DR. TANNER said, the discussion that would naturally arise on the Vote concerned other towns than Dublin. For himself he had something to say in connection with the way the grant was administered in Cork and Belfast. He hoped some opportunity would be given for dealing with the subject in the material manner it deserved. It was a very serious matter; the funds granted were very small—far and away too small—but certainly they might be distributed a great deal better, and more for the benefit of everybody concerned; and certainly for the unfortunate sufferers it was desirable that the grant should be considered and discussed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR suggested that this was scarcely the proper time for discussing the question that had been raised. All were agreed that it was expedient to pass this Vote. Nobody desired to object to the Vote as it stood; but what was desired was, that something should be done in the direction of carrying out the recommendations of the Commission; he would therefore ask whether the proper time for discussion was not on the Vote, to which nobody objected, but on the Bill that would be required before the Vote was modified—before its management was placed on a different footing. As to the other question raised—the unhappy death of a patient in a Dublin Hospital—it could hardly arise on this Vote, for it had nothing to do with the grants to be voted, and the hon. Member would probably be disposed to feel that the circumstances did not call for special inquiry except by the hospital authorities. He certainly could not see his way to direct a special inquiry into the circumstances of this unfortunate death, any more than into those of any other death by accidental poisoning in any other part of Ireland.

MR. SEXTON said, he maintained that the question was strictly relevant to the Vote. A discussion on the Vote gave the Government opportunity for obtaining a specific and conclusive declaration in reference to the future

of these annual grants. One of the provisions of the Bill referred to the determination of these grants supplying their place on the Estimates by a capital sum. This was a convenient opportunity for discussion. The Corporation of Dublin had the greatest interest in the subject, for they would have representation on the Central Board of the amalgamated hospitals, and it was a question what that representation should be, whether the Government should follow the recommendation of the Commission or replace it by some recommendation of their own. Then, as to the death by poisoning to which he had alluded—the hospital was supported by Government money, the death occurred in the hospital in question, and, on the renewal of the grant, no question could be more pertinent than as to whether the hospital was properly conducted. The authorities of the hospital had been asked to order an inquiry, but they had not the courtesy to reply. The right hon. Gentleman on a former occasion gave him no satisfaction, and he was not content to leave it to the governors of the hospital. More than the officials of the hospital were concerned—the public were concerned; any other patient might become the victim of the neglect of a student at night. It would be only reasonable to allow this Vote to stand over, seeing they had carried out the arrangement and given the Government a number of votes. It was inconvenient to go into the questions raised now, for he had not the materials at hand.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he could only refer to what he had already said, and could say no more.

MR. SEXTON said, there was good reason to complain if the Government insisted. The right hon. Gentleman had asked for four Votes and the Committee had given him eight. It was ungenerous to refuse the postponement of the Vote. He must move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had made the position of affairs clear. If, under the circumstances, as he had stated more than once, hon. Members desired a full discussion of the Irish Estimates, now was the time. If after what he said they still desired to report Progress, he would not oppose the Motion.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was under the disadvantage of being absent during part of the discussion, and some arrangement seemed to have been made that he did not understand. Was he to understand that this was the last occasion upon which Irish Estimates would be discussed at all?

MR. MURPHY asked, was there any Vote upon which the Report of the Commission on hospitals could be discussed?

MR. JACKSON said, he would suggest Vote 7.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [8th December], *reported.*

(1) "That a sum, not exceeding £258,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House do agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, there were points in relation to this Vote on which he was anxious to have some promise from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. First, he desired to ask if the Board of National Education had given any consideration whatever to one particular paragraph in the Report for last year of the Educational Endowment Commissioners, in which the Commissioners referred to the schools of the Christian Brothers, carried on under conditions that precluded them from receiving a Government Grant, though they received aid from the Industrial Schools Act and from the Science and Art Department. The school, besides carrying on in poor districts the work of an elementary school, undertook with its overworked staff the same educational work as was undertaken by model schools, and stood much in need of additional teachers, for whom no provision was made by Government grant.

Special instruction of a more advanced kind was supplied to the more promising pupils, and if any modification of existing regulations could be made, these schools of the Christian Brothers were well deserving of support. That recommendation of the Commissioners appeared after they had inspected only two of these schools, but since then they had inspected the schools of the Brotherhood at Cork and elsewhere. Without exaggeration he might say there was no better elementary and intermediate education than was given by the Brothers at Cork. Two thousand pupils were taught daily in the most advanced subjects, and he did not think it was sufficiently well known that in these schools, conducted by the Christian Brothers without any State aid, the finest technical education was given in the United Kingdom; their museum and technical appliances cost thousands of pounds. He had personal reason to know that in the forthcoming Report of the Commissioners there would be a very strong recommendation that the Board of National Education should relax its rules in favour of these schools. Would the right hon. Gentleman give some assurance that these recommendations would be taken into consideration? There was a very strong feeling in favour of these schools; nor did he think that among those who were opposed to the Catholic religion there would be the slightest objection to a relaxation in favour of schools that did such an immense amount of good, and which, up to the present, had not received a farthing of State aid. Another matter had reference to the grant to the Munster Dairy School. He was very glad to see the hon. Member for South Huntingdon (Mr. Smith-Barry) in his place, as he had given that hon. Member Notice he would bring this matter on to give him the opportunity of speaking on the subject if he desired to do so. A large grant was made to the Munster Dairy School, and no person in Ireland was more fully prepared to admit than himself the great, the exceptional advantages, that had been derived by agriculturists, especially dairy farmers, from this school. The school had done a large amount of good, but that amount of good might have been tenfold what it is were it not for the unfortunate fact that the school was managed by a body of gentlemen whose continuance on the Board precluded the support of the majority of the farmers in the South of Ireland. He would not go into details, but he thought what he had said would not be contravened. The Board of Management was opposed to the bulk of those whom the school ought to benefit in reference to the land agitation in Ireland. But, bad as it was, he wished to have an assurance that it would not be made much worse, that the school should not be absorbed in a Corporation which he understood might be instituted under Charter. The Board he alluded to had been secretly organized, he might say, by the hon. Member for South Huntingdon and his friends, and the society would claim to be the representative of the agricultural interests of the South of Ireland. They were, he understood, about to appeal to the Privy Council for a Charter, and their programme included the taking over of the Munster Dairy School. The promoters anticipated that they would create a sort of agricultural department for the South of Ireland. Their prospectus had been issued privately, and kept out of the public Press. It was proposed that the governing body should consist of 47 members, of whom 12 were to be elected by the County Grand Juries, two by the Commissioners of National Education, 24 from the general body elected at special meeting, and nine from the existing Committee of the Munster Dairy School. Then the prospectus went on to show how vacancies would be filled. There was only one point in that arrangement that might be supposed unobjectionable to the farming class, and that was the election of 24 members from the general body of that class. But the first step taken towards the formation of a governing body for this Irish Department of Agriculture was to issue "a ticket" privately and confidentially, with the names of the 24 selected gentlemen who were to be elected; and he might say, not meaning anything offensive to the hon. Member for South Huntingdon, who was one of the gentlemen, there were certainly not 24 more objectionable names to be found in the South of Ireland, to whom it was proposed to hand over the agricultural interests of the South of Ireland. He acknowledged

the good that had been done by the Munster School, and he did not oppose the grant. What he now wanted was to get from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary some assurance that before the new Government Department of Agriculture was started, this new Society should not be allowed to limit and neutralize the benefit that these grants were to the South of Ireland, by handing them over to a body of gentlemen who had made themselves so thoroughly objectionable to the whole of the farming population of the South of Ireland that it was almost a certainty —he was sorry to admit it—that if this Institute of Agriculture were established and its Board constituted, as was proposed in the draft scheme, he had no hesitation in saying that it would be completely Boycotted by farmers in the South of Ireland, and would only be used by a certain privileged class. All the benefit would be restricted to their *protégés*. He asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to say that until the Bill was introduced next Session for creating a Central Department of Agriculture, until the details of that Department were arranged, this school and the grant now devoted to it should not be handed over to this secretly-organized Board, which a few gentlemen had tried to establish, to grab everything in the nature of agricultural education. There were other items he desired to mention, had time permitted. For instance, it was mentioned in the Report that £50 had been expended on potato experiments. It was a trifling sum to be spent on experiments in the culture of the most important crop in Ireland, and the experiments were all carried out on one farm; for all the advantage the experiments were to the farmers of Ireland the money might as well have been thrown into the Thames. But these and other matters of far-reaching importance could not now be discussed.

DR. TANNER said, that, as a Member from the South of Ireland, he was bound to admit that there was no public confidence in the management of the Munster Dairy School. With the greatest difficulty, he had on several occasions endeavoured to do his best to pour oil on the troubled waters, and had tried to induce his constituents to have some confidence in the machinery of that institution. It was quite possible that among friends of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Huntingdon (Mr. Smith-Barry) there was some appreciation of what was done; but for the amount of money spent few people participated in any advantage that resulted. A certain number of landlords did as they pleased; the people interested had nothing to say in the management. A certain number of gentlemen having interest with Her Majesty's Government ran the machine —an electoral machine it was and nothing less, though it had some connection with the question of rent. He had no confidence in it, or anything that came out of it. Of the new plan, to which his hon. Friend referred, he knew nothing; but his hon. Friend was in the habit of speaking on matters of fact, and he should certainly say that the new machine, being run in the same way, would speedily fail. He hoped the Chief Secretary would give some attention to the matter. Much good the school might do with its teaching, but it was little more now than a cover for patronage. Although he could not endorse his hon. Friend's praise of the Munster Dairy School, he could heartily agree with him in recognition of the services rendered by the schools of the Christian Brothers. If the Chief Secretary or any Member of the House would simply go to the City of Cork and see the school, they would agree in praising the real and solid work done by these reverend gentlemen. Much of the expenditure under this Vote would be far better devoted to aiding such schools as those promoted by the Christian Brothers. Last year he endeavoured to bring this matter forward, and he now heartily seconded what had been said by his hon. Friend.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member for East Cork asked for some assurance on two points. First, the hon. Member appeared to be afraid that the Munster Dairy School might be absorbed in a new Society, the Munster Agricultural Institute, and he desired that the provisions of the Bill for creating an Agricultural Department should be before the House before such an event. He could tell the hon. Gentleman that his fears were altogether unfounded, and there was no doubt whatever that the Bill of which he spoke would be before the House long before the Institution of which he was afraid menaced the prosperity of the Munster Dairy School, in which he was interested,

As to the other point raised, the schools of the Christian Brothers, he was as conscious as the hon. Member was of the enormous benefit conferred upon the community by the Christian Brothers. They were the pioneers of technical education in the country; they had done incalculable good; but he did not know that on this side of St. George's Channel it was fully recognized what an enormous benefit their gratuitous labours had conferred on the community. Whether the particular recommendations of the Commissioners, to which the hon. Gentleman referred, could be carried out within the existing regulations that governed the action of the Board of Education he could not say, but he could give an assurance that he would be happy to inquire into the subject, and if it was possible to carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners he would further anything in that direction with much satisfaction.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked for a promise that nothing should be done towards granting a Charter to this embryo Institution without the public having information about it, and the House an opportunity of expressing an opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the new Institute did not come into the Vote at all, nor could he say off-hand anything about it, and should be sorry to give a pledge beyond that which he had given in regard to the Munster Dairy School.

MR. SEXTON said, surely there would be no objection to give an assurance that the Government would not advise the Crown to grant a Charter until the House had an opportunity of discussing the desirability of it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked the hon. Member to put the Question to him in a day or two. It had no connection with the Vote, and he should not like to give any pledge without due consideration.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

[BILL 374.] SECOND READING.

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [10th August] read.

Mr. A. J. Balfour

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he understood this Bill was not to be proceeded with this Session.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) took the opportunity of saying the Government were extremely sorry that hon. Members had felt so strongly against this Bill, which, as he had previously said, did not alter the number or salaries of existing magistrates. The Bill was introduced to redeem a distinct pledge given to the Public Accounts Committee. The Government were most anxious to carry out their pledge, and the responsibility of failure must rest upon hon. Gentlemen opposite.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be discharged."

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, he did not think the hon. Member could saddle Irish Members with the responsibility. It was well known that successive Governments, for the past three or four years, had given the same pledge to the Committee of Public Accounts; but if a Government were really determined to pass a Bill, why did they not bring it on on the working days of the Session, when, of course, with their majority, they could push it through, instead of leaving it to the tail-end of the Session. There were matters of principle in the Bill that needs must be discussed, although no expenditure was involved. He repudiated any responsibility for the Bill not being carried through.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he would not go into the question of how the time of the Session had been wasted; he was ready to admit that at this stage the Government were not responsible for the loss of the Bill. But the hon. Gentleman should know that Irish Members objected to Divisional Magistrates as a class, and as individuals, and they objected to an increase in salaries for them. The Bill, whenever it came on, must be subject to special discussion, which, at that time of the Session, it was obvious it could not receive.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENT.

Lords' Amendment *considered.*

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, perhaps he might induce hon. Members who objected to the Lords' Amendment to accept the proposal he had to make to eliminate certain words from the Amendment introduced in the other House for the purpose of clearing up what was supposed to be an ambiguity in the Bill. Upon this he understood there were considerable differences of opinion among high legal authorities in the other House. The objection now was to the rate of interest it was proposed the landlord should receive. At present, as the Act stood, no rate was fixed, nor did he see any reason why it should be fixed in this Bill; and as it had been hitherto decided by the Court, so he did not see why it should not be so decided in future. He, therefore, proposed to leave out the words "fixing the rate of interest," leaving it a point to be decided by a legal tribunal.

Amendment proposed to the Lords' Amendment, to omit the words "such interest to be calculated at the rate of 4 per cent per annum."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the said Amendment."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he had given Notice of an Amendment in a different sense; but, perhaps, after all, the better way would be to accept the Government suggestion rather than initiate another debate. But he must say he was amazed that when the Bill went up to the other House the noble and learned Lord (Lord Fitzgerald) should have moved an Amendment of this kind. He did not accept the view that the Amendment made no change. It was a most unfair thing to endeavour to make this change when the Irish Courts had solemnly decided for 3⅞ per cent—a most unfair thing to give the landlord a claim of 4 per cent. It was a specimen of the kind of law that would be passed but for the check of the Representative House. He would ask for a pledge that the Government, who had their majority in the Lords, would insist on this Amendment there.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the pledge he was asked to give was of an unusual character. He could assure the hon. and learned Member that it was his desire—and he would use any influence he might possess—to get this Amendment embodied in the Bill. He saw no grounds for the alteration made in the other House. Of course, he could not answer for the House of Lords; but, undoubtedly, it was the desire of the Government to pass the Amendment.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, of course the right hon. Gentleman could not answer for noble Lords in "another place;" but, at any rate, the House should object to this action by noble Lords, and teach them the lesson that to rob the people of the land was quite sufficient without demanding 4 per cent in addition. He should object to the matter going any further.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not persist in his objection. The Government had conceded the point, the objectionable 4 per cent was withdrawn, and the Bill might be allowed to rest as it was.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords' Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

PROBATE DUTIES (SCOTLAND AND IRELAND) BILL.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Arthur Balfour, and The Lord Advocate.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 397.]

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1875, AMENDMENT (NO. 4) BILL.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Tomlinson, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Burt, Mr. Bradlaugh, Colonel Blundell, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Abraham (Rhondda).

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 398.]

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SALE TO CHILDREN) ACT, 1886, AMENDMENT BILL.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Conybeare, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Handel Cossham, and Dr. Clark.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 399.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 11th December, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) * (301).

PARLIAMENT — DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

OBSERVATIONS.

LORD DENMAN said, it appeared from the evidence taken by the joint Committee on Parliamentary Reporting that only those Peers were reported whom Mr. Leycester, of *The Times*, thought worthy of being reported. It had often happened that no notice had been taken of what he (Lord Denman) had said, and then allusions to what he had said being made by others and those allusions being reported, the whole proceeding was made to appear nonsensical. He had no idea of self-aggrandizement, especially so as, since the Adjournment on August 13, every speech had been fully reported, and could be referred to as the Local Government Bill, and only wished for fair play, and he therefore asked their Lordships to do him the justice to look to the reports as they appeared in *Hansard*.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENT.

Bill returned from the Commons with the Amendment *agreed to*, with an Amendment: The said Amendment *considered*.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN), in moving that their Lordships agree to the Commons' Amendment, said, he understood the noble and learned Lord (Lord FitzGerald) offered no objection to it. He believed the noble and learned Lord's Amendment bore the complexion of interfering with the province of the Law Courts in fixing the rate of interest.

Moved, "That the Commons' Amendment be *agreed to*."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

Motion *agreed to*.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT (BUILDINGS IN STREETS) BILL.

(*The Lord Basing.*)

(NO. 283.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked that the stage might be postponed for a week for the further consideration of what was understood to be an interference with the rights of owners to claim compensation from the Local Authority if they were restricted from advancing buildings to what was considered their frontage line.

LORD BASING said, that the point was new to him. He understood that the Bill did not propose any alteration of the existing law, except to make it applicable to houses built after the passing of the Public Health Act. Although the objection was taken rather late in the day, no practical difficulty would arise from postponement.

Third Reading *put off* to *Tuesday* next.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—EXTENSION OF WORKS AT TABLE BAY.—QUESTION.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, before Parliament separated he wished to ask whether the Government had considered the questions of extending the works at Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, and of granting assistance to the railway between Simon's Bay and Cape Town?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD) said, the question of extending the works at Table Bay was still under the consideration of the Government. As regarded a contribution to the railway, the decision of the Government at present was that they were not prepared to make one. This decision had been communicated to the Cape Government, and it was possible that further communications might pass between the Colonial Office and the Cape Government. He should, therefore, be glad if the noble Lord would postpone any further Question until early next Session, when the House would probably be placed in possession of fuller information for considering the whole case.

NAVY—GIBRALTAR AND BOMBAY—CONSTRUCTION OF DOCKS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether it was intended to undertake the construction of a dock for men-of-war of the largest class at Gibraltar, and what progress was being made towards the completion of the docks at Bombay for ships of Her Majesty's Navy? The noble Lord said, that the case of Gibraltar had been under the consideration of successive Governments for many years. And yet it was one of immense importance in view of the possibility of a ship being

damaged in action or by accident. The construction of a dock, he was told, would not be an expensive affair; it could be completed for £150,000; and there were three available sites. No doubt the dock would be used by private ships, of which 20 passed Gibraltar daily; but a dock could not be constructed by private enterprize, because every portion of the rock belonged to the Crown. The noble Marquess at the head of the Government had been giving great attention to the subject of National defence; and as this question had been so long under consideration, it was not unreasonable to expect that a definite answer might be given.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD) said, that he had been requested to answer the Question relating to Gibraltar on the part of the Admiralty. The importance of the matter was fully recognized, but he regretted that a definite answer could not be given, because the subject was still under the consideration of the Admiralty. Reports were being obtained, but it had not yet been decided that a new dock was to be constructed.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount CROSS) said, with regard to Bombay he was able to assure their Lordships before the House rose for the Summer Recess that he was as anxious as anyone that the docks should be made; but there were then considerable difficulties in the way. He was happy to say they had been, as he believed, removed. It was decided that there should be a conference between the Admiralty and the India Office on the matter. The conference had since taken place, with the result that a modified scheme had been prepared which he expected to receive next week, and which was designed to meet the requirements of both the Admiralty and the Government of India.

LORD BRASSEY said, that he wished to support the noble Viscount in advocating the construction of a dock at Gibraltar. Such a dock would be of great service to the Mercantile Marine and shipping generally, and he had reason to believe that, with the assistance of a subsidy from the Government, which assistance had been given in the case of Vancouver and Hong Kong, a dock might be provided at a small charge to the public.

PERSIA—OPENING OF THE KARUN RIVER.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked, Whether it would be convenient for the Government to produce copies of Correspondence with the Persian Government and with the British Minister at the Court of Teheran relative to the opening of the Karun and the Port of Mohummreh for European traffic? He had seen reports in the papers in reference to this important matter. Having many years ago visited that port in company with an eminent Orientalist, he then learnt the immense importance of opening up the river for European traffic, though at that time there was no prospect of that being done. If the reports in the papers were correct, he would venture to congratulate Her Majesty's Government upon the remarkable diplomatic success of Sir H. Drummond Wolff. He hoped that the negotiations would result in great benefit to this country, and in the further civilization of the enlightened and remarkable people of Persia.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I hardly think that we have any Papers at present which it would be desirable to lay on the Table with regard to this matter; and as our knowledge to a certain extent comes by telegraph we have not all the Papers which it may be right to present. I would, therefore, ask my noble Friend to defer his Motion to a future time, when we may possibly be able to give a more favourable answer to it. I can only say, in reference to this matter, that I think Sir Henry Drummond Wolff deserves all the credit that my noble Friend has given him for the result of all his exertions. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff is a man of very high diplomatic capacity; and he has fully shown his capacities, and powers, and abilities on this occasion. But it would be entirely unjust to give the whole or even the main part of the credit to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. I believe the result of the negotiations is due to a very great extent to the spontaneous act of the Shah of Persia himself. The Shah of Persia has come to the conclusion, I believe, that his country does need the aid of the Government in relaxing such impediments as now exists to the freer movement of traffic, and the revival of

commerce; and that nothing but some progress in that direction can give any hope of eliciting the remarkable and extensive resources which his country contains. I believe the Shah has taken a very enlightened view of the interests of his country in that respect, and is fully convinced that her material prosperity must advance if she is to maintain her place among the nations. To a very great extent, quite spontaneously, he has resolved upon this act of wisdom, which benefits not England only, but all the commercial nations of the globe; and I heartily hope that it will be the beginning of measures which will be beneficial not specially to England alone, but above all to the Persian people themselves.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 11th December, 1888.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — *Second Report*—Corn Averages [No. 413].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 29, 30, 31.

Resolutions [December 10] *reported.*

QUESTIONS.

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THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—COOLIE LABOUR AND LABOUR CONTRACTS.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been drawn to the description of the state of the coolies, as given in the Administrative Report of last year in regard to the Straits Settlements, wherein it is stated that in Province Wellesley—

"Out of 3,085 persons committed to the Criminal Prison in 1887, 967 were Tamil coolies undergoing short sentences for offences in connection with labour contracts. The average length of sentence of these men was 18 days. The average distance of the estate from the prison is about 10 miles; and each indentured coolie has to be returned to his estate (at the expense of his employer) on the expiration of his sentence under police escort. That, both in 1886 and 1887, Indian immigrants were received whom Dr. M'Closky describes as 'poor in physique and unused to field work,' and many of whom gradually sank from sheer general debility and exhaustion, in spite of all treatment. The most effectual means of attracting a superior class of labourers would appear to be to raise the minimum rate of wages fixed by Ordinance V. of 1884, Section 46, and to reduce the period of the contract (three years), which, considering that the maximum advance recoverable by law is only 12 dollars, or barely £2, seems to be a long term of enforced servitude;"

and, whether the Government will take any steps to alleviate the state of things thus described?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the Administrative Report with regard to the Straits Settlements; and measures have been adopted, with good results, for insuring the greater fitness for agricultural labour of the coolies introduced into the Straits Settlements. In addition to wages, the employer is bound to supply the contract labourer, gratis, with house and hospital accommodation, medical attendance and medicines, and to supply him with provisions at market price to be fixed by Government. The Governor is sensible of the advantage of shortening the period of contract, but is of opinion that this could not be done at present without serious injury to employers, although he hopes it may be possible at no distant date.

INLAND REVENUE—PAYMENT OF INCOME TAX, &c. AT LOCAL POST OFFICES.

MR. R. CHAMBERLAIN (Islington, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether arrangements can be made whereby small amounts of Income Tax, House Duty, or Land Tax may be made payable at any post office, so as to relieve the taxpayers from the inconvenience of attending on specified days at fixed hours at the collectors' residences, which are frequently some distance away?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am aware that the hon. Member for West Islington has taken great interest in this question; and I am glad to say that we have been able to develop a suggestion of his, and that arrangements have been made by the Board of Inland Revenue, whereby amounts not exceeding £50 for Income Tax, Inhabited House Duty, and Land Tax can be paid through money-orders to be obtained free of charge at any money-order office in the United Kingdom.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN BECHUANALAND.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Government contemplate granting any material assistance towards developing and extending the railway system in Bechuanaland; and, if so, what form their assistance is likely to take?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Her Majesty's Government do not propose to ask Parliament to increase the grant-in-aid of British Bechuanaland, in order to subsidize the construction of railways in that territory. There is at present no railway there. They would not be unwilling to assist the construction of a railway by grants of land or other assistance from local sources; but the High Commissioner has not as yet been satisfied that any substantial assistance can so be given.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—COMPENSATION FOR SLAUGHTERED ANIMALS.

MR. ROUND (Essex, N.E., Harwich) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will consider the desirability of giving effect to the recommendations of the Departmental Committee of the Privy Council by introducing such a change of the law as will enable compensation, now made out of local rates in respect of animals compulsorily slaughtered for pleuro-pneumonia, to be henceforth payable out of the Imperial Exchequer?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in reply, said, the Government had not yet been able to consider the important recommendations of the Departmental Committee, which would come under review in connection with other recommendations bearing on the same subject.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FAIR RENTS—THE BALTINGLASS DISTRICT.

MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that numerous applications to have fair rents fixed in the Baltinglass District were lodged with the Land Commission so long ago as September last year, and have not yet been heard or even listed for hearing; and, if so, whether he will draw the attention of the Land Commission to the extreme desirability of having listed and heard, at the next Land Sessions for Baltinglass, all cases in which applications have been lodged for at least a period of three months and upwards?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that the number of cases now outstanding in the County Carlow portion of Baltinglass Union is 58; in the County Wicklow portion 273; and in the County Kildare portion 65. A Sub-Commission will sit in Baltinglass on January 22; the list will contain 42 cases from County Wicklow and 41 from the County Carlow. All applications received up to, and including, September 27, 1887, are listed for Wicklow; and all applications received up to, and including, November 7, 1887, are listed for Carlow. No date has been fixed for that portion of the union in County Kildare. It would not be practicable to adopt the course suggested in the concluding portion of the Question, having regard to the claims of other unions.

LAW AND JUSTICE—COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL — STATEMENTS OF CONVICTS IN PRISON.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If, prior to the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, or, perhaps, in lieu of it, he will request one or more of the existing Inspectors or Directors of Prisons to visit periodically the several convict prisons for the special purpose of affording every convict an opportunity of bringing forward any reasonable plea as to his innocence, or conviction by mistake, such pleas being then made the subjects of adequate investigation by the Home Office Authorities?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): It is now the practice for the Directors and Inspectors of Prisons constantly to visit the prisons and to hear complaints from the prisoners. When any prisoner wishes to bring forward proofs of innocence of the crime of which he is convicted, he is desired to write out a full statement of

the representations he has to make. This statement is invariably forwarded to the Home Office, and there receives full and proper consideration.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Are those statements recorded in a book at the Home Office?

MR. MATTHEWS: They are not entered in a book; but there is a complete registered index of them.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE EDLINGHAM BURGLARY—CASE OF BRANNAGHAN AND MURPHY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When, and in what form, the House will be asked to vote the money to compensate the men originally convicted in the Edlingham burglary case; and, whether, before that is done, he will lay before the House Papers to enable Members to understand the case, and judge of the conduct of the police and other parties concerned?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): My right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury stated in the House last night when, and in what form, this money would be voted. There are no papers in my possession which it would be proper to lay on the Table of the House. If the hon. Member wishes to see the depositions in the cases tried in 1873 and in the present year, and will call at the Home Office, I shall be happy to let him see them.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Did not the First Lord of the Treasury say that the Estimates would not be presented before next Session; and that if the money were required before that time it would be placed upon the Contingency Fund? Is it not possible to allow the question to be discussed in the House before the arrangements are completed?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: From what source, and by what process, is this money to be advanced?

MR. MATTHEWS: If there be any necessity for immediate payment the money will be advanced from the Contingency Fund. It would be hardly possible to delay the compensation until next Session.

MR. CONYBEARE: Have the wishes of the men been consulted in any way?

MR. MATTHEWS: The wishes of their friends and advisers have been consulted.

INDIA—PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT —MILITARY AND CIVIL BRANCHES —EQUALIZATION OF PAY.

MR. H. S. WRIGHT (Nottingham, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention had been called to a despatch No. 43, P.W. of 28th March, 1870, from the Viceroy (the Earl of Mayo) and Council of India, addressed to the Secretary of State in Council, in which the Government express their gratification that Her Majesty's Government were likely to receive favourably a proposal to equalize the pay of the Military and Civil Branches of the Public Works Department, and further recommend that the furlough allowances and pensions of civil engineers shall be equalized with those of military officers in the Public Works Department; and also to a despatch No. 18, P.W. 22nd of March, 1883, addressed to the Government of India by the Secretary of State (the Earl of Kimberley), which stated—

"The opinion has already been expressed by my Predecessors that the position in the Department (of Public Works) of military and civil engineers should, as far as possible, be assimilated, and the time has, in my opinion, arrived when the distinctions which now exist in their emoluments should be removed;"

whether any order has been made or put in force by the Government of India to carry out these injunctions of the Secretary of State and opinions of the Government of India; and, if not, why the recommendations of successive Secretaries of State referred to in the Earl of Kimberley's despatch have not been carried into effect; whether the Government of India will now take steps to equalize the furlough allowances of civil engineers in the Indian Public Works Department with those of military officers in that Department, and, as far as practicable, to equalize their pension advantages; and, on what grounds action in the matter can be further postponed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The proposal of the Earl of Kimberley, in 1883, was to equalize the pay of civil and military engineers, by discontinuing the military pay proper of the

latter. It was not carried out because the Government of India, by subsequent representations, convinced the Secretary of State that it was inexpedient. As the circumstances of the two Services are essentially dissimilar, the Secretary of State sees no occasion for equalizing the conditions of furlough and pension.

CEYLON—INCREASE OF CRIME.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been drawn to the recent increase of crime in Ceylon; whether he is aware that the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, in a speech to a deputation on the subject, referred, amongst other things, to "a delicate cause for it;" whether that "delicate cause" is the public licensing of vice; and, whether, having regard to the precedent of India, the Government will cause the repeal of all Acts licensing vice in Ceylon?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The question of the increase of crime in Ceylon is now being inquired into by an experienced officer lent to the Ceylon Government by the Government of India. The Secretary of State cannot undertake to say what was in the mind of the Governor when using the expression referred to by the hon. Member. He spoke of "reasons many of them deep-seated, some of them obscure, some of them very delicate to mention." The Secretary of State has already directed the Governor to introduce an Ordinance repealing the Contagious Disease Ordinance as soon as possible. The subject will, no doubt, be brought up during the present Session of the Council, which was opened on October 31 last.

SALMON FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—THE TAY SALMON FISHERMEN—INSANITARY BOTHY ACCOMMODATION.

MR. MENZIES (Perthshire, E.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the attention of the Board of Supervision has been called to the extremely insanitary condition of the bothy accommodation provided for the salmon fishermen on the River Tay, and the neglect of the Local Authorities to take action in the matter; and, in the event of the Board of Supervision not having had their attention directed to the subject, whether he will take steps to bring it to their notice?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The attention of the Board of Supervision was directed some time ago to the condition of the bothy accommodation provided for salmon fishermen in the parishes of Kinnoul, Kinfauns, Newburgh, Abernethy, St. Madoes, and Rhynd; and the Board have been in communication with the Local Authorities on the subject. The Local Authority of Kinnoul state that they have complied with the recommendations of the Board. The Local Authority of Kinfauns have instructed their Sanitary Inspector to visit at intervals, and see that the houses are properly cleaned and repaired before occupation. The Local Authority of Abernethy have called upon the owners to remove the sanitary defects; and the medical officer of St. Madoes reports that he considers the accommodation sufficient. The Board are still in correspondence with the other Local Authorities; and they propose to have a Report from their own inspecting officer on the subject before the fishing season commences.

CUSTOMS (LIVERPOOL)—HOURS OF OFFICIALS.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) (for Mr. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM) (Lanark, N. W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that at the Port of Liverpool there are 30 officers of Customs employed on boarding duty; and whether, while on board ship, they are required to be on deck for 24 consecutive hours every alternate day, and 12 consecutive hours every other day, with a short interval for meals; and, if so, whether the Treasury will issue instructions to the Board of Customs to lessen the hours of labour of these officials?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): There are 30 outdoor officers of Customs employed with others at Liverpool on boarding duty, such as was formerly done by officers called tide-waiters. This duty is simply that of guarding against contraband goods being surreptitiously put over the side of a ship, and involves at Liverpool no labour; and it rarely happens that

officers are kept on one ship for more than three days at a time. These officers are not required to be on deck for more than 18 hours on an average at a time, and that only in extreme cases. From that period there must be deducted meal hours and occasional leave as well. It may very occasionally happen from the nature of the duty that an officer is required to give the attendance referred to in the Question; but in such cases compensation is almost always given in the form of extra leave.

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS—LEGISLATION.

MR. DUGDALE (Warwickshire, Nuneaton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, considering the importance and urgency of the subject, the Government will re-introduce into the House of Lords, at an early period next Session, their Bills on reformatory and industrial schools?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION OF HEAD CONSTABLES.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the rule of the Constabulary Force that one-fourth of the Head Constables are promoted from the ranks; if it is a fact that, out of the 46 promoted Head Constables, not a single one has been a Presbyterian; if, since September 1, 1885, there have been 15 such promotions, and of these 10 have been Roman Catholics, and five Episcopalians, and not one Presbyterian; if, among the Presbyterian members of the Force, there are men of the highest efficiency and ability, well qualified for such a position; and, if steps will at once be taken to remedy a grievance that causes great dissatisfaction?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Inspector General of Constabulary reports that the facts are as stated in the first three paragraphs; but that during the period covered by the 46 promotions referred to, there were two Presbyterian Head Constables also promoted, one of whom retired so recently as July last. As regards the concluding portion of the Question, the Inspector General further reports that there are, undoubtedly, among the Presbyterian members of the Force men of high efficiency and ability, who get their fair share of promotion. But in advancing men from the ranks to the position of officer, the claims of all the Head Constables must be taken into consideration, due weight being given to seniority. The Promotion Board has not passed over any Presbyterian Head Constable who, at the time of its decision, was, in all respects, fully qualified for the higher rank.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—ELECTORAL DIVISIONS.

MR. SAMUELSON (Gloucester, Forest of Dean) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, under the directions of "The Local Government Act, 1888," in the constitution of Electoral Divisions of a county, the magistrates of a county were justified in taking into consideration the rateable value of proposed districts; and, if so, under what authority; whether, under section 51, sub-section (1) of the Act he contemplated such inequalities of population as have recommended themselves to the Gloucestershire Magistrates, where the largest Electoral Division has a population of over 13,000, the smallest of under 3,500 inhabitants, and where the average population of the 13 Divisions having the largest population is over 8,963, while the average population of the 13 Divisions having the smallest population is under 4,200; and, what remedy have the populations who complain of unfair treatment in this matter?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I have no information as to the Electoral Divisions which have been formed by the Gloucestershire Justices, nor as to the considerations which have influenced them in constituting those Divisions, and I cannot express any opinion with regard to them. Neither have I received any complaint that there has been unfair treatment in the matter, as suggested in the Question. Section 51 of the Local Government Act clearly does not contemplate that population shall be the sole test. Sub-section 1 requires that regard shall be had to a proper representation both of the rural and of the

urban population, and to the distribution and pursuits of such population, and to area, and to the last published Census for the time being, and to evidence of any considerable change of population since such Census. Sub-section 2 further requires that the Electoral Divisions shall, so far as may reasonably be practicable, be framed so that every Division shall be a County District or Ward, or a combination of County Districts or Wards. If, after the constitution of the County Council, they desire to propose alterations in the Electoral Divisions formed by the Justices, it will be competent for them to do so.

PRISONS BOARD (IRELAND) — THE BREAD IN WATERFORD PRISON.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) (for Mr. W. O'BRIEN) (Cork Co., N.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of the analysis of the brown bread in use in Waterford Prison made by Sir Charles A. Cameron, Dublin City Analyst, which gives the following result: water 40·90; albuminous compounds 9·28; starch, dextrine, &c. 45·80; woody fibre 2·52; ash 7·50; total 100·00; and also to the statement of Sir Charles Cameron, that the bread is—

"Decidedly inferior in quality, and it contains an excess of woody fibre or bran. The loaf when I received it was very soft and plastic—like mortar, in fact. I should not like to eat such bread continuously;"

and, whether the Prisons Board will institute a medical inquiry as to the propriety of using bread of such quality as the only food of prisoners suffering from diarrhœa?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The General Prisons Board report that it is the case that the Mayor of Waterford stated that he had sent to Sir Charles Cameron for analysis some bread taken from the prison; but neither the Board, the Governor, nor the medical officer is satisfied that the bread analyzed was the bread supplied to the prison, the usual steps for securing a proper analysis not having been taken by the Mayor. The Governor of the prison reports that he has no fault to find with the bread supplied to the prison, which he considers very good. The Visiting Justices have also frequently examined the bread and other provisions, and have never found fault with any of the supplies; and the Visiting Committee, reporting on the 4th of this month (that is, a few days after the bread was alleged to have been sent forward for analysis), stated that they had examined the quality of the bread and found it satisfactory. It is further the case that at no time has any complaint been made by a prisoner as to the quality of the bread. The Board add that there is no foundation for the inference conveyed in the last paragraph. As a matter of fact, there is always a supply of pure white bread for prisoners who, in the opinion of the medical officer, require it.

In reply to a further Question,

MR. MADDEN said, there was no imputation that the Mayor had designedly submitted the wrong bread for analysis; it was probably the result of a mistake.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND) — OFFICE OF STOREKEEPER.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is an essential qualification for the office of storekeeper in a lunatic asylum in Ireland that the candidate should be a retired quartermaster sergeant in the Army or Navy; and, if not, will he cause inquiry to be made with reference to an advertisement issued by the Board of Governors of the Mullingar Lunatic Asylum, headed "To retired Quartermaster Sergeants," and stating that at their meeting on Thursday, the 13th instant, they will proceed to elect a storekeeper to that institution; and, whether, as many suitable persons who have not served in the Army or Navy may have been deterred from offering themselves as candidates in consequence of the notice in question, he will cause the election to be postponed, and an altered advertisement issued?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums report that the qualification mentioned in the Question is not essential. They state that the advertisement referred to appears to have been more directly addressed, but under restrictions, to retired quarter-

master sergeants, the previous storekeeper at the asylum, who had held that position, having proved a most efficient official. It is open to other candidates to present themselves. The Inspectors cannot undertake to recommend the course suggested in the last paragraph.

COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—THE CUTLERY TRADE IN BUENOS AYRES.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Centtral) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government have received a letter from Messrs. Joseph Rodgers and Sons, of Norfolk Street, Sheffield, expressing their sense of the great services rendered to the British cutlery trade in South America by the Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres, under the instructions of the Prime Minister, and if the same will be conveyed to Mr. Jenner; and, if it is a fact that Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular officers abroad have been directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to be particularly alive to the furtherance of British commercial interests in foreign countries; and if in accordance therewith any intimations have been given during the past two years, and made public in the United Kingdom, of projected works in the construction of which British enterprize might find a useful field; and if, in case of need, Her Majesty's Representatives are authorized to telegraph useful commercial information to secure early insertion of *The Board of Trade Journal?*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The letter referred to in the first paragraph of my hon. Friend's Question, who has so frequently represented the matter in question to Her Majesty's Government, has been received, and Mr. Jenner has been informed that Messrs. Rodgers have expressed appreciation of his services. It has not been found necessary to issue any fresh instructions to Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular officers during the past two years to be "particularly alive" to the furtherance of British commercial interests, as the former instructions have been considered sufficient for the purpose; but, when occasion requires, Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular officers have been specially directed to further these interests. When intelligence is received that British enterprize is likely to find openings in projected works, public notice is given, usually in newspaper announcements. Without doubt Her Majesty's Representatives are authorized to telegraph useful commercial information when expedition is desirable; and I will inquire whether there have been any instances in which advantage would have resulted from the adoption of that course.

INDIA AND THIBET—A COMMERCIAL MISSION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is true, as recently stated in regard to the late misunderstanding with Thibet, that when, some three years ago, a Commercial Mission was pressed on the Government of India they saw strong objections to adopting that measure under the circumstances of the time, and declined; but that the Home Government took a different view, and decided on deputing to China, with the above object, an officer who happened to be in England at the time?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): No; the statement is inaccurate. The Secretary of State has no reason to believe that any serious divergence of policy existed, as the hon. Member supposes, between the Government of India and the last Home Government but one.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the hon. Gentleman had yet ascertained what was the origin of the statement, besides the official Memorandum in which it was set forth?

SIR JOHN GORST replied, that he was not yet officially cognizant of the existence of such a Memorandum.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, What is to be done with the space between Westminster Hall and the road, formerly occupied by the Law Courts, when the repairs of the Hall are finished; whether that space

will be reserved for use in case, in consequence of change of procedure or otherwise, it becomes necessary to add new chambers to the Houses of Parliament; what use is to be made of Westminster Hall when repaired; and, whether he will reserve the Hall to be the Central Hall of Parliament, in case chambers for portions of the House are erected on the outer side?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): The plans for the restoration of Westminster Hall, which were approved by the Select Committee of 1885, and which are now being carried out, did not include any proposals for dealing with the space between the new buildings and the roadway; but I have been for some time in communication with Mr. Pearson, and we hope soon to arrive at a definite conclusion on the subject. Westminster Hall will remain, after the restorations have been completed, as it was before they were commenced. I have never heard of any project for adding new chambers for portions of the House such as is suggested by the Question of the hon. Member.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, whether there was not already, on the other side of Westminster Hall, a chamber which was intended at one period for a Grand Committee Room; and whether it would not be given up to any other purpose without bringing the matter before the House and taking a Vote?

MR. PLUNKET stated that with regard to the buildings called restorations, no doubt there were in them some very good rooms, which he thought would be of great advantage and convenience to the Members of the Houses; but he had not heard of any proposal to extend them further.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): Do I understand that it is in contemplation to erect any building in Westminster Hall?

MR. PLUNKET: None whatever.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CLAREMORRIS PETTY SESSIONS—MR. LONGBOURNE, R.M.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, since the 29th ultimo, he has been more fully informed respecting the conduct of Mr. Longbourne, R.M., at Claremorris Petty Sessions; whether he is now aware that on the 21st ultimo Mr. Longbourne, of his own motion, and without the consent of the defendants or of the plaintiff Mr. Cuffe, postponed three trespass cases instituted by Cuffe, and calling Head Constable Murray to take a seat by his side at the Bench, instructed him to take proceedings against the alleged trespassers under Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act; whether it is a fact that Mr. Cuffe's trespass case having again come before the Court in the usual course, on the 6th instant, plaintiff with his solicitor being ready to go on with his cases, defendants also with their solicitor being prepared to enter on their defence, Mr. Longbourne refused to hear the cases, stating to defendants' solicitor that he did so "on instructions he received;" whether it is a fact that on the evening of Wednesday the 5th instant Head Constable Murray visited Cuffe, the plaintiff, and asked him to withdraw the trespass cases in favour of the proceedings advised by Mr. Longbourne; whether he will learn from the Attorney General for Ireland on whose instructions Mr. Longbourne is acting; and, whether, under the circumstances, he will have Mr. Longbourne removed to some other place?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that at Claremorris Petty Sessions on the 22nd of November, after hearing Cuffe's evidence in the cases for wilful trespass, the Resident Magistrate called the Head Constable to the back of the Bench to inquire if the case had been reported to the proper authorities. He did not call him to take a seat by his side. He adjourned the case on his own motion, and without the consent of plaintiff or defendant. The adjourned cases came on again for hearing on 6th instant. The plaintiff and defendant, with their respective solicitors, were present. The solicitor for the defendant pressed for a hearing of the cases; and the Resident Magistrate stated that he was "instructed" that the Attorney General for Ireland had ordered a prosecution under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act against the defendants among other persons, and he

therefore considered it his duty to again adjourn the cases for trespass, pending the decision of the Court under the Act. I am not aware if Head Constable Murray requested Cuffe to withdraw the case for trespass. The Resident Magistrate acted entirely on his own responsibility for what he considered best in the interests of justice. There is no ground for the course suggested in the last paragraph.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, by what right this magistrate, in the case of a private prosecution brought to remedy a private wrong, deprived the prosecutor of the tribunal which he selected, and sent the case before another? The note of the decision of this case appeared to be—

"Adjourned to the 31st of January, 1889, having been instructed that the Crown had taken up the case."

Had the Government, then, sent their instructions to the Judge presiding in the Court, and not to their Legal Representative?

MR. MADDEN replied, that the Magistrate was bound to adjourn the case, having regard to the directions of the Attorney General for Ireland.

MR. SEXTON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had not addressed himself to the Question put. First, had a Resident Magistrate any right to deprive a private prosecutor of his choice of a tribunal, and to supersede his action in this manner; and, secondly, did the Government in Ireland send its instructions in such a case to the Presiding Magistrate, and not to its Legal Representative?

MR. MADDEN replied again, that the Magistrate was bound to postpone the case on the action taken by the Attorney General for Ireland.

MR. SEXTON asked, was the Magistrate instructed direct from Dublin Castle in the case, or was he not?

[No reply.]

NAVY—ALLEGED SAVINGS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, with reference to his statement at Glasgow on October 11, that £400,000 had been saved in the financial year ending March 31 last, and with the consent of the Treasury had been expended in the purchase of stores, so as to cause the reduction of the amount to be voted this year, Whether he will state the Votes and Sub-heads of the Votes on which the savings were made, and the amounts thereof, and on what Sub-heads of the Store Vote the same was expended?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk) (who replied) said: One hundred and eight thousand pounds was saved on the Wages Vote, and £196,000 on the Contract Vote, making a total of £304,000. There was expended, in excess of the Estimates, £55,000 on Victuals and Clothing; £161,000 on Naval Stores; £2,500 on Medical Stores; on the Machinery Vote £48,000; and on Miscellaneous Services £15,000.

INLAND REVENUE—STAMPING BILLS OF EXCHANGE, GLASGOW.

MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can make arrangements whereby bills of exchange may be stamped in Glasgow?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The arrangement contemplated by my hon. Friend's Question would involve a considerable expenditure on a separate stamping establishment at Glasgow—an expenditure which could not be compensated by saving elsewhere. I am not convinced that the practical inconvenience of the present system is sufficiently great to justify the expense proposed.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSION, CALLAN UNION DISTRICT, CO. KILKENNY.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) (for Mr. CHANCE) (Kilkenny, S.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he could state when last did a Sub-Commission of the Land Court hear cases in the Callan Union District, County Kilkenny; where did they then sit; how many cases did they determine; how many are pending; and, what is the date of the earliest notice undisposed of?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The Land Commissioners report that a Sub-Commission sat to

hear cases from the Callan Union, County Kilkenny, in the month of March last. The Sub-Commission sat in Kilkenny. They disposed of 29 cases; 137 cases were pending from that union on the 30th of November. The date of the earliest notice undisposed of is the 8th of September, 1887, except two originating notices, which were adjourned for cause. No doubt a Court will sit again as soon as possible.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF SIR HENRY NORMAN AS GOVERNOR.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true, as stated in the Press, that the Government of Queensland has expressed its disapprobation at the manner of the appointment of Sir Henry Norman as Governor of that Colony; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the advisability of holding a Conference with the Prime Ministers of the Australian Colonies, in order to settle the claims of New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, and New Zealand to be consulted on the question of the appointment of their Governors?

THE UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In reply to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that no communication has been received in connection with the appointment of Sir Henry Norman. New Zealand has made no representation upon the procedure which has been suggested, rather than claimed, by some of the Australian Colonies. Her Majesty's Government do not think it desirable to hold a Colonial Conference on the subject.

COLONIAL SECURITIES—INVESTMENT OF TRUST FUNDS.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government have received communications from various Colonial Governments, urging them to consent to a provision permitting Trust Funds to be invested in certain Colonial securities; and, whether the Government intend to accede to the wishes of the Colonies on this point?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in reply, said, representations had been made to the Government by various Colonial Governments on the subject; but he considered it was not so much a question for the Colonial Governments as one to be determined by the interest and safety of the *cestui que trust*. He would, however, see the Agents General of the Colonies in the course of the week on the subject.

MR. ANDERSON said, all he desired was to get the clause introduced which had been struck out in the House of Lords.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he was not prepared to assent to the re-insertion of the clause in question.

COLONIAL OFFICE—RE-ARRANGEMENT OF STAFF.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the experiment has ever been tried of putting an experienced and intelligent Lower Division clerk to perform some of the duties at present performed in the Colonial Office by Higher Division clerks, and with what result; and, whether, considering that the vacancy has already existed for over a year without serious detriment to the efficiency of the Department, the Government will delay making any appointment until the proposed Consultative Committee of the Royal Commission have had an opportunity of advising in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The experiment has not been made. The work of the Higher Division clerks in the Colonial Office is of a specially high class, although it comprises some minor duties which it is not always possible to separate from the rest. The association of two classes of clerks in the same general business and the same rooms has been avoided, as it would then be practically impossible to secure the requisite distinction between their respective duties; and there would be the risk of the higher class of work being devolved upon a class of clerks not intended to deal with it, and thereby giving rise to dissatisfaction and complaints prejudicial to the interests and

discipline of the Service. The delay in filling the vacancy which has occurred has solely been owing to the anxiety to make a proper selection. This is about to be announced; and the very great inconvenience arising from the pressure of work which has been felt in the interval makes it impossible, with due regard to the efficiency of the Department, any further to delay the appointment, which, in principle, has already been determined upon in consultation with the Treasury.

CIVIL SERVICE PENSIONS—RETIREMENT OF MR. DALY, ASSISTANT COMPTROLLER OF THE NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE.

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to statements in *The Morning Post* of the 10th instant, to the effect that Mr. Daly, a Treasury clerk, was appointed in the present year to the post of Assistant Comptroller of the National Debt Office, at the maximum salary of £1,000, the Regulation salary being £800, rising by £50 annually to £1,000; that within three months of his appointment Mr. Daly produced a medical certificate to the effect that he was suffering from chronic dyspepsia; and that he has now retired upon a large pension; whether these statements are correct; what is the exact amount of the pension on which Mr. Daly has retired; what is his present age; and, whether the medical certificate came from a practitioner employed by the Treasury, or from Mr. Daly's private doctor?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The circumstances in which Mr. Daly retired from the Service are as stated in the Question. Mr. Daly's pension is at the rate of £258 12*s.* 10*d.* a-year. It is, perhaps, right that I should point out that Mr. Daly's pension was not increased by reason of his transfer from the Treasury to the National Debt Office, but, on the contrary, it was reduced; for, had he remained at the Treasury, he would have been entitled at the date of his retirement to a larger pension—namely, £271 5*s.* Mr. Daly's age is 38, and at the date of his retirement he had served 21½ years. The medical certificate was given by Dr. Collins, of Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square. He was not selected by the Treasury.

PUBLIC HEALTH — GREAT INCREASE OF MORTALITY FROM CANCER.

MR. AMBROSE (Middlesex, Harrow) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been directed to the alleged great increase of mortality from cancer in England and Wales; and if he will instruct the Medical Department of the Board to institute an inquiry into the extent and causes of the increase?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The staff of the Medical Department of the Local Government Board does not exceed that which is required for the duties which specially attach to the Board in connection with their executive action. I do not doubt that an inquiry into the causes of the alleged increase of mortality from cancer in England and Wales would be valuable; but the demands on the Department in connection with other duties would not admit of its undertaking such an inquiry.

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACT, 1888—ADDITIONAL STATISTICS.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Board of Trade has as yet made any orders on Railway Companies under Section 32 of "The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888," requiring them to furnish additional statistics in their Returns to the Board of Trade; and, if so, on what subjects such statistics have been ordered?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The Board of Trade have not yet required the Railway Companies to furnish additional statistics under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, and they cannot do so until the Act comes into operation. The question will not be overlooked by the Board of Trade, and early next year I intend to deal with Returns as to couplings.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—THE BLOCKADE OF THE ZANZIBAR COAST—DESTRUCTION OF BAGAMOYO.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any request has been made by Mr.

McKinnon, or the English Company trading on the Coast of Zanzibar to whom Mr. McKinnon's Charter has been transferred for the military or naval support, in order that the commercial interests of his Company might not be endangered by the action of the Slave Trade on that coast; whether any difficulties of a kind similar to those which have occurred between the German Trading Company and the Natives have arisen between the English Company and the Natives; whether any communications have been made to the English Company by Her Majesty's Government, or to Her Majesty's Government by the English Company, with reference to the present blockade of the Zanzibar Coast; and, if so, what was the nature of such communications; whether the blockade will extend to all commerce from the Zanzibar Coast, including that with British India, or will be confined to slave trading; whether, in view of the destruction of Bagamoyo and other villages in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Her Majesty's Government will continue the joint blockade; and, whether such proceedings were contemplated when Her Majesty's Government agreed with tha German Government to enter on a joint blockade of the Zanzibar Coast?

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information as to a statement in one of the public prints that Bagamoyo, which is now destroyed, was, two months ago, the most prosperous place on the East Coast of Africa, and that the only real losers by these coast disturbances are, so far, the Sultan of Zanzibar and the British Indians?

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has any information as to the loss of life and injury to the property of British subjects resulting from the recent bombardment of Bagamoyo by the Germans; and, whether, having regard to the large number of Parsees and other British subjects who carry on their business in towns on the East African Coast, he can state what steps, if any, have been taken to prevent the repetition of such occurrences?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): With the permission of the House, I will answer at the same time the Questions of the hon. Members for Suffolk and North-West Durham and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Bagamoyo is a place by no means of the most importance on the Zanzibar Coast; but selected for trade because it is convenient for a caravan route. Her Majesty's Government have not received as yet detailed information concerning its destruction, or an estimate of the losses suffered in consequence; but it appears that a Chief from the interior, with a large force, and provided with artillery, attacked the German trading station, and sacked and burnt the place. The losses, of course, fall chiefly upon the Sultan and the trading community, including the British Indians and the German Company. The Germans have defended themselves with the assistance of their ships of war. The insurgents have retired, abandoning their guns, and the Germans remain in possession. The British Indians are believed to have been removed in safety in a steamer sent for that purpose by Her Majesty's Consul General. The hon. Member for North-West Durham asks whether, in view of these events, Her Majesty's Government will continue the joint blockade? Undoubtedly, Sir; the relief of German or British posts or stations has nothing to do with the blockade, and we should necessarily defend our fellow-countrymen if similarly attacked. Fortunately, with the exception of fighting some time since at Mombasa, which led to no serious results, we have had no such difficulty. Communications are constantly passing between Her Majesty's Government and the British Trading Company with reference to current events. They are not of a character to be laid on the Table. The nature and extent of the blockade have been repeatedly explained and are fully set out in the Papers before the House. It does not, as a rule, interfere with ordinary commerce.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that the force was landed from German ships?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: We are not informed on the point. We only

know that the German ships assisted in driving off the enemy, who were menacing the German post.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) inquired whether British Indian subjects whose property had been destroyed would have any right of redress against the Germans; and whether Her Majesty's Government would support them in obtaining that redress?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: It is manifest that the question can only be determined after consideration of the circumstances. We have only been informed of these events by telegraph.

ARMY CONTRACTS — CONTRACT FOR 20,000 SWORDS WITH A GERMAN FIRM.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, What negotiations preceded the contract for 20,000 swords concluded with a German firm in October, 1885; when they were commenced; under whose instructions; what was the contract price; and, what efforts were made to ascertain if the swords could be made at Sheffield, or elsewhere in the United Kingdom, and at what cost, before the order was placed in a foreign country; and, how many of these swords have been issued to the troops; what regiments are armed with them, and if they have all been subjected to the recent tests; what alterations were thus found to be necessary; and, what was the expense of carrying them out?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): My hon. Friend will find a full account of this contract at Questions 1,203-4 of the Report of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's Commission. The only sword-makers in this country at that time, in addition to the Government Small Arms Factory, were Messrs. Mole, of Birmingham, who could only make a limited number, and Messrs. Wilkinson, who made officers' swords. It was thought, therefore, absolutely necessary to get the remainder made at Solingen. I am informed that the advertisements for a more important contract, for 150,000 sword bayonets, elicited no tender from Sheffield. The contract price for the Solingen swords in 1885 was 20*s.* a sword. When the time came for a new contract, I have been anxious, in spite of the enormous difficulties which surround the matter, to encourage the art of sword-making in England by placing it in this country. I am afraid I cannot answer my hon. Friend's second Question without more elaborate inquiries; but I have already stated that, when exposed to the extra tests last year, the swords which failed included a proportion of those from all makers.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT asked, whether no tender was received from any English house in answer to the advertisement?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was afraid he could not answer that question.

ARMY — THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS (LEITRIM MILITIA) AT CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any intention of training the 8th Battalion Connaught Rangers (Leitrim Militia) elsewhere than in Carrick-on-Shannon during the ensuing year; if there is such intention, where is it proposed to train the battalion; and, what is the reason for the change?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I have no doubt that the hon. Member refers to the 8th Battalion of the Rifle Brigade. No arrangement has yet been made as to its place of training next year.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

MR. T. ROBINSON (Gloucester) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is intended to proceed with the Weights and Measures Bill this Session; and, if so, when it is likely to be taken?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I am very sorry I have been unable to proceed with this Bill in the present Session, in consequence of the opposition of a few hon. Members. I propose to re-introduce it at the earliest opportunity next Session.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—ISLAND OF PEMBA.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that the Island of Pemba, on the shores

of which slaves are very frequently landed, is not included in the East African blockade?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E): The Island of Pemba, not being adjacent to the coast line, is not included in the blockade; but is watched by Her Majesty's ships, which have power to exercise the rights of search under the Slave Trade Treaties. It will be remembered that no export of slaves takes place from that Island.

MR. BUCHANAN: But there is a large import trade into the Island.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: Certainly, Sir; and that is one of the difficulties we have to guard against.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—FAILURE OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY AT ARKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that, owing to the failure of the fishing industry at Arklow this winter, there is great distress amongst the working classes there; and, whether he will take any steps to have relief works set on foot to tide over the crisis by giving employment to the labouring population?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: From the information I have received it would, undoubtedly, appear to be the case that the fishing at Arklow this year has been bad, and that, consequently, there is distress among the people depending upon it. There does not, however, appear to be any necessity for the adoption of the very exceptional course suggested of establishing relief works.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTING IN WICKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could state what was the number of cases left unheard at the late sitting of the Land Commission in Wicklow; whether he is aware that instances exist in which originating notices were served on the passing of the Act to admit leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881; and that, owing to the failure of the Commissioners to hear those cases promptly, the tenants are about to be evicted for non-payment of the old rents; and, whether he will communicate with the Commissioners, with a view to having the cases now pending in Wicklow heard forthwith?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that out of a total number of 210 cases for the whole County of Wicklow, 42 were left unheard from the Union of Baltinglass; nine cases were adjourned for cause from other districts, making 51, the total number of cases undisposed of up to September 27, 1887. The 42 cases referred to in the Union of Baltinglass will be listed for hearing next month.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—INTEREST ON PURCHASE MONEY.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether, since the Court of Exchequer in Ireland decided that 3½ per cent was the interest legally payable by tenants to the landlords for interest on purchase money under Lord Ashbourne's Act, during the interval between the agreement to buy and its being sanctioned by the Purchase Commissioners, the Government intend to support a proposal to increase the rate of interest to 4 per cent; and, is there any Rule requiring the tenants to be protected by the advice of an independent solicitor, or is it the general practice that the landlord's solicitor acts for both the tenant, who is buying, and the landlord, who is selling out? The hon. and learned Member, in putting the Question, observed that the second part of it had already been answered. He would, therefore, only ask the first part.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University), in reply, said, he had been unable to get a Report of the decision of the Court; but, so far as he could ascertain, it was to the effect mentioned in the Question.

MR. T. M. HEALY gave Notice that if the Land Commission insisted upon an illegal interest being paid by the tenants, he would call attention to it upon their Vote.

THE MAGISTRACY—ARREST OF MEMBERS OF THE SALVATION ARMY AT NEEDHAM MARKET, SUFFOLK.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that at Needham Market in Suffolk, on the 6th instant, the local magistrates sent to gaol two members of the Salvation Army, and that the prisoners were marched handcuffed through the streets as if they were felons; whether the prisoners were committed on a charge of obstructing a thoroughfare; whether they were sentenced on the evidence of a Police Inspector named Page, who swore that "one individual, Miss London, was obstructed by them;" whether he is aware that the said Miss London, who was never called as a witness by the police, wrote, under date 9th November, to *The Suffolk Chronicle*, in reference to this deposition—

"Justice demands that I should give to this statement an absolute denial. . . . . I was not obstructed;"

whether it is the fact that the prisoners were prosecuted by the police on the instructions of the same magistrates who tried and sentenced them; and, whether, if, on inquiry, he finds the facts as stated, he will consider the propriety of causing the remainder of the sentences to be remitted?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the magistrates of Needham Market, Suffolk, that four prisoners were, on November 7, convicted of obstructing a thoroughfare. They were fined 10*s.*, and on the application of their counsel were allowed 14 days for payment, in order to give them time to appeal if they wished. In default of payment three of them were sent to prison on the 5th instant. They were discharged on the 8th. The evidence against the prisoners was that of Inspector Page, who said a Miss London was obstructed. A letter from Miss London appeared in a local paper, denying that she was obstructed; but there seems to be some doubt as to the genuineness of the letter. The Inspector also swore that the thoroughfare was blocked by a crowd of persons, who refused to move on when requested so to do. The magistrate who gave the instructions for the prosecution was not present when the case was tried. The two male prisoners were handcuffed; one of them had been previously convicted of riotous conduct. There is a Rule in the Suffolk Police Force that handcuffs are not to be used for minor offences, unless the prisoner be a man of bad character and likely to attempt to escape, or when a constable has charge of more than one prisoner. In my opinion, this was not a case in which handcuffs should have been used. I have written to the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and expressed a hope that the use of handcuffs may be avoided in similar cases in the future.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—ARRESTS OF J. AND D. SCANNELL, AND OTHERS, CO. KERRY.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the case of John and Daniel Scannell, John Cahill, and Humphrey Moynihan, who were arrested on November 21, and taken before Mr. McDermott, R.M., at Rathmore, County Kerry, there was a warrant issued for the arrest of all or any of them, or if there was a summons issued against any of them; under what circumstances they were arrested; and, if it is intended to proceed against them, and on what charge?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: All the men named in the Question were arrested under warrant. They were arrested for intimidation and assault. They will be prosecuted on that charge on the 13th of this month at Rathmore Petty Sessions.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Was the warrant exhibited to any of these gentlemen when they were arrested?

MR. MADDEN: I have not the least reason to doubt that such was the case.

MR. FLYNN: Can the hon. and learned Gentleman inform us why a summons was not issued in the case instead of a warrant?

MR. MADDEN: No; I cannot.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) ACT, 1874—ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the practice of the Constabulary in Warrenpoint, County Down, and in other towns under the Towns Improvement Act in Ireland, in bringing to the Petty Sessions Court instead of to the Town Court all persons living outside the town, although arrested for drunkenness within the boundary of any such town; whether he is aware that the ratepayers of such towns are thus deprived of the benefit of the fines to which the Act of Parliament entitles them; whether this practice was adopted in obedience to a Circular sent from Dublin Castle to the Constabulary some years ago; and, whether, considering that the 30th section of "The Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Act, 1874," expressly gives jurisdiction to such Town Courts, or to a Justice of the Peace empowered to act under such Local Act, to hear and determine all charges for offences against the 12th section of the Licensing Act of 1872, he will consider the desirability of withdrawing this Circular in order that these towns may receive the benefit of the fines in such cases?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: Attention has been called to the practice referred to, which, however, is confined to cases where the offender resides outside the town, or where his residence is unknown. It has been adopted in pursuance of Regulations contained in the Constabulary Code. In such cases the ratepayers of the town receive the benefit of one moiety of the fines, which goes to the Town Commissioners, the other moiety going to the Constabulary Fund. The Town Commissioners contribute nothing out of the local rates for the services of the Constabulary in such prosecutions; although they might, under the Towns Improvement Act, pay for services, in which case the Constabulary would act as their officers and prosecute on their behalf. Under the circumstances, the Chief Secretary sees no reason for advising any alteration in the existing Regulations.

SUPPLY — SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, CLASS III., VOTE 16—"TWO SPECIAL UNFORESEEN CASES."

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Lord Advocate, with regard to Supplementary Estimate, Class III., Vote 16, What are the "two special unforeseen cases" which have given rise to this large additional expenditure; and, whether they have to do with the Woods and Forests, or what Government Department?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): One was an action, Forss Trustees against the Woods and Forests; and the other was an action raised by a man named Stewart against the Sheriff of Inverness-shire. The first payment belongs to the Woods and Forest Department, and the other was a payment on behalf of the Treasury.

PUBLIC HEALTH—INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE CRADLEY DISTRICT.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the complaints made by Mr. Burnett, in his Report as to the insanitary condition of the Cradley District, and the Reports of the Local Government Board Inspectors, are sufficient authority to the Department to enable it to take remedial action under Section 299 of the Public Health Act; and, if not, whether such representations on the subject as will enable him to interfere should be made by any, and, if so, how many, of the resident ratepayers?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Reports of the officers of the Local Government Board are not a sufficient authority for the Board's taking action under Section 299 of the Public Health Act. If a formal complaint is made to the Board by resident ratepayers, in the terms of that section, that the Sanitary Authority have made default in providing the district referred to with sufficient sewers, it will receive the attention of the Board. The Statute does not specify any particular number of resident ratepayers by whom the complaint should be made; but in such cases it is always desirable that those locally interested, in requesting the intervention of a Central Department, should, so far

as possible, unite in making the complaint.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888—AREAS OF DISTRICTS.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.) (for Mr. TUITE) (Westmeath, N.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the recommendations of the Boundary Commissioners in connection with "The Local Government Act, 1888," will affect the areas of the districts of the Superintendent Registrars of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, or whether such districts will, as at present, continue to extend into more than one county?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The districts of the Superintendent Registrars of Births, Deaths, and Marriages are the Poor Law Unions; and if the area of a union is altered the Superintendent Registrar's district will be altered also, except in any case where special provision may be made under Section 58 of the Local Government Act.

CUSTOMS—IMPORTATION OF GRAIN.

MR. T. ROBINSON (Gloucester) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is true that the Customs Authority (acting upon instructions from the Treasury) have recently issued an Order to the effect that on and after the 31st of December next no foreign grain imported into this country by any ship in bulk or bags will be allowed (while such grain is in charge of the Customs) to be discharged or placed into sacks marked with the name of any English corn merchant, miller, or dealer, unless that name be accompanied in equally conspicuous characters by an indication of the foreign origin of the grain; whether complaints have reached him that if such a practice is persisted in it will cause much friction with the Customs officials, and great loss and inconvenience to the merchants and dealers in this country; and, whether he will mention the clause of "The Merchandize Marks Act, 1887," authorizing or empowering the Treasury to issue the Order alluded to?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Order has been withdrawn, and, therefore, the further Questions to which the hon. Member has directed our attention do not arise.

EGYPT—SUAKIN—THE PERMANENT GARRISON.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the pay of the garrison at Suakin is defrayed, directly or indirectly, out of the British Exchequer; or out of what fund, and by whom, is it paid?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) (who replied) said: I understand this Question to refer to the permanent garrison at Suakin, the cost of which will be defrayed by the Egyptian Government.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE—NAIL MAKERS AND SMALL CHAIN MAKERS.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attentian has been called to the recommendation contained in Mr. Burnett's Report as to the nail and chain makers of Cradley District, that, "before anything is done, there shouln be an inquiry by Royal Commission; and, whether, with a view to the legislation in their behalf promised by the Government for next Session, it would be possible to appoint a Royal Commission at once, so that its Report should be in the hands of the public at the commencement of next Session?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government have not made an absolute promise of legislation as to the position of the nail and chain makers next Session; but they have undertaken to give early and careful attention to the subject, and to propose legislation if, after such consideration, they find themselves in a position to do so. Mr. Burnett's Report does not contain a recommendation for an inquiry by a Royal Commission. It states that, among other suggestions made to him, it was suggested that further inquiry should be made either by Royal Commission or by the Committee on the Sweating System, and the latter course is the one it is proposed to take.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked, What would be the order of Public Business for Friday?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): As I understand, the House has accepted the proposal I made that the Army Estimates should be taken at 2 o'clock on Friday, and at 9 o'clock the debate on the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill.

In reply to the LORD MAYOR of DUBLIN (Mr. Sexton) (Belfast, W.),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill stood for Thursday.

ARMY—ROYAL BARRACKS, DUBLIN—SANITARY CONDITION—DEATH OF CAPTAIN F. L. SPEID.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked, Whether the attention of the Secretary of State for War had been called to the death of Captain Francis Lovell Speid, of the Black Watch, Royal Highlanders, of typhoid fever contracted in Dublin Barracks; and what steps, if any, had been taken to improve the sanitary condition of the barracks; and, also, whether the barracks were still fully occupied by the troops, especially Palatine Square?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Yes, Sir. I am aware of the unfortunate death of the officer referred to, and nobody can regret more than I do the necessity of retaining troops in the Royal Barracks. I explained, in the answer I gave on the 20th of November, that nearly all the recommendations of the Commission under Sir Charles Cameron have been carried out. The following further works are nearly completed:—Drainage of the sub-soil to cut off all sub-soil water from Arbour Hill; demolition of buildings in and at the ends of the lanes on each side of Royal Square. I have no Returns of occupation later than the 1st of November. From those it would appear that the barracks were about four-fifths full. I may add that I have requested the engineer, who is examining the barracks on behalf of the Government, to make an interim Report; and if he can make any suggestions for the improvement of the barracks they will be carried out at once.

EGYPT—SUAKIN — REINFORCEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he had received a telegram from General Grenfell, to the effect that Osman Digna was advancing from Handoub with 2,000 men, ready to defend the trenches if attacked from Suakin; and, also, since the reinforcements had been sent to Suakin, what number of troops remained at Cairo, Alexandria, Wady Halfa, and up the Nile.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): In answer to the first Question of my hon. and gallant Friend, I may say that I have received no such telegram from General Grenfell. In answer to the second Question, we accept full responsibility in respect of Lower Egypt; but I do not think it would be fair to expect us to explain to the House of Commons the precise disposition of our available forces in discharge of that responsibility.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Egyptian papers, which had been circulated that morning, were intended for the Papers which he asked for last week? They scarcely looked it.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Yes, Sir. They are intended for the Egyptian Papers promised. It would not be possible for the Government to give further details pending the operations.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he fully accepted that, of course; but the right hon. Gentleman promised Papers with reference to the communications between Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government; and in the Papers circulated there were none of these communications, except a letter from Sir Evelyn Baring. He must press the right hon. Gentleman for a further answer.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I told the right hon. Gentleman, on a previous occasion, that these communications were exceedingly few. We have given all that it is in our power to give.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THOMAS MORONEY, A PRISONER FOR CONTEMPT.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, as the case of Moroney was a matter of great gravity, he wished to ask the Chief Secretary a Question on the subject, although he had not given the right hon. Gentleman Notice of it. He (Mr. Bradlaugh) was informed that he had no *locus standi* to make the application before Judge Boyd, for which the Chief Secretary was kind enough to furnish him with material. If it were true, as portion of that material showed, that there was absolute danger in the detention of Moroney in prison, would not the Crown avoid the technical difficulty by making the application themselves, which they clearly had a right to do, although he had not.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, that, so far as he understood, there was no technical objection to the hon. Member appearing before Judge Boyd on the part of Thomas Moroney. Of course, should he be misinformed on that point, or any difficulty arise, he would be glad to consider what other course might be taken to bring the mental condition of Moroney before the Judge; for, in his opinion, as he had always said, it was a proper subject to bring before the Court.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): Why don't you do it yourself?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he was not a legal practitioner, and he was no party to Moroney's case. It would be competent for anyone, therefore, to object to his opening his mouth on the subject.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR failed to see how any difficulty could arise; because Judge Boyd had specifically laid it down that he would hear anybody on Moroney's behalf.

MR. BRADLAUGH understood that; but he also understood that, not being a party to the case, and not being a professional person who could pretend he was an attorney, any individual connected with the case might object to his appearing, and the Judge would then have no right to hear him.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, whether the Government intended to disregard the two Resolutions passed by the Visiting Justices of the prison, calling for the immediate release of Moroney; and, also, whether the Government would refuse to take action themselves, although they had in their possession two Medical Reports—one of them declaring Moroney to be in a state bordering on insanity, and the other making a declaration still more grave?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, before the right hon. Gentleman answered that Question, he desired to know whether the Government had taken any steps to secure independent medical testimony as to the condition of this man?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he believed the medical testimony the Government had on the subject might be described as independent. In reply to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) he did not think he could add to the numerous explanations he had given to the House as to the position which the Government, not of their own choice, but legally, occupied in relation to this matter.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I do not know whether I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that if I could satisfy him there were legal objections to my appearing he would then take action in the matter.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the difficulty arises, which I do not expect, I will, of course, again look into the case; but I do not think the difficulty will occur, the Judge having given the clearest expression of opinion that he will hear anybody on the subject.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, what there was to prevent the Irish Government taking the same course in Moroney's case as the Home Secretary took in the case of Bertram, the Cornish bankrupt?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary took the usual course adopted in England when a case of the kind arose. He sent the Medical Report on the subject to the Judge. The Irish Government sent the Papers in the case of Moroney to Judge Boyd weeks ago.

MR. SEXTON: Has the right hon. Gentleman sent to Judge Boyd the Report of Dr. Norman Connolly, the official medical officer of Richmond Lunatic Asylum, declaring that Mr. Moroney is insane?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe I am right in repeating an Answer I gave yesterday—that we have supplied Judge Boyd with all the information we possess.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: If Judge Boyd intends to murder this man, will the Government——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

PROBATE DUTIES (SCOTLAND AND IRELAND) BILL.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) asked, If the Bill apportioning the grant from the Probate Duty to Scotland and Ireland, and which was down for second reading on Thursday, would actually be taken that day?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square), in replying, said he thought not. The second reading of the Bill would depend, to a considerable extent, upon the degree of support with which the proposals of the Government, as contained in the Bill, were received. If the proposals commended themselves generally to those interested in Scotland and Ireland, and the Bill should pass without opposition, then he would put it down for second reading on the earliest possible day, so as to secure an early distribution of the funds which would fall to Ireland and Scotland respectively.

MR. CHILDERS asked, if the right hon. Gentleman would be able to say on Thursday when the second reading would be taken?

MR. GOSCHEN: I hope so; but it is not absolutely certain that I shall be able to do so.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,247 (including a Supplementary sum of £500), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary for Scotland and Subordinate Officers.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn), in rising to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000, being one-half of the salary of the Secretary for Scotland, said, that he was sorry to find it his duty to call the attention of the Committee to the Office of Secretary for Scotland. It would be remembered that he did so upon this Vote last year, but he was induced to refrain from pressing the Motion to a Division on account of the representation then made that great changes were going to take place in the Office, and that if another year were allowed to elapse the Committee would have no cause to complain of the way in which Scotch affairs were administered. Another year had now elapsed and nothing whatever had been done. He confessed that he entertained a feeling, which he believed was shared generally by hon. Members from Scotland, of keen disappointment at the course which had been taken in regard to the conduct of Scotch Business by the Marquess of Lothian and the Scotch Department generally. The Office of Secretary for Scotland was instituted for the purpose of introducing into the Government of the country what was supposed to be a better state of things. It had not been, so far, as successful as the old state of affairs; indeed, he questioned whether the Committee ought not to come to a decision that the Office, as at present constituted, was an utter and absolute failure. The Secretary for Scotland had most important duties to perform. In his hands was placed, practically, the whole of the administration of Scotland, and when they found a Minister occupying so important a position in connection with a very important part of the United Kingdom, it was certainly to be expected that they would find, in the course of an entire Session of Parliament, some signs of energy, activity, and departmental progress, showing that something was being done on the part of the Office. If nothing was to be done at all by the Secretary for Scotland, by whom were Scotch affairs to be administered? Everybody knew that the present Secretary for Scotland, since he had occupied the Office, had done little or nothing to advance those matters which so loudly called for reform, or any of those questions which were

urgently demanding legislation in Scotland. What had been done since the discussion of this Vote last year? There were one or two most important matters which ought to have been undertaken by the Secretary of State, matters which he might either have brought before Parliament personally, or caused to be brought before it; but what had the Secretary for Scotland brought before Parliament last year. The only measures supplied by the Scotch Office were *rechauffés*. Two old Bills which had been shunted had been introduced. The Scotch University Bill, which had been in the Stocks for many years, and the Burgh Police Bill, which had been in existence almost as many years as the remarkable number of clauses it contained. Those two legislative measure had, so far as Parliament was concerned, comprised the whole of the action of the Secretary for Scotland in the direction of legislative affairs during the Parliamentary year, and, even with regard to those measures, absolutely nothing had been done. This absence of progress everybody in the House would agree did not arise from any lack of questions that ought to be taken in hand by Lord Lothian. He must know perfectly well, as every hon. Member who represented a Scotch constituency knew, that there were a great number of burning and pressing questions at the present moment in Scotland which imperatively demanded the attention of Parliament. In order to show the inaction of the Secretary for Scotland he would now call the attention of the Committee to one or two matters, with a view of illustrating what he meant. They were none of them questions of a Party or a controversial character. In the first place, he would not enter into the question of land, because that would at once be treated as a Party question. He was satisfied that nobody in Scotland would expect that a Tory Government would be likely to bring in a Bill for reforming the Scotch Land Laws. He would not, therefore, enter into that question, because he never entertained the slightest anticipation that any reform in that direction would come from the Tory Party. If they ever did anything in the matter it would simply be as a bribe to the electors to induce them to believe that they were ardent and earnest land reformers. He would pass on to a question of common interest—namely, the question of the great fishing industry of Scotland. He represented a constituency that was deeply interested in that question. It was one of the largest industries in Scotland, and in many localities one of the most important. Now, there were one or two matters connected with that important industry which he maintained it was the bounden duty of a Minister representing Scotland, as the Marquess of Lothian did, to take in hand and bring under the attention of Parliament. Every man must take an interest in the lives of our fishermen, but it was perfectly well known that, owing to the condition of the harbours in Scotland, a great number of the lives of our fishermen were sacrificed simply because the harbour accommodation was insufficient. That was a point upon which no question could arise, and on which there could be no considerable debate. He would call attention to the first Report of the Fishery Board upon this subject, and it would be found that on the 15th page the Board made this statement—

"It is of the utmost importance that boats, more especially on their arrival from distant fishing grounds, should be able to get into harbour at all states of the tide, so that herrings may at once be landed and curing operations take place. There is always risk of bad weather when the boats are at sea, and consequent danger of not being able to run into harbour at any time. Circumstances frequently occur to prevent thom doing so, and it is estimated that the loss at Peterhead alone, in a single season, consequent upon the insufficient harbour accommodation before the improvements were made, was £60,000. It is further well known that the terrible disaster which took place on the East Coast of Scotland in October, 1881, when so many lives were lost, would have been greatly lessened if there had been better harbour accommodation. In some instances the fishermen were drowned just outside the harbour in consequence of being unable to get in."

That statement bore out the painful story of the administration of Scotch affairs by the Government and by the Secretary for Scotland. He thought that if there was one question more important than another for the Government to take in hand it was this. The matter had been brought before them for several years, in the Report presented in 1883, and emphasized in subsequent Reports, of the Scotch Fishery Board, intimating to the Government that Scotch legislation was absolutely

necessary. He repeated, therefore, that if there was any question of importance that ought to engage the Minister of Scotland, it was that some legislation should be immediately devised for the purpose of making the Scotch fishery harbours, which were known to be totally inadequate for the present size of the boats, more efficient for the purpose for which they were intended, so as to prevent the constant loss of life that occurred, owing to the fishermen not being able to enter the harbours at all states of the tide. What had been the result of the absence of legislation? He would ask the Committee and Lord Lothian to look at the loss of life that occurred on the Scotch coast among those engaged in fishing operations last year. It was stated that in 1886 156 persons connected with the fisheries of Scotland were drowned off the coast. That was a very large number, and was greatly in excess of the loss in the previous year. It must also be borne in mind that it occurred among fishermen who were comparatively close to the shore. There could be no question to hon. Members who represented fishing constituencies that an inquiry in regard to these deaths would show that a number of them had occurred solely in consequence of the deficiency of harbour accommodation. Questions had been asked over and over again of the Lord Advocate whether anything could be done, and the stereotyped answer had been that the matter was engaging the serious attention of the Government. He thought that the Scotch Members ought not to submit to that kind of answer any longer, and the time had now come when they ought to call the Secretary for Scotland to account on the matter. He was the proper person to call to account, because he had the control of the administration. There was another matter he should like to mention in regard to this point, which bore upon the Report of the Fishery Board. Not only had there been this large loss of life, but it appeared that the fishermen themselves had lost in nets and gear and in boats a sum amounting to £51,000 off the coast of Scotland, a large part of which might have been saved if there had been proper harbour accommodation. What was required was harbour accommodation for larger sized boats. To legislate upon the question might occasion a little trouble and require some care, but surely it was not beyond the common range of statesmanship which persons in the position of Lord Lothian were supposed to possess. There was another matter in regard to the fishing interest of which the fishermen bitterly complained, and which had already been brought before the House —namely, the question of bait. He regretted that important questions of this nature should have to be brought forward over and over again until the Secretary for Scotland was stirred into activity. In this case a Royal Commission had been asked for to inquire into the private rights which were alleged to exist in the mussel beds of Scotland. The fishermen had found that in dredging for mussels, which was absolutely necessary for them in order to enable them to carry on their industry, that they were interfered with by landed proprietors, who claimed certain rights. Now, he had come to the conclusion that until they got rid of these so-called private rights, they would never be able to deal with this bait question satisfactorily. He had made a representation personally to Lord Lothian on the subject. He regretted very much that that representation was made in Lord Lothian's private room at Whitehall, because he thought that if a public representation had been made, a little more action might have been taken in the matter by the Executive. One of the complaints against the Scotch Government was that they shut up the Secretary for Scotland in a private room at Whitehall, where nobody could approach him, and, consequently, he was not open to that criticism which was brought to bear upon other public officials. Lord Lothian told him frankly in his private room that he declined to encourage an inquiry into the private rights of the landed property, because if an inquiry were granted as to mussels, one would be demanded as to the salmon fishery rights. He might be told that the mussel question was the last one upon which they ought to blame the action of Lord Lothian, because Lord Lothian, after the numerous appeals which had been made to him, had appointed a Commission to inquire into the question. He (Mr. Anderson) was thankful for small mercies, and he thanked Lord

Lothian accordingly for what he had done. The noble Lord had appointed a Commission presided over by the right hon. Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks), and that Commission was now engaged in holding an inquiry which would undoubtedly be of great use and benefit to the country. The Commission had already inquired as to the cause of the falling-off of the supply; but what he wished to accentuate was that, owing to the action of Lord Lothian, it was very much to be feared that the efforts of the Commission would be rendered abortive, because they were not to be allowed to inquire into the private rights which were found to exist in various localities, and unless such an inquiry were instituted nothing practical would ever be done. When the Commission presented their Report he was afraid it would be found that, before any practical legislation could take place, it would be necessary to appoint another Royal Commission with much more extensive powers, so that the matter might be taken in hand root and branch. He thought that the fishermen of Scotland had a real grievance, and the remarks he had made were only a fair criticism of the action of the Secretary for Scotland in regard to the fishing interests. There was another matter upon which he desired to say a word. The Secretary for Scotland had certain administrative duties to perform, and one of those duties consisted in extending the time for fishing, when representations were made to him that the close time which was fixed for the use of salmon nets at the mouths of the estuaries ought to be extended. There were, of course, a great number of persons engaged in the salmon fisheries of Scotland; it was a very large industry, but it often happened that, owing to the lateness of the season, or from various causes, the fish did not come up very early in the year, and the consequence was that the lessees, and the men employed in the fisheries, had a bad season. That had been the case this year; and in regard to the River Tay, after reading the reports in the newspapers, he was not astonished to find that Lord Lothian had been applied to by the lessees to extend the time for a week, 10 days, or a fortnight. There had been a very bad season, the fish had not come up, and an application was made for an extension of time. After a communication had taken place between the lessees and the Secretary for Scotland they were given to understand that the time would be extended for a week or 10 days; but, to make sure that this was so, one of the lessees went to the Office of the Secretary for Scotland, at Dover House, to ascertain that there could be no doubt about it. Of course, in the event of an extension, it would be necessary to incur considerable expense in engaging men and so forth. When the lessee came up to London he discovered that Lord Lothian had left town, but he was informed at the Office that the matter was all right; that the time would be extended; that an order had been prepared, which was just going to be despatched for Lord Lothian's signature, and that there would be no difficulty on the subject. The lessee returned a contented man; but a day or two after he received a communication from Lord Lothian signifying that he did not intend, under any circumstances, to extend the close time. This intimation had created much disturbance in the district. It had led, he was sorry to say, to poaching and an assertion of the rights of the fishermen; indeed it had led to the deaths of two fishermen. He thought that such a matter ought not to have occurred in connection with a Public Department. There was another matter in respect of which the Government had given distinct pledges, and he presumed they were made with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Secretary for Scotland. He referred to the re-organization of the Scotch Fishery Board. Everybody knew that it was inefficient, and it ought to be reconstituted. The late Lord Advocate admitted that the subject was engaging the attention of the Government.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that much of what the hon. and learned Gentleman was bringing forward would be more relevant upon the Vote for the Fishery Board.

MR. ANDERSON said, he would reserve any further remarks upon these questions until the Vote for the Fishery Board was reached. His object had been simply to point out that Lord Lothian hitherto had not introduced, either into that House or the House of Lords, a measure which the Government

themselves admitted to be urgently needed. His complaint with regard to the Secretary for Scotland was that, although those questions relating to the Scotch Fisheries, one or two of which he had dealt with, were most important to the people of Scotland, and ought to be brought before Parliament, no attempt had been made to legislate upon them. In dealing with this Vote the Committee had to consider who was the person responsible for this neglect; he himself looked upon the Secretary for Scotland as solely responsible for all the delay and difficulty that took place in the management of Scotch affairs on the part of the Government. He thought he was right in saying that Lord Lothian was the person whom they ought to hold responsible, and whose conduct they ought to criticize in discussing the Vote. It had already been brought to the attention of Lord Lothian, who had the administration of Scotland in his hands, that legislation on these subjects was imperatively demanded. Under such circumstances it was the duty of Lord Lothian to go to his Colleagues and say, "I have certain Bills ready which must be introduced into Parliament, and you must allow a reasonable portion of the time of Parliament for their consideration, in order that they may be passed into law." He held that that was the duty of the Secretary for Scotland. Had Lord Lothian done that? If he had not, then he maintained that the noble Lord had been wanting in energy, zeal, and capacity in carrying out the duties of his office. They were told that this Session was to be a Session devoted to English and Scotch Business, and he was curious to hear what portion of it had been devoted to anything that was of interest to Scotland. He would go further; he thought it was the duty of Lord Lothian, being a salaried officer appointed to look after the affairs of Scotland, when he was told by Lord Salisbury and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) that no time could be given for the consideration of Scotch affairs, to have resigned his Office. That would have been a public-spirited act upon his part, and, as a public-spirited official occupying a high position, he ought to have taken that course. He ought not to have consented, at the instance of Lord Salisbury, or the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, to be put on one side, but he ought to have asserted the dignity of his Office, and insisted upon means being placed at his disposal to carry out his duties as an efficient and capable Minister. He (Mr. Anderson) might have directed the attention of the Committee to various other matters connected with Scotland to which the Secretary for Scotland's Office might have devoted attention, but he thought that he had brought sufficient facts before the Committee to justify the action he took in challenging the salary of the Secretary for Scotland. Although he would not go the length of saying that the action of Lord Lothian had been wholly and entirely unsatisfactory, he felt it incumbent upon him to make a protest upon this Vote as to the course which had been taken, and he would, therefore, move that the salary of the Secretary for Scotland be reduced by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeenshire, E.) said, he wished to say a few words in support of the Motion which had been moved by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Elgin and Nairn (Mr. Anderson). He wished to explain to the Committee that some years ago the state of Scotch Business led to such dissatisfaction in Scotland that it was deemed necessary to constitute this Office. He was sure he spoke the mind of his hon. Colleagues when he said that the Office was created in order to give encouragement to the people of Scotland that their affairs would be better administered, but he was bound to say, in support of what had been said by his hon. and learned Friend, that had the people of Scotland understood that their Representative in the Executive would neither have a seat in that House nor in the Cabinet, they would have hesitated very much before they consented to go to the expense of creating any such Office. He believed that the creation of the Office had added a sum of about £10,000 to the expense of the Executive of Scotland, and, although he was a party to the creation of the Office, he felt bound to say that he looked upon the money as having been thrown away,

and that they got nothing whatever for the additional expense of the Executive. Indeed, they were absolutely more badly off now than they were before a Secretary for Scotland had been appointed. Their position was this. They had no one whatever responsible for Scotch Business, and it would be a great deal better for them if they were put back again to their original position, so that they might be able to hold the Secretary of State, or some official connected with the Government, responsible. They had an Executive at Dover House, to whom, as Members of the House of Commons, they had practically no access whatever. The Lord Advocate was supposed to be the Representative of Scotland in that House, but he occupied an anomalous position. He had no responsibility, and simply attended in his place to give the answers of the Secretary for Scotland which were prepared for him in Dover House. He had no power whatever to influence the Executive, or to give effect to the wishes of the Scotch people, and all that the Executive did was to oppose and block the Representatives of the Scotch people, who desired the legislation of that House. The evident order and direction of the Government was that nothing should be done for Scotland, that Scotch Bills, seeing that they might help the work of Scotland, and the Government being against Scotland, should be kept back. He had the honour of introducing a Bill which very keenly affected the constituencies of Scotland. That Bill was brought on, and he obtained the first private Members' day for the second reading, but the Government took that day for urgent Business of their own. They took it on the suggestion from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that another day would be given in return for it, and if they had had the Secretary for Scotland in the House of Commons with a seat in the Cabinet that promise would have been fulfilled. As it was, he had been put off from day to day with promises and fair answers. He had even taken the exceptional course of getting a memorial signed by the Scotch Members, and handing it to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, asking that a day should be fixed. What came of it? Another fair promise was made, and in the end this Scotch Bill, together with other Scotch Bills, had to be withdrawn on account of the opposition shown to it by the Executive of Scotland. It was notorious that the great majority of the Scotch people were in favour of the Bill, and it might have been passed into law with an hour's discussion, save for the fact that it was introduced by a Member of the Opposition; yet it never had an opportunity of being brought forward. The Chairman had ruled, and ruled very properly, that matters connected with the Fishery Board should be brought up upon the Fishery Vote, but perhaps he would be excused if he explained that all the orders which came from the Fishery Board, and all the actions of the Fishery Board, were under the direction and control of the Secretary for Scotland. The Fishery Board might propose anything they liked, and they had proposed many things in regard to the fishing industry, but they had to come to Dover House and lay their schemes at the feet of the Secretary for Scotland, who, in many instances, paid no attention to them. That was the reason why the Scotch Members were obliged to refer to Business connected with Scotland upon this Vote. In obedience to the wishes of the Scotch people, and in the belief that it would give a larger control over Scotch affairs to the Scotch people, the Office of Secretary for Scotland had been constituted. It was found now that the result had been simply to promote a few more things to lay in the Scotch Office, and to close the mouths of the Scotch Representatives, instead of encouraging legislation by placing more power in their hands. For that reason he thought the Secretary for Scotland ought not to receive a salary until the people of Scotland received some return for their money. Reference had been made to the arrears of legislation for Scotland; there had been a most interesting question raised as to the propriety of extending provisions of the Crofters' Act. He represented personally in that House a larger number of crofters than any other Member, and he and his Colleague represented nearly the whole of those who got the benefit of the present Crofters' Act. They had endeavoured to find an opportunity for two years to discuss the question of extending that Act, and last year they received a fair promise that Parliament

was not for another year to be devoted solely to the discussion of Irish Questions. Nevertheless, the Session had now passed, and no effort had been made to extend the Scotch Crofters' Act to any other counties in Scotland. Attention had been drawn to the deplorable condition of the fishermen on the coast of Scotland in regard to their holdings, and a request had been made that they should be dealt with under the Crofters Act as the holdings of the Crofters had been dealt with in the highland counties. He received a letter only yesterday from a gentleman high in office who was greatly responsible for preserving the peace in the North of Scotland, who wrote to call attention to certain circumstances in reference to the treatment of fishermen in regard to their holdings, and to say that the position of affairs was becoming critical and dangerous, yet the Executive, critical as the state of affairs might be, had paid no attention to it. There had been three Bills brought in in regard to the fisheries, but they were blocked after 12 o'clock, and, therefore, could not be discussed, although the Members who had introduced the measures were backed up by hon. Members on the other side of the House. On the 10th of April last year they were informed, in a Report from the Fishery Board, that a Bill had been actually prepared by the Board, that it was urgently needed, and that the Executive had been asked to undertake it. That Bill had never received the slightest attention whatever, but had been kept at Dover House, for which they paid so highly, to the detriment of this great industry. Not a word had been heard of this measure since. There was another matter to which he desired to call attention. He had had the honour to sit for 16 days on a Committee with 13 of his Scotch Colleagues. They dealt with a very large Bill; certain objections to some of its provisions were taken by an hon. Member who was a supporter of the Government, and an enormous number of Amendments were placed on the Paper which had nothing to do with the Bill; and the hon. Gentleman had nothing to do with the Bill, but had represented a city where the Bill had been entirely inoperative. Having sat for 16 days the Committee presented their Report, and the Lord Advocate gave him to understand that the Bill would come on for discussion two or three days before the Recess. When that period arrived they were again entreated to postpone the Bill, and a promise was then made that it should be taken up in the Autumn Session. He need scarcely say that nothing had been heard of it since, and the Scotch Members, if they expected that it would come on, had been labouring under a delusion and a snare. The only result was that the 16 weary days in which the Committee sat had been thrown away and nothing had been done, although there was a kind of intimation that next year the subject matter of the Bill would be dealt with in connection with the Bill for Local Government. He would not refer to the Scotch University Bill, because that would be better referred to by other hon. Members, but he did complain of the course pursued by the Government in not having offered the House an opportunity of discussing the matter. They were certainly led to understand that the Bill would be discussed, but it now appeared that no Scotch legislation whatever was to take place. When he entered the House he entered it as the proud Representative of a large constituency, believing that, as the Representative of that constituency, he would have some place in the House of Commons, and that Scotland had a recognized position in the Union. He found that that was altogether a delusion. The Scotch Members were in that House voted down by the dominant Party belonging to England. They were closured by the rules of the House and were told that the Government must claim the whole time of the House. His position as a Scotch Representative was a most humiliating one, and he felt that he would be doing his duty more to his constituents if he were outside the House instead of inside of it. The feeling in Scotland in regard to the neglect of Scotch Business was becoming very much embittered, and it was leading to the demand for Home Rule for that country, where the people now cared less for the British Parliament than they had done ever since the Union. He did not enter the House as a Scotch Home Ruler, but as a Representative of the entire United Kingdom; but he dared not go to Scotland now and declare that he was against Home Rule for Scotland. His constituents would not accept such an

intimation, for Home Rule was now the first question in Scotland. A feeling in favour of Home Rule was pervading the Scotch people, and they were more determined than they had ever been to get rid of this constant neglect of Scotch Business. He was sorry to have to make a complaint in such strong language. He would have been willing to have given a generous share of the time of the House to the consideration of English and Irish Business, but he certainly had not expected that after expending an additional sum, amounting to something like £10,000 a-year, upon the Scotch Executive, no respect whatever would be paid to the wishes of the Scotch Representatives.

MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.) said, he congratulated his hon. Friend opposite on having made a speech that might actually be called moderate and temperate in comparison with the speech which preceded it. They had to go to Englishmen representing Scotch constituencies if they desired to see real exaggeration of tone. The hon. and learned Member for Elgin and Nairn (Mr. Anderson), in the extraordinary exaggeration of his attitude with regard to Scotch affairs, always reminded him of the sort of person who might be seen in a kilt at Carlisle Railway Station, and who might be known from that fact alone to be nothing more or less than a cockney tourist. However, there was a sub-stratum of truth in what had been said. There were two questions connected with the office of Secretary for Scotland which deserved careful consideration, but which ought to be kept entirely distinct. The first was—whether the holder of that office ought invariably to be in the House of Commons; and the second was—whether he ought invariably to be a Member of the Cabinet. He regarded the latter question as infinitely the more important of the two. As a general rule he would be glad to see the Secretary for Scotland a Member of the House of Commons, where he was more likely to be in touch with the Representatives of the people than if he sat in the other House and had to depend entirely upon hearsay evidence; but he earnestly trusted that he might not be considered as in any way impugning the admirable manner in which Lord Lothian discharged the onerous duties of his Office. The fact that that noble Lord was not more successful in bringing forward Scotch legislation was due to his not being a Member of the Cabinet. The hon. Member opposite said that Lord Lothian ought to stand up for the dignity of his Office, but the hon. Member should recollect that it was almost impossible for a Member of the Government outside the Cabinet ever to get what he wanted for his Department. He had been for a considerable time a Civil servant himself, and private Secretary to a foreign Secretary, and subsequently private Secretary to a Prime Minister. His experience in those capacities told him that it was absolutely impossible to expect that any Department, however important, the Chief of which was not in the Cabinet, could by any possibility get fair play. As a matter of fact this stood to reason. Supposing, for instance, there was a question of money to be granted for emigration from congested districts or for making harbours, the purse-strings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were infinitely more handy to the touch of a Colleague in the Cabinet than to that of one who was outside the Cabinet. Again, if it was a question of getting precedence for this Bill or that Bill—for a Bill relating to Scotland or a Bill relating to other parts of the Empire—the First Lord of the Treasury could be far more easily bombarded and captured by one who had the opportunity of attacking him at close quarters than by one who had to fire at him from afar. They were told that next Session was to be eminently a Scotch Session. When they had an Irish Session it was considered necessary that there should be three Members of the Cabinet representing Ireland—namely, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Earl Cadogan, and the Chief Secretary. Surely, then, in these circumstances, it was not making too terrible a demand on the Government to press most earnestly for the addition to the Cabinet of the Secretary for Scotland.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) said, he very much doubted whether, if the Secretary for Scotland had been in the Cabinet during the past year, Scotch Business would have attracted much more attention than it had done. He did not think very much depended upon that fact,

therefore, he doubted whether, under the present system, even if Scotland had a Secretary in the Cabinet, the conduct of Scotch affairs would be much better, from a Scotch point of view, than the conduct of Irish affairs had been with three Members of the Government representing Ireland in the Cabinet. Matters had gone a good deal beyond the point of placing the Secretary for Scotland in the Cabinet or not. It would have been impossible for Scotch Members to have allowed this Vote to pass without making some comment upon the conduct of Scotch affairs during the past year. He had heard the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury refer more than once to the dignity of the House, and its duty to the country in regard to the conduct of Public Business; but he did not think that the right hon. Gentleman could assert that the House of Commons had done its duty towards Scotland during the present Parliament. There had been absolutely no Scotch Business brought forward. They had plenty of work to do; but they could not get their meal brought from the mill, and, therefore, it was necessary that they should make some comment on the Executive, who were responsible for the conduct of Scotch Business. He had nothing personal to say against the Secretary for Scotland himself. He regarded the noble Lord as the Member of a Government which rendered him incapable of doing any good for Scotland. The noble Lord was simply the victim of a very pernicious system. The systematic neglect of Scotch Business had been going on during the past four years, which was the period during which he had had an acquaintance with the conduct of affairs in that House. But there was less excuse at the present time for the conduct of the Government than might have been made before. It was not so long since they endeavoured to secure the consent of the Government to the appointment of a Grand Committee of Scotch Members to consider Scotch Bills. That was a very moderate demand, but it was rejected. Probably a demand would now be made of a much more extreme character, because the patience of the Scotch people was very nearly exhausted by what had been done in the past. The question of Home Rule in Scotland had begun to take a prominent place, and was rapidly becoming a question of a very practical kind. The indignation which the neglect of Scotch Business had produced would provoke a demand for a very radical change in the conduct of Scotch affairs. There was no question in Scotland of ceasing to recognize their responsibility as citizens of the British Empire; but, side by side with the performance of their duty as Imperial Representatives, the Scottish Members intended to see that the interests of their country should not be further neglected, and, whatever proposal was made, they should support it rather than see the Business neglected as in the past.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) said, he desired to say a few words upon the conduct of Scotch Business in reference to the present Vote. He had given notice of his intention to call attention to the subject, and he had a Motion on the paper in reference to the Vote for the Lord Advocate, but he thought it would be more convenient, as the matter had already been raised on the present Vote, that he should say a few words now. He promised the Committee that they should be but few, and that they would be temperate and moderate in their tone. He wished, if possible, to convince Her Majesty's Government on the testimony of hon. Members on that side of the House, who had no desire to obstruct the Business of the House or to make any charge against the Government which was founded on any Party consideration, that the neglect of Scottish Business had indeed become a very grave question indeed. His chief reason in referring to the matter was one which had already been referred to in the course of the debate—namely, that if the Government thought that they were saving a little time just now by refusing to enter upon Scottish Business, he could assure them that they were laying up for themselves a very disagreeable question in the future, which would make demands on the time of the House far in excess of the moderate demands now being made. He noticed that the advancing claims of Home Rule for Scotland had been mentioned, and the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell) smiled, as if they were visionary and unreal. If it was imagined that this

was not a serious and growing question a great mistake would be made. It might well be that for that reason Members sitting on that side of the House might look for some Party advantage, owing to the neglect of Scotch Business, and as far as that went, they might derive a certain amount of Party advantage. But he believed that the systematic neglect of Scottish Business would be visited on the Government by the constituencies of Scotland, and probably, if the matter were put before them, by the people of this part of the Island too. Unfortunately the Scotch Members could derive but small consolation from that circumstance, because the consequences of this neglect of Scotch Business were so grave that they would do harm to more than the Party now sitting on the Government Benches—they were sowing the wind and they would reap the whirlwind. Unfortunately, the whirlwind would develop; for the Government were not solely to blame for the present state of matters. Could the Government give a satisfactory explanation of the reason why the House was sitting in the middle of December, and that scarcely an hour had been given to the consideration of Scottish affairs? It might be urged that Liberal Governments were equally to blame in this matter. He had acknowledged that this was so, but their record compared favourably with that of the present Government. During the period from 1880 to 1885 there were passed the Entail Bill, the Educational Endowments Bill, a Bill for the establishment of the Fishery Board, and a Bill for the creation of the Secretary for Scotland, which, although passed by the present Government, was introduced by their Predecessors. What, on the other hand, was the record of the present Government? He blamed the Government on this account—that the Bills they had brought forward were not pushed to a conclusion. He did not blame them for bringing in old Bills drafted by their Predecessors, because it might be fairly assumed that they dealt with subjects on which legislation was most required, and, therefore, they were right in taking them up and improving them as much as they could in the hope of bringing them to a final conclusion. But what was the history of Scotch legislation year after year? Some of the measures to which reference had been made had been actually mentioned in the Queen's Speech, as was the case with the Universities Bill. But, as they all knew, when the end of the Session approached, Scotch Business was dropped, and the Scotch Members naturally ceased to have any faith in the promises of the Government on the subject. They knew what the real reason of the impossibility to deal with Scotch Business was. In the present congested state of Business it ought to be recognized as an axiom that a certain small amount of time for Scotch Business ought to be the first charge on the time of Parliament. Instead of that the Scottish Representatives were treated as mortgagees, whose claims had to rank after all other claims had been satisfied. They knew what a creditor placed in such a position had to expect. There was another creditor, whose claims were always recognized to the full—Ireland. If the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was himself a Scotchman, and might occasionally say a good word on behalf of Scotland, if the present Minister for Ireland asked for the time of the House it was given to him in unstinted measure. Even if he wished to pass a Parliamentary Under Secretary Bill eight days were allowed for the consideration of the measure.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Only five days, or rather portions of five days.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD said, it was stated in the newspapers that it occupied eight days.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the statement was entirely inaccurate. Only on five occasions was it before the House regularly, and only on one occasion did it occupy an uninterrupted Sitting.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD said, that he, of course, accepted the correction of the right hon. Gentleman, who was much better informed than he was. Five days, then, were spent in discussing the Parliamentary Under Secretary Bill, and then it was dropped. He protested against five days of precious time being wasted for the gratification of temper, for it was nothing else, and for no public object whatever, while the wants of 4,000,000 of loyal people were being neglected in order to please the caprice of an individual Minister. He might say the same with respect to

the Ashbourne Act. The House was asked to undertake the Sitting, in which they were now engaged, at great inconvenience and trouble, and at an unusual period, for the purpose of passing the Estimates and not for the purpose of legislation. It was constantly stated in the House, and the Government had full warning that if they attempted to deal with such an obnoxious measure as Lord Ashbourne's Act they would be resisted, and it was well understood that a compromise might easily be arrived at which would tide the matter over until next Session.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he regretted to interrupt the hon. and learned Member again, but he had distinctly stated in the House that he was informed, on the highest authority, that no compromise would be entertained by the Opposition. He had stated that to the House on his own personal authority, and he was astonished that the hon. and learned Member should have been ignorant of the fact.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD said he must again accept the correction of the right hon. Gentleman, but he would take leave to point out that a letter had appeared in the public prints from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) which put a different complexion upon the matter from that which had just been given by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Nor must it be forgotten that while that while the Land Purchase Bill was under discussion there was an Amendment on the Paper to limit the sum of money to be advanced to £1,500,000. If that Amendment had been accepted the discussion which lasted so long would have been avoided. But when a Bill of that kind was brought in, the House was compelled to discuss it *de die in diem*, the 12 o'clock rule was suspended, the whole power of the Government was brought into play in order to force down the throats of a panting, struggling Nation legislation which they abhorred, while all the time a loyal people like the Scotch, who simply wished a moderate amount of time for the transaction of their business, were either neglected altogether or attended to last. He appealed to the fairness of the Government and to hon. Members who were sitting on the other side of the House, whether there was any justification for this course of procedure, or whether such a cynical refusal to pay attention to Scotch Business was likely to continue without serious consequences. In the event of the establishment of Home Rule for Scotland the loss to Scotland would be irreparable; but he must admit to himself that the conduct of the Government was making that a possibility and almost a probability. They knew what the promises of the Government in reference to Scotch legislation were worth. He did not suppose they were made in bad faith, or that Scotch Business was neglected out of *malice prepense*. Unfortunately it was too much the custom for the Government to make any promise when they wanted the time of the House for their own purposes, but when the time for redeeming the promise came they were careless whether they fulfilled it or not. A Local Government Bill had been passed for England, and no doubt they would have one for Scotland. If the Scotch legislation on the subject were a mere sequence or tail of the English legislation, they would get it. But as regarded other matters vital to Scotland, for the settlement of which they had long been waiting, such as legislation relating to the Universities, the Burgh police, and the fisheries, he had no confidence or belief that they would hear any more of those measures at all. It was a subject upon which every Scotch Member felt deeply, and one upon which they were entitled to enlarge without being accused of diffuseness or of wasting the time of the House. But he was anxious that the Scotch Members should set a good example and make the best use of the very short time allotted to them for Scotch business. He thought the Government would admit the truth of his remarks, and he hoped they would take them to heart and give them their serious attention. While he was not prepared to support the reduction of this Vote, he thought the Scotch Members had a great injustice to complain of, and that the Government had been guilty of a gross dereliction of their first duties.

SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL (Renfrew, W.) said, he could not allow the debate to close without saying a few words to point out the position occupied by those who represented Scotch Constituencies in that House. He believed

there could be no doubt that their Business was neglected very much indeed. There was a growing feeling among the people of Scotland that they had a right to see their business conducted in a better manner than it was at present. He must say, however, that the Government during the last two years had been placed in a most difficult position. The first year was devoted almost entirely to Ireland, and yet they passed three measures connected with Scotland—the Technical Education Act, the Secretary for Scotland Act, the Criminal Procedure Act, and another, whereas the Liberal Government which preceded them only passed four measures in four years. As long as the Scotch Members were in that House, and he trusted they would be there as long as the British Empire existed, they ought to have more time for the consideration of Scotch Business. He felt very deeply the position in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) was placed. The right hon. and learned Gentleman's hands were very much tied, and he was satisfied that it was not the fault of the right hon. Gentleman that Scotch Business had not been brought forward. They all knew the great interest he had taken in the Universities Bill, and the two sections in Scotland were now united in regard to it. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] He believed there had been a deputation recently where the lion lay down with the lamb, and it was said that all parties were agreed now about the Universities Bill. So also with regard to the Burgh Police Bill. The details were now thoroughly understood, and he thought the Government should afford the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate an opportunity of passing the measure into law. He was further of opinion that it was absolutely necessary that the Secretary for Scotland should be a Member of the Cabinet. A great deal had been said as to the neglect of Scotch Business by the Government bringing about in Scotland a feeling in favour of Home Rule, and he admitted that if their affairs were not more considered there would be much difficulty in making the Scotch people believe that their interests had been properly looked after. He believed there was no desire on the part of the Government to snub Scotland. It was owing to the obstruction with which they had been met, and the waste of time of the House that they had been prevented from pushing Scotch Business forward. He trusted that they would be more fortunate next Session, and that in future they would not be open to the charge of neglecting Scotch Business.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, that hon. Members had lamented the absence of the Secretary for Scotland from the Cabinet; but he thought there were grounds for hope that he would soon be there. In last year's Appropriation Accounts attention was called to an item of £150 for the salary of the private secretary to the Secretary of State, and it was then explained that the salary of the private secretary of a Cabinet Minister was £300, but in the case of a Minister not in the Cabinet it was only £150, and, therefore, there was a saving of one-half. Looking at the Estimates this year, he saw that the private secretary's salary was put down at £300, and he looked upon it as a clear indication that it was intended to give Lord Lothian Cabinet rank. The hon. Member for South Lanarkshire (Mr. Hozier), who had been private secretary to a Foreign Secretary and a Prime Minister, had made a statement which he had hardly expected from him. The hon. Member said that, in his opinion, it was of infinitely more importance that the Secretary for Scotland should have a seat in the House of Commons than that he should be in the Cabinet. To his (Dr. Cameron's) mind it was absolutely immaterial whether he had a seat in the Cabinet or not, so long as he had not a seat in that House, and the Scotch Members were unable to bring to bear upon him an expression of public opinion. No doubt there were certain nominal Representatives of Scotland in the House of Lords, but their views and advice, as a rule, on almost every subject, were diametrically opposed to those of the people of Scotland generally. The Scotch Peers, however, were so unconcerned about our affairs that he believed a vacancy which had existed in the Scottish Peerage for many months had not yet been filled up—so little did the House of Lords care for Scotch representation. For his own part, he thought that they might have too much Scotch legislation, especially if it were bad

legislation; and, for his own part, he would rather have King Log than King Stork. When he saw a Bill of 300 clauses dealing with a large number of crimes and enacting penalties, and heard complaints that it was not being pressed forward rapidly, he confessed that he had not much sympathy with those who complained. He was afraid that if they legislated too hurriedly they might find themselves in the position of his hon. Friend the Member for East Aberdeen, who said he had been most eager to get a Secretary for Scotland, but did not seem to appreciate the Office now that he had got it. His hon. Friend, or the hon. and learned Member for Elgin and Nairn, told them that if Lord Lothian had a proper appreciation of the dignity of the Office he would resign. According to *The Scotsman* newspaper, which was said to be in the confidence of the noble Lord, the little concession he had got from the Government had been obtained by a threat of resigning. They were told that in reference to the crofter emigration the noble Lord had said that if he did not get a grant from the Government he would place his resignation in their hands, and that it was that threat which induced them to put their hands into their pockets. The real neglect of Scotch Business arose in consequence of the period of the Session at which they were asked to discuss the Estimates. They were told that the Government were anxious to make progress with Scotch Business, and that no snub was intended to the Secretary for Scotland. What was the history of the Estimates now under discussion? At the beginning of the Session the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) announced that the Scotch Estimates would be proceeded with next after the English Estimates. That arrangement held good for weeks, and the Scotch Members made their arrangements accordingly; but, subsequently, on the suggestion of an Irish Member, the right hon. Gentleman threw that arrangement overboard. So little did the Government consult the convenience of the Scotch Members that when they were asked if, under the circumstances, they would not say in what order they would take the Scotch Estimates, the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury would not condescend to give an answer to the question. If that were not a snub to the Scotch Representatives it certainly appeared to be very like one. He believed that the Secretary for Scotland, if he was to be of any use, must be in the House of Commons, and accessible to the questions of Scotch Members. For the present state of things there was a divided responsibility, and it was not possible to get satisfaction for reasonable demands. The Office was a costly one. The cost of it was something like £16,000 a-year. He did not grudge the amount, but to make the Department a reality they must annex to it a number of those Edinburgh Boards, the business of which might be much better administered from the Scotch Office. In that way a saving would be effected which would go far to make up for the cost of the Office. The Board of Supervision cost something like £10,000 a-year, and there were in addition the Prisons Board, for which a good deal might be said, the Fishery Board, which had already been alluded to, and the Lunacy Board. The whole of these might be affiliated to the Scotch Office. If they wished to make the Scotch Office valuable they should concentrate in the hands of the Secretary for Scotland, who should be a Member of the House of Commons, the whole of the Scotch Business. It had been done already to a certain extent, but he desired to see the concentration carried further. What he complained of was that if they wanted to ask a question in regard to the salmon fisheries or the foreshores they had to apply to the Commissioner of Woods and Forests or to the Secretary to the Treasury, who had recently shown himself not aware of the commonest facts concerning the publication and registration of titles in Scotland. If they desired to bring the opinion of the Scotch Representatives to bear on a case of shebeening carried on by licences from the Inland Revenue, against the law of Scotland, and against the decision of the Scotch magistrates, they had to appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, with, he was bound to admit, very little effect. All they were told was that by giving information they might obtain the reward given to the informer. In the case of some repairs being required at a cathedral, they had to apply to the

First Commissioner of Works, while in order to get a child out of an industrial school it was necessary to go to the Home Secretary; and if they desired to put a question concerning the vaccination grant it must be addressed to the President of the Local Government Board. If it was a question of drawing grants, the Minister to whom they were obliged to appeal for redress was the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. He did not think there was so much reason to complain of the neglect of Scotch legislation this Session as others supposed. He had great suspicion of Bills which were weighed by the stone. If the Government brought in Bills of that kind and expected them to pass without discussion they would find themselves mistaken. It would be a scandal if the Burgh Police Bill were passed in that way in a couple of Sittings. The little legislation they had was got through in a most unsatisfactory way. To attempt to dispose of the Universities Bill in the last days of the Session would have been a positive insult to Scotland and to the Scotch Representatives. There was a Bail Bill which swept away the *habeas corpus* of Scotland, and it had never been discussed in that House for five minutes. It was sent to a Grand Committee, consisting, to a large extent, of Representatives from other parts of the Kingdom. The whole thing was got through in a couple of hours; it came down to that House and became law; and thus, as he had said, Scotland lost her *habeas corpus*. He thought there were grounds of complaint against the attitude assumed by the Government towards legislation attempted by private Members, notwithstanding the fact that such legislation might be endorsed by the overwhelming opinion of the Scotch Representatives. Not only in this but in other Sessions the Government stifled and put an end to all attempts at legislation of that kind. They would neither legislate themselves nor allow others to do it for them. They had more right to complain of the little opportunity afforded to them this Session for the discussion of Scotch matters, and especially Scotch grievances, than they had to complain of the absence of Scotch legislation. He believed things would never go on smoothly until the Secretary for Scotland had a seat in that House. Then, and then only, would he be able to see what the Scotch Representatives desired. If they went to a Division he should support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

MR. W. P. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.) said, that there was one remark of the hon. Member for North-East Lanark which was well worthy of attention—that there should be a first charge to a small amount of the time of the House for Scotch Business. He hoped the Government would in future, instead of taking English, Irish, and Scotch Estimates separately, when they began with a class, go through with it, so that English, Scotch, and Irish Estimates in that class would be disposed of in regular succession. In that case these complaints of one nationality suffering at the expense of another would not occur again. A great deal had been said as to the Secretary for Scotland being in the Cabinet, and being a Member of that House. It should be remembered, however, that the position of Member of the Cabinet was utterly unknown to legislation. It was a matter for the consideration of the Prime Minister whether his Cabinet was to be large or small, and there were certain Offices which were not always represented in it. Take, for example, the Office of President of the Local Government Board. He thought the present holder of the Office was, with one exception, the first who had been a Member of the Cabinet, and sometimes the Chief Secretary for Ireland was a Member of the Cabinet and sometimes he was not. It would be most useful that the Secretary for Scotland should be in the Cabinet, but he did not think they could look forward to a holder of the Office being invariably one of Cabinet rank. It was also said, and therein he quite concurred, that it was desirable the Secretary for Scotland should be a Member of the House of Commons. But when the Bill creating this Office was introduced, not by a Conservative, but by a Liberal Government, it was an open secret that it was not intended that the first holder of the Office should be a Member of the House of Commons. He hoped, when the present holder of the Office was promoted to another, that the Secretary for Scotland would be a Member of the House of Commons. He did not think the Government were to be blamed for what

had happened with regard to Scotch Business this Session; many circumstances had combined to produce the stagnation; but he trusted that the Session which would commence early next year would be distinctly a Scotch Session.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) said, the matter was a very important one, and he was afraid that the only way in which they could secure a discussion of Scoth Business was to move the reduction of the Vote. He thought a great object would have been effected if they had succeeded that night in impressing the Government with the seriousness of the situation. The most remarkable feature of the debate was the unanimity with which hon. Members on the Government side of the House had joined their testimony to that of Members on the Opposition side. The hon. Baronet the Member for West Renfrew (Sir Archibald Campbell) had remarked that if Scotch Business was allowed to drift in the direction in which they were drifting now, the question of Home Rule might become a serious one. Like his hon. Friend the Member for East Aberdeen (Mr. Esslemont) he (Mr. Haldane) had been reluctant, when the question of Scotch Home Rule was first started, to give it any countenance; but now the question was not whether that was to be an accepted policy with the great bulk of the people, but what form it was to take. Some talked of local Government and others of a local Parliament, but all were agreed that there must be a very large transfer of Scotch Business to Scotland. He hoped the time would come when the Government would no longer take up Session after Session with Irish Business, but when they would be able to secure the discussion of Scottish affairs. He was afraid that the promise of legislation next year would remain as unfulfilled as the promise of last Session, and that next Session would again be occupied with Irish questions. In moving reductions of the Vote they did not make any strictures upon those who were responsible for the Scotch Administration. He believed that no individuals were more desirous than the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate and Lord Lothian to pay proper attention to Scotch Business. Certain Bills had been brought forward which, on the whole, were useful. There were some features in the Scotch Universities Bill which made it by far the best measure on the subject ever introduced. But on the question of land in Scotland, although a radical measure was brought forward with regard to England, no such measure was even proposed for Scotland. He believed the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate was a friend to land reform, but he had no opportunity and no support from his Colleagues. The Agricultural Holdings Bill, which passed five years ago, required amendment in several particulars, and there was a further question in relation to the extension of powers for the acquisition of land by Public Bodies. Some of these subjects might form part of the Local Government Bill of next year, but there was a question in regard to land which seemed to him to be of urgent importance—namely, the question of customary rights. Rights which had existed for centuries in Scotland were being disregarded day after day, and the value of land was becoming depreciated in consequence. It ought to have been legislated upon long ago and safeguarded. Another matter which had sprung up more recently was the mistaken policy which underlay the sale of the salmon rights to private individuals. The Government seemed to him to be not alive to the extent of the agitation which had arisen in Scotland against the disregard of the customary rights. The State was wrong in the matter, and, having made a mistake, should rectify it without throwing the burden upon private individuals. If the Government gave a larger title to land to private individuals than custom gave them, they would find themselves face to face with a serious difficulty, and would have imposed upon them the burden of getting rid of claims which they ought never to have sanctioned. Unless there was legislation on the subject in a large and comprehensive spirit, before very long there would be a feeling in Scotland which would make it very difficult to give fair play to the landlord class. He had observed indications of this feeling and the growth of this sentiment in a great many directions. He had risen principally for the purpose of calling attention to this matter. He believed the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate was

willing to do something in regard to it, and he regretted that the Government had hitherto neglected the great opportunities they might have had of bringing forward sound measures of legislation for Scotland.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) said, he desired briefly to impress upon Her Majesty's Government how extremely desirable it was that the Secretary for Scotland should have a seat in that House. In saying this he had no desire to make any reflection on the Secretary for Scotland. So far as he could judge and any experience he had had went, Lord Lothian was extremely anxious to do what was right and fair in any matter brought before him, but he supposed that the noble Lord was too much under the influence of the Parliament House in Edinburgh. What was wanted was that the Secretary for Scotland should act a good deal more on his own responsibility than he did at present, and attend less to the counsel he received from the Parliament House in Edinburgh. The right hon. and learned Lord Advocates who had had seats in that House seemed to him to consider it more their duty to defend the officials in Scotland, and the Legal Profession generally, than to redress the grievous complaints addressed to them by the Scotch Members. He did not think that while the Secretary for Scotland had a seat in the other House he was in a position to do justice to Scotland. He had not the same opportunity of coming into contact with the Representatives of the people as if he had a seat in the House of Commons, and could be made to understand the feelings of the Scotch people on various questions. He desired to see the position of the Secretary for Scotland very largely strengthened, and the Edinburgh Boards abolished, and created into Departments under the Secretary for Scotland in Edinburgh. At present he, as a Scotch Member, did not know how far the Secretary for Scotland was responsible for these Boards and to what extent they were independent. It was, therefore, most desirable that they should be converted into Departments for which the Secretary for Scotland would be responsible. He trusted the Government would be able next Session to fulfil the pledges they were disposed to give now; and he hoped that a considerable portion of next Session would be devoted to the consideration of Scotch Business. So far as the Scotch Universities Bill was concerned, it was quite true that it had received very little attention in the House, but much discussion had been going on, both inside and out of the House, among Members and the people generally, that very great progress had been made towards settling the Bill and improving the form in which it was originally introduced. He trusted that next Session further progress would be made, and that the Bill would be passed. The right hon. and learned Lord Advocate was now acquainted with the objections hon. Members from Scotland had to the Bill, and he hoped would be prepared to meet them.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute) said, it was satisfactory to gather from the speeches of hon. Members from Scotland, in the course of the discussion, that there was but little complaint as to the discharge of the administrative duties falling to the Secretary for Scotland. Certain specific points were to be raised; but the general administration of his noble Friend had, he thought, escaped censure to a remarkable and satisfactory extent. Turning to the Parliamentary situation in relation to Scotch Business, he was not aware that there was any Party in the House which pronounced that situation at this moment to be satisfactory. Certainly it was not the view of the Government, and the Government had been most anxious during the part of the Session which was passed, and they had not even yet resigned all hope of doing something to make a practical use of such time as was available to improve Scotch legislation. He was not disposed, especially in Committee of Supply, to raise any question as to the proper proportion in which blame ought to be distributed for the present situation; but, at the same time, it was only fair to say that, to a large extent, the efforts which the Government had made had necessarily depended on a general co-operation from all sections of the House; and if any hon. Gentleman would look back on some parts of the Session, he would observe that there had been golden opportunities, not of long duration of time, to make some progress, and they had been allowed to pass, not through the fault of the Government. He desired now to

say one or two words in regard to the comments which had been made upon the absence of legislation. With regard to the two measures mainly commented upon, it was true that the Burgh Police Bill and the Universities Bill were not yet passed into law; but he had not observed that there was unanimity in the speeches delivered on the other side of the House as to the merits of those Bills. The hon. Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) said that as far as the present Session was concerned there was nothing to regret in the failure of the Government to pass those Bills.

DR. CAMERON said, he did not make that remark in reference to the Universities Bill, but only as to the Burgh Police Bill. He had expressed no opinion about the University Bill.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, he thought the hon. Member would recollect saying that he abstained from commenting on the Universities Bill, but there was no occasion for regret that the measure had not been passed this Session. In regard to that Bill, the views of the Government had always been that as a general concurrence of academical parties had been obtained there ought not to be much difficulty in carrying that measure through. When the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury consented to devote some of the time of the House to the consideration of the measure, in deference to a suggestion which came from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), the proposal of the Government was not accepted by hon. Members opposite. Therefore, the Government could not take upon themselves the blame in regard to that measure. As regarded the Burgh Police Bill, if hon. Members considered the nature of the legislation into which they were required to embark, and the minute details and particulars which it necessarily involved, it was impossible to suppose that the time of the House could have been occupied with it in the Autumn Session, especially when they bore in mind the rate of progress which had been made with legislation in the summer months. When they came to specific complaints as to the mismanagement of Scotch Business, he could not see that there was anything to complain of, and he did not consider that there was any general agreement on the part of the hon. Gentleman who spoke. At the same time, the Government completely sympathized with the natural feeling of disappointment which existed in all parts of the House, and he was authorized to say that the proposals of legislation affecting Scotland, which would be presented to Parliament next Session, would have a high and an early place in the programme of the Government. He hoped the House would realize that the present Parliamentary situation had arisen from emergencies produced by causes entirely extraneous to the policy of the Government in regard to these measures of legislation for Scotland. Two hon. Gentlemen opposite, representing North-Eastern Counties, had directed attention to the fisheries question. He would not infringe the ruling of the Chair by referring to any question involved in the Fishery Vote that would come on shortly. He had no doubt legislation might be devised for improving the condition of the harbours of Scotland; but at the same time hon. Members would observe, in the first place, that there was an existing machinery to, and that was the funds at the disposal of the Fishery Board; but, in the second place, such measures, if they were to be extensive, would involve a large expenditure of money. Therefore, before the Government were censured in that connection, he thought it was rather necessary for hon. Gentlemen to give an assurance that there was general agreement, not only among the classes specially interested, but among the community generally, that legislation of this kind, involving large expenditure, would be generally acceptable to, and approved by, the people of the country. With regard to the question of bait, he thought that the suggestion that the Secretary for Scotland had been remiss in not proposing legislation in the matter had hardly a place, when it was remembered that that question was now being matured by a Committee of Inquiry, presided over by a Gentleman whose knowledge of the matter was as conspicuous as the right hon. Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks). He thought it was most desirable that the full resources and strength of Scotch Members should be put forward to promote Scotch legislation, and not merely by controversial methods. He did not

regret the discussion which had taken place. It had cleared the air, and had shown that there were various points on which hon. Members generally felt that legislation would be beneficial; but he was afraid that they had not yet reached a stage when it would be wise and prudent for the Government to take them up and submit measures to Parliament for carrying them out. He hoped that when there were measures of a social kind to be passed, Members of Parliament would feel that it was possible, avoiding controversy, to co-operate to secure those objects. He trusted that the Committee, having heard the expressions of opinion, which were not confined to one part of the House, as to the need for Scotland receiving full legislative attention, would now proceed to grant the salary of the Secretary for Scotland,

DR. CAMERON said, he wished to hear something about the increase of the salary of the Private Secretary to Lord Lothian. Was it an indication that the noble Lord was going into the Cabinet?

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, £300 was put on the Estimates in accordance with the usual practice in cases in which the salary actually required might either be that or a lesser sum. In conclusion, he hoped that no emergency would tempt any section of Scotch Members into encouraging what would be a scheme so detrimental to the greatness of their common country as that which had been darkly hinted at during the discussion.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton) said, he thought English Members who were not conversant with Scotch proceedings must recognize that there was behind the speech of Scotch Members a very unanimous and strong feeling of the Scotch people, and only Scotch Members could know how strong that feeling was. The right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had, in a certain number of sentences, spoken about the state of Scotch Business. He hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would think he was only speaking in a complimentary way when he said that a speech coming from so able, industrious, and so practical a speaker as himself showed how very deep was this feeling to which he had referred. He thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman dropped an expression about there having been certain periods of time adequate for carrying on the Scotch Business during the Session, if only the Scotch Members had been willing to use them. He was not aware to what time the right hon. and learned Gentleman referred, unless it was to the stages of the Appropriation Bill, an offer which, he must know, did not mend the Government case. It was quite true that among the Representatives of a country like Scotland there must be some divergence of opinion about particular Bills, but surely that was no reason for the Government meeting that difficulty by giving them no Bills at all. It was of great importance that the House should follow up this subject with the protest of a Division, because, amongst other reasons, the Government had brought in a Bill extending the powers of the Secretary for Scotland, but to that Bill an Amendment was moved, and, in the course of a long discussion, very great discontent was expressed by Scotch Members both in regard to the position of the Secretary for Scotland and with regard to the consequent effect on Scotch Business; and on the assurance of the Government that the matter would be amended, Scotch Members had withdrawn their opposition and allowed the Bill to pass. But here at the end, not only of the Session, but after 12 months, they found themselves in just as bad a position as before, and he said that if they allowed the present occasion to pass without taking a Division which would really express the opinion of what he believed to be the majority of Scotch Members, they would be at the end of 1889 as badly off as they were at present. That was the proper method of expressing their disapprobation of the present state of things and their desire to amend them. This was the only opportunity they would have of going into the question, and he said that the Constitutional method of expressing discontent with the Scotch Administration in the House was by moving a reduction of salary. That was the course taken with regard to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and in that case he thought it was quite understood, on both sides of the House, that it would give expression to the opinion of those who voted for it, that they did not approve the action of the Government. But if there was one subject on which

there was unanimity in the debate, it was the personal feeling of hon. Members of that House, and he could find no stronger words than those used by his brother Members to express this sense of the courtesy of Lord Lothian, who had always been most attentive to the representations made to him. He (Sir George Trevelyan) did not think that they should move the reduction of the Vote by a very large sum, which would really mark almost personal disapprobation on the part of the House. He saw that the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) had a Notice on the Paper to reduce the Vote by the sum of £100, and he thought there were many hon. Members who would vote for that sum as a means of expressing their opinion on public matters who would not be inclined to vote for a larger sum, which would express almost a personal objection. In the first place, Scotch Members thought that the Scotch Secretary should be a Member of the House of Commons. It was quite impossible that any Minister could keep himself *au courant* with the feeling of the country which he was supposed to govern unless he was in constant daily and friendly intercourse with the Representatives of that country in the House of Commons. Much as he had learned in reading, and much as he had learned in that House, he had learned twice as much by daily colloquy with Members of the House of Commons. He invited the Committee to imagine the effect of having the Irish Secretary in the House of Lords. Next year he supposed the social matters to which the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had referred might embody themselves in a Local Government Bill for Scotland, and, if so, let the Committee imagine a Local Government Bill being introduced, not by an administrator, but by a gentleman of the Long Robe, who, after all, occupied the same position towards the Scotch Government as the Attorney General occupied towards the English Government. What would have been the effect had the Local Government Bill for England been brought in and supported in debate by the Solicitor General and the Attorney General for England? In the second place, by voting for this Motion they would express their opinion that the Scotch Secretary ought to be in the Cabinet. His hon. Friend the Member for the Leith Burghs (Mr. Munro Ferguson) had made a somewhat sweeping charge in saying that during the four years he had been in Parliament Scotch Business had been entirely neglected. He thought his hon. Friend must remember that in the Session of 1886, when every minute that could be spared from legislation—from that great Bill which was a political catastrophe—was given to Scotland. During that Session there was a Scotch Secretary in the Cabinet, and he ventured to say that this fact had a great deal to do with the time given to Scotch Business. The hon. Member said that a Cabinet Minister was unknown to Scotch legislation, and that was one reason why they could not get their wishes embodied in the Bill of last year. The third and strongest reason for supporting the Amendment was the neglect of Scotch Business. The right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had said that he hoped that when social measures relating to Scotland were brought forward Scotch Members would lay aside all Party feeling and do their best to forward the measure. He (Sir George Trevelyan) was sure they would do so if they had an opportunity; but what opportunity had they got? It was not a question of Scotch measures being brought forward, but what had spread the desire in Scotland for a great Constitutional change was the neglect of the wishes of the Scotch people. On the 24th of April this year, when the question of extending the Crofters' Act was brought forward, 30 Scotch Members voted for initiating such legislation, and 10 voted against it. Yet on that occasion an enormous number of English Members came into the House and voted down the Scotch majority on what was no new principle of legislation, but on a principle which Parliament had already approved—they voted that the Scotch Members who were in favour of the legislation should not have their own way in the matter. Then there were two other Bills, one for extending to other counties of Scotland the advantages of the Crofters' Act, the other a Bill of his hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), an excellent Bill, to alter the anomalies which stood in the way of giving the people direct representation on parochial boards. There was no Scotch Minister who understood or was supposed to represent the real feelings

of the Scotch people on this matter. The burden of the debate fell on an hon. Gentleman who was not a Scotch Member at all, but then Secretary for Ireland, and whatever any hon. Members on that side might say against that Gentleman, none of them would say that he had not enough business of his own to attend to. He believed that if they had had the Scotch Secretary in the House, and could have conversed with him in the lobbies, one, if not both, of those moderate Bills would have become law. On the ground, therefore, that the Scotch Secretary was not a Member of the Cabinet, that he was not a Member of the House of Commons, and that Scotch Business had been neglected, he trusted that the majority of the Scotch Members would vote for the smaller reduction, and that his hon. and learned Friend would consent to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. ANDERSON said, he hoped that nothing could be gathered from his observations which would imply that he did not desire to speak of the Secretary for Scotland in the highest possible terms. His objection was to the way in which Scotch Business was carried on, and he would gladly accede to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw his Motion, and substitute for it a Motion to reduce the Vote by the sum of £100.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £100, part of the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOT (Roxburgh) said, he did not dispute that any hon. Gentleman or right hon. Gentleman had a right to put forward for himself the views which actuated him in moving the reduction of the Vote, but he altogether disputed that the right hon. Gentleman below him had the right to decide for others than himself exactly what the Vote should be. In his opinion, to reduce the Vote even by a small sum would mean a great deal more than the right hon. Gentleman said, because the effect of the Vote would be to declare that the position of Scotch Business was due to the bad administration of the Government in that House. He asked whether the present state of Business applied to Scotch Business only. [An hon. MEMBER: Yes.] The hon. Member had very little regard probably for the improvement legislation promised for England, but he (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) maintained that the loss of Bills was not due to the way in which the Government had arranged their affairs; it was absolutely notorious that Scotch Members had not had time to manage Scotch Business, and that English Members had not had time to get through English Business because of the outrageous and preposterous waste of time which had occurred in the discussion of other matters. When hon. Members came down to Committee of Supply, and pointed out that Scotland was grumbling because the Scotch Secretary was not in that House or in the Cabinet, they were simply prolonging the great difficulty with which the House had to deal. The right hon. Gentleman below him had pointed out some particulars in which he thought the Scotch Office might be improved, and he had said that, judging from his own experience, he had learned twice as much of the wishes of the people of Scotland by friendly intercourse in the Lobby than from any other source. The right hon. Gentleman had been Secretary for Ireland as well as Secretary for Scotland, and he was not aware, although he enjoyed those colloquies in the Lobby, that he got on very well with hon. Members from Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said his fellow Members were outvoted by a crowd of English Members, but the Union involved this, that occasionally the Members of one country would be outvoted by the Members for the other country. His right hon. Friend was acquainted with history, and he would be aware that there was nothing exceptional with regard to Scotland in this respect; he must be aware that Scotch Members had been constantly outvoted on the subject of Scotch Business in that House with reference to police and other matters, and that the very Government of the day had sometimes been in power against the will of the majority of Scotch Members. On the other hand, he maintained that constantly on great Party Bills, the Liberal majority which carried those Bills had been made up by English Members. That was a very important matter, and it was one which he thought they were bound to remember—namely,

that this grievance applied to every locality in the community; it was a necessity which came from the Union. [*Cheers;* and an hon. MEMBER: Quite so.] He thought that truism hardly merited the cheers which greeted it. How otherwise were they to compose their Representative Body? However they arranged it, one locality was sure to be outvoted. Of course, if they could not combine together, and if Scotland and England could not act together as one Nation, then, no doubt, the case for the Union fell to the ground; but that had not been the case for two centuries, and it was not the belief of the people of Scotland that it would happen. He would not refer further to this matter, nor did he wish to wander from the point in hand, but he desired to recall the attention of the Committee to the exact point upon which they were asked to vote. They were asked to say that it was especially unsatisfactory, and that he maintained was contrary to fact, that this delay and neglect of Scotch Business was the fault of the Government, and not the fault of those who intentionally or unintentionally consumed or wasted the time of the House.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he did not wish to take part in this debate, because he wished to raise a special question upon it himself; but the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had rather thrown a little dust in the eyes of the Committee which he wished to clear away. His (Dr. Clark's) complaint, and that of his hon. Friends, was that no Scotch measures had been brought in on the principle of measures brought in for England, and which the Government had promised this Session should be brought in for England. The Government had taken up nearly all the time of the Session in such a way that private Members had no opportunity of amending the law. If the Government had brought in Bills, even if they had not passed, he could understand the argument of the hon. and learned Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot), but their complaint was that the Government did not bring in the Bills. An Allotment Bill was brought in for England, and Scotch Members attempted to get the same rights for the Scotch ploughmen as were given to the English agricultural labourers. A pledge was given by the Government that a Bill should be brought in, but nothing of the kind was done, and England, therefore, was far in advance of Scotland in this matter. Then, with regard to the Fishery Board, they had an absolute pledge from the Government that a Bill would be brought in to restrict this Board, but there again the pledge had been broken. Then there was another fact to which he wished to call attention. A Returning Officers' Bill for Scotland was brought forward, on which nearly all Scotch Members were agreed, whereupon the Government blocked every effort of private Members to bring that Bill in, although they themselves had promised to introduce a measure upon the subject. The consequence of this was that there was a law in England on this subject which could be appealed to, but no such law in Scotland. Then, on matters relating to public health Scotland was about 20 years behind England; Bills had been promised to amend the Scotch Public Health Act, none of which had been brought forward that Session. Further, Bills had been brought in on the important subject of trawling by the hon. and gallant Member for Argyllshire (Colonel Malcolm) and by the hon. Member for East Aberdeen (Mr. Esslemont); the Government had been informed of the necessity of legislation in this matter, but the Secretary for Scotland had got the Government blocker to block the Bill.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I did not block the Bill.

DR. CLARK said, upon all these questions the Scotch Members were generally agreed, but the Government would give them no opportunity of bringing them before the House. He himself would like to see a Scotch Police Bill passed, and he thought the Government might have given Scotch Members one day to consider a measure about which all the Burghs of Scotland had been anxious for over seven years. With regard to the Scotch Universities Bill he thought it would be an insult to hon. Members to bring that forward between the stages of the Appropriation Bill, and he knew that nine-tenths of the Scotch Members would not put forward that proposal as one which the House should consider for a moment. By that Bill they would change one of the articles of the Union, and the House were asked

to do that between the stages of the Appropriation Bill. They were going to put education in Scotland in the hands of an irresponsible Body and take away control from the House of Commons. He should oppose that Bill, and do everything he could to prevent it being brought forward at the time proposed, for he would be no party to rushing through that House important measures at the end of the Session, when Members would hardly know what they were doing. Scotch Members simply asked for a fair share of the time of the House, and that they could not get; they complained that English Members always came in and voted against them, who knew as much about what they voted for as they did of politics in the moon.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, the hon. and learned Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) had a happy way of consoling Scotch Members for the total neglect of Scotch Business of a legislative character, and for the mismanagement of matters relating to administration. The hon. and learned Member put forward the argument that the grievance of Scotland was not special or peculiar, but that it was shared by England also, and he attributed the grievance of both countries to the intrusion of Irish affairs; but there was this important difference, that if English legislation was neglected, the English people, at all events, got some value for their money. They had the consolation of carrying out their views in Ireland, while the Scotch Members saw carried out a policy which they abhorred, and which the people of Scotland also abhorred and condemned. Therefore, although the argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman might console himself, it was no consolation to the people of Scotland or to him. Let them not exaggerate the precise amount of blame due to Her Majesty's Government, and particularly to the responsible Head of Her Majesty's Government. He recognized that there were many subjects on which it was impossible that the Government could legislate for Scotland, and simply for the reason that the Government were supported by 10 Tory Members for Scotland, and were opposed by the rest of the Representatives of the people of that country. He could not admit that Members of the Scotch Universities were Representatives of the Scotch people. That was a fact that could not be got over, and they could not blame the Government for neglect of Business arising from that fact, but they must blame the Constitution under which Scotch Members conducted their business under the control of an Imperial Parliament. He thought the Government were to blame for this—that there were measures, not of a Party character, which they might have introduced, and which ought to have introduced, which they promised to introduce, and which they did not introduce. Several such measures had been mentioned in the course of the evening, and there were three promised in the Speech from the Throne. There was the question of Education in Scotland, which subject naturally excited considerable interest in that country, but no such Bill had been introduced. Then a Police Bill was brought forward at the latter part of the Session; it passed through Committee, and could have passed through the House had they had two or three days for its consideration. He protested against the idea that the Police Bill could not have been carried without consideration, but he believed that two days would have been ample for the consideration of the few points in dispute, and, therefore, that it would have been in the power of the Government to pass the Bill this year. Again, the Scotch University Bill had been relegated to short intervals between the different stages of the Appropriation Bill. The right. hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate said that the action of the Government in putting off that Bill to the last moment was due to the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Southern Division of Edinburgh (Mr. Childers). That right hon. Gentleman was not present to answer for himself, but he could not help observing, with reference to the remarks made about the valuable assistance which Scotch Members were likely to obtain from the presence of English Members, that even though Scotland had saved the poor Gentleman from shipwreck, by giving him a seat for Edinburgh, and, consequently, a seat in that House, the right hon. Gentleman was not a Scotch graduate; and he thought that the knowledge which he possessed was not of a character which would justify the Government in ignor-

ing the opinion of the rest of Scotch Members and relying entirely upon that of the right hon. Gentleman. Could anything be more monstrous than bringing in a Scotch University Bill during the stages of the Appropriation Bill? But the Committee must remember that the Government were not masters of the time of the House or of the stages of the Appropriation Bill; and, therefore, they were really offering Scotch Members the remnants, or portions of days, which they could not even guarantee for consideration of this important Bill. He would like to point out how reprehensible had been the action of the Government if they seriously meant to press forward this measure. The Government had been warned early in the Session that the Commission they proposed to intrust with the duty of forming new lines for Scotch Universities had been framed in a manner which did not possess the confidence of anyone interested in the measure in that House.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. Member that he could not discuss the details of a Bill.

MR. HUNTER said, he would not allude to the details of the Bill, but the questions relating to Theological Chairs, extra teaching, questions of finance, and other matters, were of the greatest importance to Scotch Universities, and required to be thoroughly discussed in that House; they were subjects on which probably Scotch Members might agree eventually, but they could not arrive at that agreement without considerable discussion, or without considerable modifications of the Bill. The enumeration of those subjects brought him to a point on which he did not intend to enlarge, further than to say that several hon. Members had expressed their opinion that it was undesirable that the Secretary for Scotland should be a Member of the House of Lords. It was utterly impossible that Scotch Members could discuss matters with any noble Lord in the other House, and he could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) that, if it had been Lord Rosebery or any other Peer who had been appointed on their side, he should have opposed the proposal. It was, however, not only highly inexpedient but even intolerable that the Secretary for Scotland should be a Member of the House of Lords, living in an atmosphere outside that of Members of Parliament, so that it was impossible for them to discuss Scotch measures with him. If the Marquess of Lothian had been in the House of Commons he might have introduced measures that would have had a chance of passing with short discussions. These remarks did not imply any personal censure; he would have made them if the Scotch Secretary had been the Earl of Rosebery, and the grievance was that the Scotch Secretary did not sit in that House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman complained that Scotch Members had not raised any objections to the administrative part of the Office of Lord Lothian, but there was one point to which he would refer—namely, that the Secretary for Scotland, without consultation with Members of that House, and without giving them any opportunity of expressing their opinion, on his own responsibility, had spent a large sum of money in the expatriation of Scotch crofters. He thought it was one of the striking proofs of the deplorable mismanagement of Scotch Business that this step, although taken months ago, had never been brought before the House, and even at the present time hon. Members had never had an opportunity of considering a question which was a large matter of public policy. If this were a small matter, he should not have said a word about it, but this initiation of a policy of State Aided Emigration was one of serious importance, and should not have been undertaken by any Minister without first having ascertained the opinion of the House of Commons. The hon. and learned Member for Roxburgh seemed to think that the Scotch people should make allies for the management of their own Business. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would go down and tell his constituents that the Scotch people were incapable of managing their own Business.

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOT: I did not say that.

MR. HUNTER: The hon. and learned Gentleman might perhaps draw a distinction between what he said and the description he had now given of it. He (Mr. Hunter) was glad that the hon. and learned Member had nailed his flag to

the mast as an anti-Home Ruler. He rejoiced that Liberal Unionists were doing this, for they would soon find themselves in the same position as anti-Nationalists in the South of Ireland.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said he desired to appeal to the Committee and to point out that the time at their disposal was of much value. Scotch Members were usually considered to be a practical body of men, who took a sensible view of the Business immediately before them and desired to make progress. That was the second discussion they had had this Session on Scotch Business. He was far from saying that some of the observations of hon. Members were not fully justified, but there were circumstances to which he would not refer that had prevented the time being allotted to that Business which the Government desired. The value of the lesson which the House and the Government had learned was for the future, and he ventured to say that it was not desirable to expend further time on this question at present. The experience they had gained this Session would make it absolutely necessary to reconsider the arrangements for the disposal of public time next Session and the whole arrangement of Public Business. There was no doubt about that, and he had already indicated it by many observations which had fallen from him. One hon. Gentleman had complained that the Scotch Estimates were taken altogether. He admitted that he made that arrangement, fully believing that it was one which would meet with the approval of Scotch Members, and, whatever difference of opinion might exist between Gentlemen on opposite sides of the House, he hoped that at least he should have credit for desiring to make such an arrangement as would afford hon. Members the opportunity which they had a right to, of expressing their views. He had objected over and over again to the postponement of the Estimates, and the Government regarded it as absolutely necessary to make provision for their consideration in the earlier part of next Session. They intended to push on Scotch Business, and he said that, having regard to the responsibility of the position in which the Government were now placed. Under those circumstances was it necessary to proceed with an examination of the past, which had already occupied two days in the Summer Session, and had that night occupied three or four hours? He admitted that the present circumstances were deplorable, but he declined to enter upon a full explanation of the causes which had produced them, because he did not desire to excite fresh controversy. The House had a great deal of work to do, and he asked hon. Gentlemen whether they agreed with or differed from him to endeavour, if possible, to give consideration to the Business before the Committee.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that this Motion was not merely a protest against the alleged waste of time in that House; it involved two other questions distinctly enunciated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan). He should not have risen had he not had a subsequent Motion on the Paper which had nothing to do with Government Business at all. He intended to move to reduce the Vote by the whole salary of the Secretary for Scotland, because he wished to protest against the Secretary for Scotland being a Member of the House of Lords, and, because he had always protested against the Head of any Department of Government being in the House of Lords. He held that every Representative of the Executive Government ought to be in the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division would forgive him for saying that, from his point of view, the course he proposed to take was more logical than that which he had suggested. He joined heartily in what the right hon. Gentleman had said with regard to Lord Lothian, and might remark that no expression of dissent from his opinion had come from anyone in the House. The other alternative of reducing the Vote by £5 was also, in his opinion, less logical for the purpose in view than the proposal to vote against the whole salary. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had insisted in regarding the present Motion as raising the question of the mismanagement of Scotch Business in that House, and, no doubt, that point was involved in it; but the

right hon. Gentleman was himself to blame if it were made the chief issue. He did not want to indulge in any recrimination; but there was one point on which the Government must be held responsible for the mismanagement of Scotch Business. They were the absolute masters of the House; they had a large majority to support them, and they could do what they pleased with the time of the House. They had acquired unparalleled powers for the management of Scotch Business, which, however, they had shown themselves unwilling to push, and, not having done so, they were themselves to blame, because they were urged to make those powers stronger by himself and other Members. The plain fact was that they had yielded too much to Irish threats and pressure. There was no doubt that Ireland had absorbed that Session a large share of the time of the House, and it was Scotland that had suffered in consequence; but he did not think it could be fairly said, with the hon. and learned Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot), that England had suffered also, because an immense share of the time of the House had been given to a Bill of the highest importance to the people of England. It was absurd, therefore, to say that the complaint of Scotch Members was not justified, or that Scotland was not a sufferer from the undue preference given to Irish and English Business. His complaint was, not that the Government had refused to legislate for Scotland, because he had no desire to see them legislate for Scotland at all; but if they intended to legislate for Scotland they ought to pay Scotch Members the compliment of bringing on the Business when it could be fully and adequately discussed, and not ask them to snatch at those golden opportunities to which the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had referred. He considered that the difficulties into which the Government had got themselves was their desire to legislate, not for Scotland, but for the United Kingdom at large. There was a craze for legislation besetting that House, and although it had been more felt on that side of the House, yet it extended to the other; so that each Party might go to the country and say that they had done more work than the other. It was to this craze that he believed the Government had yielded, and it was that which had caused the delay of which he and his hon. Friends complained.

MR. ASHER (Elgin, &c.) said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had fully apprehended the magnitude of the issues which were involved in this discussion. It was perfectly true that they desired to make a protest against the unsatisfactory state of Public Business at the present time, but, for his part, he hoped that by this discussion and Division they would secure some amendment of the system in future. He disclaimed any desire whatever to censure the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland, or others who were assisting him in the conduct of Scotch affairs; but they were Members of the Government, and as such they must share the responsibility with the Government for the unsatisfactory position in which Scotch Business then was. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) said—and he agreed with him—that if they did not intend to censure individual officials constituting the Executive for Scotland, then the vote would be meaningless, unless they laid the blame on the Government. He confessed that he did intend, by the vote he was about to give, to place the whole responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of Scotch Business upon the Government. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate had admitted that the state of matters was about as unsatisfactory as it could possibly be; but he said that this was due to causes extraneous to the policy of the Government. Now they on that side could not assent to that view, for one of the chief causes unquestionably was the course adopted by the Government in regard to Ireland, of which the Liberal Party strongly disapproved. But he had risen chiefly for the purpose of calling attention to a point more closely connected with this subject than the Irish policy of the Government, and it was this—their opposition to the Motion made at a very early period of the Session to have a Grand Committee constituted for the consideration of Scotch Bills. His conviction was that Session after Session would pass, and the same unsatisfactory state of matters would be found to exist as now, unless the House would agree to apply the principle of delegation in some form

or other to the conduct of Scotch Business. What was the situation at this moment? The whole of the time of the House was taken by the Government; and everyone would agree with him that there were a number of questions urgently requiring legislation in Scotland. Many of these questions belonged to the class alluded to by the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, as questions which did not arouse keen Party feeling; but at this moment it was impossible to do anything in the way of legislation in any one of these questions. The whole time of the House was taken by the Government, private Members were paralyzed, and the Government did not introduce measures dealing with these subjects at all; and in his opinion, until some means were devised for getting legislation summarily adopted in the House, they would never get legislation of the kind to which he was referring. Let them take, for instance, the matter referred to by the hon. Member for East Aberdeen (Mr. Esslemont)—namely, the title of fishermen to their houses. There were a large number of fishermen who built their houses on the land near the sea coast without any title at all, relying upon a continued right of occupation at the same rent, which the law did not sanction. After building their houses, if the landlord thought fit, he might require them to leave or to agree to what they considered hard terms. This was a matter which should be dealt with, and there were many other instances of a similar kind. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had said in the course of his remarks that he had indicated more than once an intention to make material changes in the conduct of Business next Session. They were all glad to hear that, but he (Mr. Asher) could not say that he had discovered in the announcement an indication of any intention which would have the slightest effect in expediting legislation for Scotland. If the Government were going to give them a Local Government Bill for Scotland next Session, the Government would require the whole time of the House for the conduct of that Bill, and what was to become of all the minor matters upon which legislation was required, and which, for want of time, they could not deal with now? He felt that if the Government would indicate now that they would reconsider their position with reference to the constitution of a Grand Committee for the consideration of Scotch Bills, and Scotch Bills alone, they would do more to facilitate the passing of this Vote than by any other course they could adopt. The Scotch people were very much interested in this matter. The keenness with which it had been pressed by the Scotch Members was an indication of what was the state of feeling in the minds of those they represented there. They saw a stupendous amount of dissatisfaction with the treatment of Scotland in that House at that moment, and they saw more than that—namely, a determination on the part of the people by every legitimate means to secure an effectual remedy in that direction. It seemed to him to be a very mild remedy, against which it would be difficult to suggest any serious objection, that there should be constituted a Grand Committee for the purpose of dealing with Scotch Bills. Their experience had shown them that the Bills which came back to the House from the Grand Committees passed through and became law without taking up any appreciable time of the House.

Mr. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, he did not intend to speak at any length, but he only rose with reference to a matter which he was informed had taken place during his absence from the House. He had been called out to attend to important business, and had only now returned. He understood that it had been stated that in making a suggestion at the early part of the Session—a good many weeks ago now—across the Table to the First Lord of the Treasury about the Scotch University Bill, he (Mr. Childers) had said that he spoke on behalf of the Scotch Members—and he believed that it had also been stated that he had renewed the suggestion outside the House. That was not, in the slightest degree, the case. What he had said was that he thought a debate on the Scotch University Bill while the Appropriation Bill was going through its stages was desirable. He did not profess on that occasion to speak for Scotch Members, and he had said so on two occasions since. He understood, however, that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate had imputed to him that he had said that he repre-

sented on the matter the whole of the Scotch Members.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, that he had not made that imputation. All he had done was to point out that a suggestion which was described by the hon. Member for the College Division as an insult to the Scotch Members had originated, not on that (the Front Ministerial) Bench, but on the Bench opposite.

MR. CHILDERS said, he had spoken on his own account alone, but since he had made the suggestion he had received support from a large number of Scotch Members. He thought it desirable that this should be clearly understood by the House. On the question now under discussion he entirely supported the view of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Asher). He believed that a Grand Committee upon Scotch Business would be the means of getting through a vast amount of work, but, in his opinion, nothing would stop the block of Business in the House before they passed a measure giving Home Rule for Ireland. He said nothing about Scotland in this respect—Scotland did not block the way. Members from Scotland spoke briefly; but what had taken up so much of the time of the House had been Irish Business. He was clearly convinced that they would never be able to make satisfactory progress with the Business of Parliament until they had passed an Irish Home Rule Bill, when local Irish affairs could be dealt with at Dublin.

MR. FINLAY (Inverness, &c.) said, he desired to make one or two remarks upon the speeech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trévelyan) as he did not wish the vote he was about to give to be misunderstood. His right hon. Friend had given three reasons for voting for the Motion to reduce the Vote; and one of those reasons was that the Secretary for Scotland should be a Member of that House. He quite agreed with his right hon. Friend that there would be great convenience in having the Secretary for Scotland a Member of that House, but he would ask his right hon. Friend to consider whether he was prepared to carry that principle to the logical development which it obtained at the hands of the hon. and learned Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson). The right hon. Gentleman was asking the Committee to affirm the principle that the country was not to have the advantage of the service in any of the great offices of State of any man who happened to be a Member of the other House. He (Mr. Finlay) respectfully submitted to his right hon. Friend that he ought to be cautious in asking for the support of Members who might be influenced by his opinion on a vote of this kind, on a ground of that sort, as it might have consequences which might be attended with great inconvenience so long as they had a House of Commons. The second reason given by his right hon. Friend for the vote he intended to give was that the Scotch Secretary ought to be in the Cabinet. On that point he certainly agreed with his right hon. Friend. He certainly thought the Secretary for Scotland ought to be in the Cabinet. He had said so over and over again, and he hoped that the Secretary for Scotland would be in the Cabinet before long. But it was not the fault of Lord Lothian that he was not in the Cabinet; and he failed to see why on earth, because that nobleman was not in the Cabinet, they were to vote for reducing his salary. The third reason given by his right hon. Friend was this—that the state of Scotch Business was very unsatisfactory. With that he (Mr. Finlay) agreed. He went further than that, and thought that the state of Business in the country was generally at present very unsatisfactory. The hon. Member for Northampton had expressed deep regret, which no doubt he honestly felt, at the unsatisfactory condition of Public Business by proposing that the House should adjourn, and should thereby waste another day in addition to the many already wasted this Session. The hon. and learned Member for the Elgin Burghs (Mr. Asher) used somewhat inflated language when he said that there was a stupendous amount of disssatisfaction in Scotland with the progress of Scotch Business. The people of Scotland were possessed of a reasonable amount of common sense, and they perfectly realized that Scotland in this matter only shared the fate of England. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Well, one great measure had been passed for England which had necessarily taken a great deal

of time, but could any hon. Member seriously say, looking at the Bills which had been brought forward for England, that the state of English Business was not as satisfactory as the state of Scotch Business? He was not going to follow his hon. and learned Friend into the tempting subject of a Scotch Committee, as he apprehended that debate upon that subject might be indefinitely prolonged, as it might be pointed out that the establishment of a Grand Committee for Scotland would involve the appointment of Grand Committees for England, Ireland, and Wales. Nor was he going to follow the right hon. Gentleman before him (Mr. Childers) into the question as to whether the Business of the country could ever be satisfactorily disposed of until Home Rule was introduced in Ireland. These were subjects too great to be introduced into a debate of this kind. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) said that he did not blame anyone for the unsatisfactory state of Public Business. Why, then, were they to vote for an Amendment which would really be a Vote of Censure on the Government, seeing that no blame attached to them in the matter?

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) said, none of them had any doubt at all as to the side upon which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay) or the hon. and learned Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) would vote, but it seemed to him they were driven into a strange corner when they brought forward as a reason for not voting for the Amendment that the Government had so utterly made a mess of English Business. That was a very strange reason to give for not voting for this proposal, which was really only a protest against the mismanagement of Scotch Business. It seemed to him that all through the country they had heard a very different tale from hon. Gentlemen who sat on the opposite side of the House. Those hon. Gentlemen never ceased telling their constituents and the people generally what a fine Government they were, and what an amount of Business they had done for England this Session. The supporters of the Ministry throughout the country would have to choose between their Representatives on that (the Opposition) side, who said that the Government had done nothing at all, and that England was in the same plight as Scotland, or in a worse plight, or else they had to acknowledge that they had been misinformed by their dearest and best friends on the other side. It seemed to him that the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had given them a very curious reason for supporting his proposal when he said that the University Bill should be proceeded with this Session. What he had told them was that there was an extraordinary concurrence on the part of academical authorities in support of the Bill. Now it seemed to him (Mr. Marjoribanks) to bring forward in regard to reform—

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: I said nothing of the kind. I said there was a remarkable concurrence of opinion amongst academical parties, which the right hon. Member will admit is somewhat different from academical authorities.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, he thought the House knew pretty well what were the ordinary political inclination of academical parties. Academical parties were anxious for the reform of the Scotch Universities, and when that was so it was only fair to believe that the academical parties believed that the whip was going to be very much tempered for their backs. For his part, he had no reason to object to pressing forward the Universities Bill, but he thought they should look with some suspicion upon the matter when they saw that the people who were to be reformed were so very anxious for the reform. An appeal had been made to him (Mr. Marjoribanks) with regard to the bait question. He did not think the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Anderson) took a very fair view of what Lord Lothian had done in regard to that question. The Committee he had the honour to be Chairman of had the fullest power to examine into private rights. They were not instructed to decide as to the title of such private rights, but they had the fullest power to examine what rights existed, and to report as to the best way of dealing with them. He did not, therefore, see that there was any reason in connection with this matter to find fault with Lord Lothian's administration.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, after giving them two days for Scotch Estimates, had now repented of his promise. It had hardly passed 7 o'clock when the right hon. Gentleman suggested that the time had come to take a Division, and had seemed to threaten the clôture. He (Sir George Campbell) did not think the time had come when the Government should clôture Scotch Members. He would not go back upon past history, because all he could have said on that subject had been much better said by others, and with regard to the general question, therefore, he would only say one word. Although it had already fallen from other speakers, he might be allowed to say one word upon the subject of a Grand Committee for Scotland, as he had for several years pressed it upon the attention of the House. He had always thought that a great step in advance might be made in the way of satisfying the people of Scotland if they had a Grand Committee which would thresh out Scotch questions and present them to the House in a digested form, especially if the Committee could deal with subjects more freely than in the stiff and formal way which they did at present. He would express entire concurrence with the hon. and learned Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) that their principal objection to the present state of things as regarded the Secretary for Scotland was, that he was not in the House of Commons. It was a great inconvenience to have a Secretary for Scotland who was not in the House of Commons. They wanted a Secretary for Scotland to nag and worry until they got what they wanted from him. No doubt the Secretary for Scotland was very ably represented in the House of Commons by the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate. Some Lord Advocates were better and some worse. He was ready to confess that the right hon. Gentleman the present Lord Advocate was one of the best, and he expected that they would have great satisfaction from him; but the position of the Lord Advocate in regard to the Secretary for Scotland reminded him a good deal of the position of an agent to an Irish landlord. They probably most of them knew the story of the Irish landlord who said to his agent—"You may tell them they will not intimidate me by shooting you." The Secretary for Scotland was in the position of the Irish landlord, and probably would say they could not drive him from his position by worrying the Lord Advocate, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman was there for the purpose of being worried. The neglect of Scotch Business had been very great. He had desired to bring forward a question of Scotch education. He desired to bring about an increase of the grant, but when the Education Estimates came forward he should be unable to move to obtain an increase in that grant. He would, therefore, ask upon this Vote whether the Secretary for Scotland was personally responsible to the degree to which he was rather inclined to think the noble Lord was responsible for the present condition of things with regard to the drawing grant? If he was responsible it would be a good reason for cutting down his pay. As to the drawing grant the people of Scotland had a particular grievance. The School Education Code was so drawn——

THE CHAIRMAN: This question cannot be discussed on the present Vote, but must be raised on the Education Vote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he submitted to the Chairman's ruling, but he only wished to raise the question in this way. He wanted to know if the Secretary for Scotland was personally responsible for not having obtained for Scotland the same sum for educational purposes, proportionately, as had been obtained for England? They had had a debate on the Education Vote on a former occasion, and had been given to understand that the matter rested with the Secretary for Scotland, and that if he applied for an increase it would probably be given to him. It was only in that sense that he (Sir George Campbell) hoped that the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate would be able to tell them whether the Secretary for Scotland was prepared to obtain that grant, which the Scotch Members were unable to obtain under the Scotch Education Vote. Then he would like to ask if the Secretary for Scotland was consulted upon the question of the sale of fishing and salmon rights and other popular rights in Scotland——

THE CHAIRMAN: This question cannot arise under the present Vote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Then I have nothing more to say.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 80; Noes 112: Majority 32.—(Div. List, No. 337.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CHILDERS: When last year the Bill for the Secretary for Scotland was under discussion, words were inserted under which the administration of the Prerogative of Mercy might be transferred from the Secretary of State for the Home Department to the Secretary for Scotland. I am aware that for some time that transfer was not effected, and I wish to know whether or not it has now fully taken place?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: There is no doubt about the matter. The right hon. Gentleman will find that by the Act of 1887 all the powers vested in the Home Secretary were transferred to the Secretary for Scotland, with certain exceptions. The prerogative of mercy was not included in the exceptions.

DR. CLARK said, he wished to draw the attention of the Committee to a miscarriage of justice which had occurred in Scotland. He desired to know why the Government were refusing a free pardon and compensation to Hugh Matheson for a gross injustice which he had suffered? The facts of the case were these. Some time ago there was an attempt made by the people of the township of Clashmore to place their cattle in a field which had previously been a portion of the township, but had been taken away from the township and added to a certain farm. Of course, it was an illegal act to attempt to place cattle on land taken out of the township by people who had no claim to that land, but certain persons persisted in doing so, and a riot occurred. According to the evidence given upon the trial a number of women, and some men dressed in women's clothes, with their faces blackened and with turbans round their heads, persisted in driving the farmer's cattle out of his field in order to place theirs in the field in the place of the others. These people thought the field ought to belong to them. Several persons were arrested for this and brought up for trial in Edinburgh. Now, the trial was of a very curious character. The witnesses were Gaelic-speaking people, and though they could speak some English and could answer "Yes" or "No" in that language, yet there were certain questions put to them which they could not answer "Yes" or "No," and to which they desired to reply in their native tongue. The Judge, Lord Craighill, said to them—

"You must try to answer the questions in some way or other in English, or I will send you to prison."

These people, it seemed, were to be sent to prison for the crime of being unable to speak a foreign language. The result of this bullying on the part of the Judge——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

DR. CLARK: Well, the result of this action of the Judge, and of the action of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, who was prosecuting and who told the witnesses that they were lying, was that the witnesses were unable to give evidence before the Court; and certain of the prisoners were brought in by the majority as guilty. They were recommended to mercy, and the Judge showed his appreciation of that recommendation by sending the people to prison for 12 months—the men for 12 and the women for nine months. This punishment was inflicted because the people had endeavoured, by the means he had pointed out, to get back land which had been unjustly taken from them and given to the farmer who occupied it—a very common thing in the Highlands. The result of this operation had been described to the House by the hon. Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) and his hon. Friend who represented the County of Sutherland (Mr. A. Sutherland). Those hon. Members had brought forward evidence from disinterested persons, collected by Mr. Donald Mackay, to show that the man Matheson was entirely innocent—to show that whilst some of the men and women had been guilty, this man, at any rate, was innocent, and the affidavits of these people had been brought before the notice of the Secretary for Scotland along with the evidence given at the trial. There were three witnesses for the defence at the trial, who gave evidence to show that Matheson was nine miles away at the time the riot occurred. Two of the witnesses for the prosecution

were the farmer whose land the rioters endeavoured to put the cattle upon, and the sub-factor. The sub-factor had been assaulted, and he at first swore that Matheson struck him. Afterwards, however, he said he could not swear to the fact that Matheson had struck him, but he was under the impression that it was a man dressed in woman's clothes that had done so. On this evidence Matheson was convicted, and he (Dr. Clark) wanted to bring before the Scotch Office the fact that, so far as Matheson was concerned, he was perfectly innocent, and had been imprisoned for a crime of which he knew nothing until it had occurred. Well, after the imprisonment of this man, his friends offered to produce evidence which should prove his innocence if protection were given to those people who confessed to having been rioters and to having taken part in the riot. The right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, however, to whom this representation was made, replied that it would be preposterous to give an indemnity from punishment to the guilty parties, and had expressed surprise that the men who declared they were guilty did not come forward to secure the release of a man whom they alleged to be innocent, if it was really true that a case of mistaken identity had occurred. The friends of Matheson eventually managed to bring forward the man for whom Matheson had been mistaken—namely, a man named M'Leod, who had struck the blow which was supposed to have been struck by Matheson. This man had come forward and had been tried for the offence, and had been convicted, and was now a prisoner; and yet the Government, with all these facts before them, and with the sworn affidavits of 16 people—with the parties in prison also making affidavits and declaring that this man had nothing to do with the rioting, but was miles away at the time—refused to give this man, who had already suffered six months' imprisonment, a free pardon, or any compensation for the period he had suffered in prison, and for being struck off the Royal Naval Reserve. Although the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had been unable to find that this man had belonged to the Naval Reserve, the man had shown his discharge, and had proved the fact when giving evidence before the Crofters' Commission. Sheriff Brown had seen it. Powerful and overwhelming evidence—evidence which had convinced all the jury who had tried the case as to the innocence of Matheson—had been brought before the Secretary for Scotland, but yet he refused to take from the man the stigma which his imprisonment had imprinted upon him, and to give him a free pardon. It was true that the people of the district from which Matheson came did not think there was any stigma in his having been in prison, for they believed that the rioting which had occurred, and for which their friends had been punished, had been the only possible way in which the Crofters' Commission could be brought to them. This riot had had the effect of bringing the Commission to the district, and the result of the Clashmore riot was that the crofters were getting some addition to their holdings, for he was glad to say they were getting about 800 acres. People in that district were now getting back land which had been taken from them generations ago. They did not believe that the slightest stigma attached to Matheson, and the other men in prison would shortly go home and would be welcomed with enthusiasm and treated as heroes. He believed the Government had entrapped the poor fellow M'Leod, who was now in prison, and they wanted to entrap one or two others in the same way. But after the action he had taken, and after the manner in which he had treated Matheson, the Secretary for Scotland might give up all hope of being able to get any more rioters to come forward and acknowledge their guilt. The Government had got one man, and in regard to him had not kept faithfully the pledges and promises they made. They had got the man in prison under false pretences, and had demonstrated to Scotch juries that there was not very much satisfaction to be got from the present Scotch Office if mistakes were made. He (Dr. Clark) desired to hear from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate the reason why he refused a free pardon to this man Matheson, who had evidently been convicted under a mistake, his identity being confused with that of the man M'Leod who had struck the sub-factor Gordon. M'Leod admitted striking Gordon, and had done everything that the Secretary for Scotland asked should be done in

order to bring about the release of Matheson. Matheson, however, although he had been released, had not received a free pardon, nor had he been offered compensation for his wrongful imprisonment. As he had said, only two men gave evidence at the trial against Matheson. One of these men knew Matheson, but the other had not seen him before. There was a difference in height between M'Leod and Matheson, and the fact that the man who had attacked Gordon was in woman's clothes would make him appear much taller. As far as the beards of the men were concerned, they were somewhat similar, and one man was very likely to be mistaken for the other. Notwithstanding these facts, there was to be no free pardon and no compensation. Lord Lothian, by remitting one-half the sentence of Matheson, had undone the punishment so far as he could, but he had not made full recompense to the man. Why should not Matheson be reinstated in society in the position he occupied before his wrongful imprisonment, and why should he not receive compensation for the injury which had been done him?

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) said, that he should have liked to have heard the reply of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate before rising to speak upon this question, which was one that had given rise to a good deal of feeling in Scotland. The only thing he wished to say, in supplementing the observations which had fallen from his hon. Friend (Dr. Clark), was this. It was within the knowledge of the people who had interested themselves in this case that a considerable correspondence had gone on between the Scotch Office and the relatives and friends of Matheson as to the identity of the men, and during that correspondence undoubtedly the Secretary for Scotland had taken up the position that if the man M'Leod surrendered himself, and was prepared to make a confession that he was the person who assaulted Gordon, Matheson should be liberated. If they read the letter written by Lord Lothian on this subject on the 3rd of June, they would see that his Lordship said that if any individual should give himself up to justice as being truly the person who did what the jury had held that Matheson had done, and this could be proved to be the fact, Matheson would not be kept in prison. On the 9th of July, Lord Lothian wrote to the effect that every effort should be made to induce the man who stated himself to be the real offender to surrender himself to justice at once, in order that his statement might be proved, and that if the statement of such men should be proved to be true, Matheson, of course, should be liberated. Well, what was asked for by Lord Lothian had taken place. The man M'Leod had surrendered himself, and was now in prison. He was convicted, on his own confession, of the assault for which Hugh Matheson was sent to gaol. Matheson having been liberated in this way, how was it that the Secretary for Scotland could say Matheson had been set free because he (Lord Lothian) believed he had received sufficient punishment? The noble Lord did not state, however, for what offence Matheson had received sufficient punishment. Lord Lothian's contention, as shown in his two letters, was that M'Leod should surrender himself for the offence for which Matheson was in prison. M'Leod had surrendered himself, and Matheson was liberated. But the Secretary for Scotland at once used words to show that Matheson was not being liberated for having been guiltless of any offence, but of his having been guilty of some offence other than assaulting Gordon, and having been sufficiently punished for it. This seemed to be a great hardship upon Matheson. The man had been imprisoned for a specific act; another man had surrendered himself as guilty of that act, and, proof having been given in the trial of his statement, he had been imprisoned. Why, then, had not Matheson received a free pardon? Hon. Members of that House were placed at a considerable disadvantage in discussing the subject. They were not in possession of the full correspondence which had taken place between the Scotch Office and those who had interested themselves on behalf of Matheson, but it certainly did appear that the man who had been induced to surrender on the word of the Secretary for Scotland should be treated as innocent.

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, that he had been willing to rise at once to answer the questions which had been put to him; but he had desired to hear any other observations which hon. Members might have to make. He rose now

the more readily, because he thought it was evident, from the speeches of both hon. Members opposite, that they were not in possession of the complete facts of the case regarding either the trial or the correspondence which the hon. and learned Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had referred to. It was quite an error to suppose that the offence for which Matheson was sent to gaol was one which was committed by one person only. On the contrary, the offence for which the conviction was given was the offence of rioting, and a plurality of persons was necessarily involved. As a matter of fact, it was proved that there were three men involved in the affray in question. Matheson and another man had been tried. Matheson was convicted, and the other man acquitted. After the conviction of Matheson it was said, with more or less confidence, that Matheson was not guilty, and that he had been mistaken in the affray for a person of the name of M'Leod. That, as he (Mr. Buchanan) said, was stated with confidence to the Secretary for Scotland. And his noble Friend had taken this course. He had been supplied with a certain number of documents referred to by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark). At a certain stage of the consideration of the case the noble Lord was informed that M'Leod was willing to give himself up, and it would appear on investigation that Matheson had been mistaken for M'Leod. But the Committee would observe this—that the guilt of M'Leod by no means involved the innocence of Matheson; and the Secretary for Scotland was satisfied that no mistake had taken place. The hon. and learned Member for West Edinburgh had referred to a letter from the Secretary for Scotland relating to this affair, and he would bear him (the Lord Advocate) out when he said that the noble Lord had stated that if M'Leod would give himself up, and if it was proved that he committed the act for which Matheson was convicted, Matheson would be liberated. That was quite right, but what the right hon. and learned Gentleman had overlooked was that it was not only necessary to make out a case of mistaken identity, but to prove that only one of the men was involved in the affray. It did not appear, however, that both men were not involved in the assault, which was committed by three men, and not by one. The question had been raised by the hon. Member for Caithness; and he (the Lord Advocate) was bound to say that that hon. Gentleman had allowed himself a breadth of colour in stating the facts which did not contribute to a judicial consideration of the merits of the case. The hon. Member said that it was sworn on behalf of Matheson that he was nine miles away from the scene of the riot when the riot occurred. So far from that being the case, the place where he was stated to have been at the time of the riot was only half-a-mile away. Then, again, the hon. Member declared that, on behalf of Matheson, 16 affidavits were tendered to the Secretary for Scotland. As a matter of fact, the affidavits which were sent up to the Secretary for Scotland were 11 in the first place, and five in the second place. The plea of *alibi* had been set up at the trial, the jury having disbelieved the witnesses called to prove it. Under the circumstances the Committee would see that there was a strong position for the conviction, and that strong evidence of the innocence of Matheson was necessary before the Secretary for Scotland could take the step of altogether upsetting the verdict on the ground which had been submitted to and negotiated by a jury. The statement that 16 people gave evidence of Matheson's innocence was an exaggeration and a quite unintentional misrepresentation regarding this case. This was how the matter stood. Three of the persons who had made affidavits were persons who had been sent to prison, another was the sister of the accused, another one was a person adverse to the theory of *alibi*, and the evidence of two others related to a comparatively collateral part of the case.

DR. CLARK: Do you take in the two women who made a declaration in prison?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, he took in those in the four who had been tried, three of whom were convicted. Therefore, when the Committee was asked to accept a statement of this kind—namely, that the man was nine miles away when an occurrence in which he was said to have taken part took place, and that 16 people had made affidavits in his favour, he really thought

that the hon. Member scarcely exhibited the caution which the Committee should require before consenting to pass a Vote of Censure on the Government for their exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy of the Crown. He would go a little further. The tradition as to the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy was—and he should no doubt be borne out in saying this by the right hon. Gentleman opposite—that the minister who exercised it did not profess to discuss the whole grounds and materials upon which he offered advice to the Crown. That, he believed, was the well-established precedent of the Ministry who were responsible for the exercise of the Prerogative of the Crown. He was within his right in pointing out the facts proved at the trial, and beyond and behind that he would state on his responsibility that the Secretary for Scotland satisfied himself that this was not a case in which there had been a miscarriage of justice. The evidence at the trial showed that the man Matheson had appeared on the scene at about 3 o'clock, but the evidence served up again for the consideration of the Secretary for Scotland went to show that from 12 o'clock until 3 Matheson was in the house of a certain Hector Mackenzie. Seeing that the house was only half-a-mile from the scene of the rioting, it was very possible that a slight discrepancy in the matter might have crept in, and that Matheson might easily have been present at the riot. An attempt to sustain the *alibi* had been made, by showing that Matheson had gone to another house, and had remained there from 3 to 4 o'clock, but that attempt had failed. There was no reason whatever to suppose there had been an error of identity; and he said this for this reason—that, according to the statement of his friends, Matheson was five inches taller than the man for whom he was mistaken. He assured the Committee that his noble Friend the Secretary for Scotland gave this case most anxious consideration, and that at the request of the friends of Matheson he delayed his decision upon it. He had fully considered the representations made on behalf of Matheson, but, acting on his responsibility, he had refused Her Majesty's pardon.

Mr. ASHER (Elgin, &c.) said, he rose with some regret to take part in the discussion, because he knew that the administration of the Criminal Law in Scotland was always conducted in a manner so fair to accused persons and to prisoners that it was with great hesitation that one could arrive at the conclusion that, even on one occasion, there had been a deviation from that uniform system. But, on the other hand, he was bound to say that the circumstances of the present case appeared to him to call for hostile criticism with regard to the course which had been pursued. He agreed with his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate that the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy was a duty of an extremely delicate character, and it was one the discharge of which must very largely rest upon the responsibility of the Minister to whom that duty for the time was attached. But this case appeared to him to stand distinct from most cases in which the Prerogative was either exercised, or in which the exercise of the Prerogative was demanded, beause to a very large extent the public knew the circumstances calling for the exercise of the Prerogative. In this case a man named Matheson was convicted of having taken part in a riot on a certain occasion at Clashmore, and he was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. Since the sentence was passed a person of the name of M'Leod had come forward, and volunteered the confession that he was the person who took part in the riot, and that Matheson was not there at all, and upon that confession the Crown put him on his trial for taking part in the riot. He admitted his guilt, and received a sentence of six months' imprisonment, which he was now undergoing—[An hon. Member: Three months.]—three months' imprisonment, which he was now undergoing. Following upon the confession, trial, and sentence of M'Leod, the Secretary for Scotland released Matheson.

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, that that was quite an inaccurate statement. It was not upon the confession that his noble Friend the Secretary for Scotland remitted the remaining part of Matheson's sentence, but because he thought, considering the excellent effect the confession had had upon the state of the Highlands, the period of imprisonment already undergone might suffice.

MR. ASHER said, if that was so, it was unfortunate that undoubtedly correspondence took place between the Secretary for Scotland and certain persons representing Matheson, which related to the question of M'Leod's confession, and the effect of the confession upon the detention of Matheson. The facts were beyond all question; that Matheson was convicted; that M'Leod afterwards came forward and said that he was the guilty man, and that Matheson was not at the riot; that M'Leod was tried upon his confession, convicted and sentenced, and that Matheson was then released.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, he begged to inform his hon. and learned Friend that the release of Matheson took place before the trial of M'Leod.

MR. ASHER said, that, at any rate, Matheson was released after the confession of M'Leod. Would his right hon. and learned Friend say that Matheson was released before M'Leod came forward; would he say that the confession of M'Leod had nothing to do with the release of Matheson?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Certainly; his noble Friend released Matheson on the ground that the period of punishment already undergone would suffice, looking to the circumstances, and the state of the country.

MR. ASHER said, it was extremely unfortunate that the confession of M'Leod should have been followed by the release of Matheson in such a way as to produce an impression in the public mind, shared by those who were accustomed to consider these matters, that there was an undoubted connection between the two, if that was not the case. But the matter went a little deeper than that. It was quite true that Matheson was tried for taking part in a crime which was usually participated in by a great number of people; but was there any doubt at all that M'Leod was convicted of having been in the place where it was believed Matheson was, and that there was a case of mistaken identity as between Matheson and M'Leod? His right hon. and learned Friend had said that the jury had fully weighed the evidence of the person who swore that the man he saw in the field, disguised as a woman, was Matheson. But a person now came forward and said he was the man, and that Matheson was not there at all. Under the circumstances, it appeared to him (Mr. Asher) that the Secretary for Scotland would have been acting more in the interests of the administration of justice in Scotland if he had accompanied the release of Matheson with a pardon. There could be no doubt that the impression prevailed in the public mind that M'Leod was now undergoing punishment for the offence of which Matheson was convicted, and he could not imagine anything more detrimental to the interests of justice than that it should be supposed that, under these circumstances, a pardon was withheld from the person who was believed to have been improperly convicted. Matheson's release immediately after M'Leod's confession justified the public in taking that view. Passing away from the question of the desirability of granting a free pardon to Matheson, he could not agree with what had been said by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), by way of justification for the riot in which Matheson was convicted of taking a part. He certainly did not approve of any such method of vindicating their rights on the part of the Highland people of Scotland. But, on the other hand, he thought it was most important, with regard to the administration of the law, which ought to be both temperate and firm, that there should not be a shadow of ground given to the people for supposing that a free pardon would be withheld from a person who had been improperly convicted. In short, the people ought to be thoroughly satisfied that those who had charge of the administration of the law in Scotland were anxious to put any person improperly convicted precisely in the same position as if he had never been convicted at all.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) said, he listened very carefully to the speech of the Lord Advocate, and he was sorry that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had left the impression upon his mind that he had entirely failed to answer the points raised by his hon. Friend (Dr. Clark). The hon. and learned Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had referred to certain correspondence which had taken place between the Secretary for Scotland and certain persons interested in the case of

Matheson. In that correspondence it was distinctly laid down by the authorities that if the real criminal came forward Matheson would be released. It was perfectly clear, therefore, that there was a bargain between the Secretary for Scotland and the friends of Hugh Matheson. M'Leod said that he was the wrong-doer, and surrendered himself to justice. How had he surrendered himself? The Lord Advocate had chosen to deal with this matter as if there were several persons guilty of rioting, and that several persons might be convicted of rioting. Quite true; but that was altogether opposed to the point at issue. M'Leod surrendered himself, not as one of those engaged in the riot, but as a person in lieu of the person who had been erroneously convicted. That seemed, therefore, to make it perfectly clear that the moment M'Leod surrendered himself, or the moment he was convicted for the offence, Matheson should have received a free pardon. There was another important feature about the case, and it was that no evidence had been brought forward against M'Leod, who had simply been convicted on his own confession. Would the Lord Advocate say what was the declaration of the man M'Leod when he was first brought up? Was there or was there not in that declaration a statement that he, M'Leod, was the person who committed the assault on the man Gordon, and that Matheson was not there at all? These were circumstances which made him hope that his hon. Friend the Member for Caithness would go to a Division.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, that the Lord Advocate had very truly and very properly said that a jury was the best judge of facts. The right hon. and learned Gentleman added that a jury, with the facts before them, had found Hugh Matheson guilty. The Lord Advocate, however, had altogether suppressed the fact that 13 of the same jury, having learned of M'Leod's surrender, had altogether changed their opinion, and, in consequence of the new piece of evidence, signed a Memorial to the Secretary for Scotland that a pardon be granted to Hugh Matheson, and declaring that had they had M'Leod's confession before them at the trial they never would have convicted Matheson. What was the evidence upon which Matheson was convicted? There were three Crown witnesses examined; one was a subfactor, Mr. Gordon, who swore to Hugh Matheson's identity; the second was a Mr. Kerr, who said he had never seen Matheson before, but that he saw the face of the man whose head was wrapped up in shawls; and the third said he did not see Matheson. The evidence of the second witness, who certainly saw the man, was very weak indeed. Last February, in the course of some remarks he (Dr. Cameron) addressed to the House, he read a letter from two clergymen saying that it was the opinion of the people of the district that Hugh Matheson had been wrongfully convicted. The Lord Advocate would not admit that there was anything in the statement made by the inhabitants of the district. He (Dr. Cameron) wrote to the clergymen, asking them to get sworn depositions, and they did get a number of such depositions, which were handed to the Secretary for Scotland. He (Dr. Cameron) complained, in the first place, of the delay that occurred in the investigation of these declarations. The receipt of the declarations was acknowledged on the 15th of March, and two or three weeks afterwards he got a letter from a clergyman of the district, stating that a Government official had visited Clashmore on the 27th, and had interrogated five men who were said to have been blackened and to have taken part in the row. He said he believed that all these men told the official that, to the best of their belief and knowledge, Matheson was innocent. He (Dr. Cameron) strongly denounced the course pursued by the criminal authorities in this matter. It was their business to do justice to Matheson—if he were guilty to punish him, if he were innocent to pardon him. Their duty was to administer justice, and not to wreak vengeance upon the wrong man. Throughout the whole proceedings, however, they appear to have made the liberation of Matheson dependent upon some other man giving himself up. From the very beginning M'Leod was willing to give himself up, and he (Dr. Cameron) understood that some proposition was made to the Lord Advocate on the subject. On the 17th of March, however, the Crown Agent wrote, stating that the Lord Advocate could not agree to

take M'Leod in place of Matheson; but, doubtless, if the real person admitted his guilt and was convicted, he would not receive a more severe sentence than he would have if he had been the man originally convicted. It was also added in the letter that if the Scottish Secretary was convinced of the mistaken identity of Matheson, he would be willing to advise the exercise of the Royal Prerogative. M'Leod gave himself up, and his statement was that he had committed the crime for which Matheson had been imprisoned, and that Matheson was not there. The Lord Advocate had spoken of the declarations which had been made. There were, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman had said, 11 statutory declarations sent in in all. Among them were two from Matheson's fellow-prisoners, women who had been convicted for the same offence. They declared that they knew the men who had been engaged in the riot, and that Matheson was not one of them. That, now, was supported by the declaration of M'Leod; then, again, Angus M'Leod, a fisherman, declared that on the afternoon of the day of the riot he was thatching a house, and that he saw the rioting party return, and that he saw Hugh Matheson come from William Matheson's in another direction about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Assuming the evidence of Angus M'Leod to be correct, the time between 3 and 4 o'clock was not entirely accounted for; but the ex-Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) said at the trial that Matheson's entrance on the road was fixed at about half-past 3 o'clock; Matheson, therefore, had only half-an-hour in which to disguise himself in women's clothes, blacken his face, and go round by a circuitous route. He asked hon. Members to remember this—and it was a fact which had not been mentioned in the House before—that Hugh was anything but a favourite in the district. He had had shown to him again and again letters from leading members of the local Land League, declaring that Matheson never took any part with them; that they did not care about his imprisonment, and that his being in prison was a much better service to their cause than his liberation could possibly be. But now the Lord Advocate said that Matheson's liberation had nothing to do with M'Leod's confession; and that Lord Lothian liberated Matheson simply becase he thought, owing to the effect his imprisonment had had in the Highlands, his liberation might safely be permitted. In May last he (Dr. Cameron) and half-a-dozen other Scotch Members went on a deputation to Lord Lothian on the subject, and the noble Lord then told them that he could not see his way to act on the declarations then laid before him. He said he had submitted them to the Judge, but, of course, could not say what had transpired. He added, however, that he intended to treat the case of the women entirely different from that of the men, and that that was why he had written his letter. The right hon. Gentleman treated the statement of the prisoners as of no account; but what could be more explicit and deserving of credit than the declarations of the two females who were undergoing punishment? They had, at any rate, no interest in the matter, and yet from first to last, as he was told, they declared that they knew the men who had taken part in the riot, and that Matheson was not amongst them. Now, M'Leod made the same declaration, and in the face of that fact there was Lord Lothian's own letter, and it appeared to him (Dr. Cameron), from these circumstances, that it was a breach of faith to withhold the pardon from Matheson. The fact appeared to be overlooked that Matheson at present was stigmatized as a criminal. Probably that would not affect the man's social status at Clashmore, but the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate would hardly say that it made no difference whether a man was regarded as a criminal or not. What he (Dr. Cameron) and his Friends desired was that if the man was innocent, as he believed him to be, and as the evidence overwhelmingly showed him to be, and had convinced even the jury who tried him, he should be freed from the stigma of criminality. A case had occurred in England only the other day on all-fours with the case of Matheson. Two men had been convicted of burglary, and imprisoned, but 10 years afterwards a man came forward and swore that he and another were the guilty parties, and, proof of the allegation having been tendered, the men who were in gaol were liberated, a free pardon was given to them, and they were handsomely compensated for their sufferings. In the

case of Matheson 13 of the jury who tried him declared, when the new evidence was brought before them, that if they had heard that evidence at the time of the trial they would have found Matheson not guilty, and that, in his (Dr. Cameron's) opinion, constituted one of the best arguments in favour of conferring a free pardon upon the man. It was impossible to appeal to the Judge who tried the case, as he was now dead. If, however, he had been alive, and on hearing the new evidence had declared that if those statements had been forthcoming at the trial Matheson would not have been convicted, the Secretary for Scotland would, no doubt, immediately grant a free pardon. The Judge, however, being dead, the next highest authority connected with the trial—namely, the jury—had expressed themselves to that effect, and surely his Lordship should in like manner carry out their views. The decision the Government had arrived at in the matter seemed a very unsatisfactory one, and not at all in accordance with the promise made by Lord Lothian in his letter. There had been only one amongst 11 witnesses whose statement did not accord with those of the rest. The evidence of the other 10 tallied perfectly, and that, taken with the evidence of Matheson's fellow-prisoners, would seem perfectly conclusive. M'Leod had, no doubt, come forward under the influence of the ministers of the district and through the extraordinary conscientiousness and God-fearing disposition of the people of the district. He had come forward to make this act of reparation for the sake of a man whom he in all probability regarded as a sneak and a coward, and who was so regarded by the majority of the people of Clashmore. When he (Dr. Cameron) spoke about the influence of the ministers and the conscientious and God-fearing disposition of the people of the district he spoke of a fact which was known to nearly all the Scotch Members in the House. These men had extraordinarily bigoted ideas on many points of religion. They were extraordinarily attached to what they considered to be the true tenets of religion, and their ideas on the Land Question, and any action that those ideas might prompt, were altogether removed from the ordinary motives that guided criminals. No one would ever dream of treating these people as ordinary criminals, or treating their word as they would treat the word of a burglar or pickpocket. Now, a remarkably long delay had taken place in investigating this matter. The Secretary for Scotland had failed in doing his duty when he neglected to have the evidence, which was placed before him on the 15th of March, examined into immediately. So long as he could shield himself behind the opinion of the Judge he was unassailable, but now that the Judge was dead he would have occupied a much stronger position if he had allowed himself to be guided by the opinion of the jury who originally tried Matheson.

Mr. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, it seemed to him that the facts of this case were very simple. A bargain seemed to have been entered into between the Secretary for Scotland and Hugh Matheson's relations, to the effect that if the man M'Leod, for whom Matheson appeared to have been mistaken, surrendered himself, and proved that a mistake had taken place, Matheson would be immediately liberated. The result of that bargain was that M'Leod was induced to come forward. There could be no question about that. But for the circumstances of that bargain M'Leod never would have come forward, and would not have been tried and put in prison. According to Scotch law a man could be proved guilty on his own confession, or the Crown could itself prove a case against such a man in the usual way. If the Crown had any doubt as to there being collusion between M'Leod and the relatives of Matheson, they would have been quite within their right in refusing to accept the plea and in sending the man for trial in the usual way. But what did the Crown do? The Crown accepted the plea that M'Leod was guilty of the offence for which Matheson was imprisoned, and in accepting that confession he (Mr. Caldwell) maintained that the Government were bound to accept it with all its surrounding circumstances. They could not accept one part of the conditions and reject another part. He submitted that Matheson, having in effect been proved innocent, was entitled to a free pardon, and to compensation for his imprisonment. The matter seemed to him to lie in a nutshell. If the Crown could prove that

M'Leod took part in the riot, but that Matheson was there as well, they would have good ground for their attitude, but they could prove no such thing, the confession of M'Leod being that he had committed the offence, and that Matheson was not present on the occasion. No doubt the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, with his wonderful command of legal phraseology, could back out of anything, even a prisoner's confession; but, at any rate, the Committee, in view of the fact that M'Leod had confessed himself guilty, would hardly believe that he had done so to clear a man as guilty as himself. Regard must be had to the object of M'Leod in coming forward. He certainly thought that the clemency of the Crown in this case ought to be extended to Matheson.

MR. ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherland) said, he took as much interest in this subject as any other Member in the House, as the man Matheson happened to be a constituent of his. He knew the man intimately, and made bold to say that he no more belonged to the criminal class than he (Mr. Angus Sutherland) himself, or than the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate did. That this was no ordinary case was sufficiently proved by the fact that it had been brought before the House, and that so many Scotch Members had taken an interest in it, and he maintained that, *primâ facie*, there was ample evidence that the man Matheson was a subject peculiarly fitted for the exercise of the Royal clemency. At any rate, he trusted that the Lord Advocate would give him (Mr. Angus Sutherland) credit for being more anxious to maintain that respect which was due to the law than to further the case of Matheson. Indeed, he himself had much greater interest in the maintenance of law and order in the Highlands than the Government could have. Under these circumstances, and with the intimate knowledge he had of the people of Clashmore and the facts connected with Matheson's imprisonment, he declared that the interests of law and order would be much better served by the extension of the Prerogative of Mercy to Matheson and the grant of a free pardon than by the refusal of the Government to take that course. If Matheson was guilty of the crime of which he was convicted, he ought to have been required to serve the full term of his sentence; if innocent, he ought to receive a free pardon. Now, he desired to refer to some statements made by the Lord Advocate himself. To some it would appear, from the declarations they had heard, that a very serious riot had taken place at Clashmore, from the frequency with which the word riot had been used. As a matter of fact, however, as counsel in the case had stated, the rioters consisted of nine, three stirks, and three of Her Majesty's lieges, and the disorder consisted mainly in the throwing of a few handfuls of mud. The circumstances which led to the disorder were of such a nature that, if anything could justify any interference on the part of the people, they did. As the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) had pointed out, the point in dispute had been conceded by a tribunal appointed by the House—namely, the Crofters' Commission. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate had made some remarks as to the means of identification of the rioters; but who were the parties who identified them? Why, the three persons who had made the complaint—or rather two of these persons—and the prisoners were brought into Dingwall and shown to these persons in order that they might be identified. He did not know whether that was in accordance with law, but, at any rate, it did not appear to be in accordance with common sense and justice. Of these witnesses, one said that he had never seen Matheson before, and the other declared that Matheson was so disguised that he did not know him. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman said that there had not been 16 depositions, but only 11 and 5—they did not wish to make much of that. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had made a great deal of the statement of the hon. Member for Caithness that Matheson was nine miles away from the scene of the riot when it occurred, when, according to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, it was, as a matter of fact, only claimed for Matheson that he was half-a-mile away. No doubt the right hon. and learned Gentleman quoted accurately what was said in the Court, but he (Mr. Angus Sutherland) knew the district, and could assure the Committee that the house Matheson was

said to have been in at the time of the riot was a mile away from the scene of disorder. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, knowing the weakness of his own case, and feeling it, had dwelt upon these two slips of the hon. Member for Caithness at some length. He (Mr. Angus Sutherland) did not blame the right hon. and learned Gentleman, but, at the same time, he thought it would have been better for the right hon. Gentleman to have confined himself to stating the grounds upon which the Secretary for Scotland had failed to see that there was a case for the exercise of the Royal clemency. If the Secretary for Scotland was a Court of Appeal, they ought to know on what grounds it was stated that there was no reason to suppose that there had been a miscarriage of justice in this case. The Lord Advocate had commented upon the fact that the materials presented to the Secretary for Scotland on the case were faulty; but he (Mr. Angus Sutherland) did not know on what ground it was alleged that these materials were faulty. They might have not been in proper form, but if the facts narrated in them were such as had really transpired, he did not think much formality should be regarded in the matter. It must be remembered that the Secretary for Scotland had vested in him all the powers which hitherto were vested in the Home Secretary, and the refusal to grant the Royal clemency to Matheson seemed to be the first fruits of the change. These could hardly be regarded as very satisfactory fruits. Everyone concerned knew that Matheson was innocent, and the action of the Government in allowing him to leave gaol after serving half the term for which he was sentenced showed that they also believed him to be unjustly convicted. It was no light thing for an innocent man to be sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, and to serve six months of the term, nor was it a light thing for him to leave gaol with the stigma of imprisonment upon him. This man's health had been ruined; he had been dismissed from Her Majesty's Service, and whatever might have been the man's character in the district to which he belonged, it was desirable that his character should be, as far as possible, vindicated; and it was still more desirable that the character of the law should be vindicated. This case was an ample illustration of the way in which the forms of the law had been strained in order to get convictions. Counsel at the trial had declared their opinion of what was taking place in emphatic terms. One learned gentleman said he had never heard witnesses so abused and bullied before. One of the witnesses had been reluctant to give hearsay evidence, though the Judge said he was bound to do it, and it said a great deal for the man that rather than give such evidence by force he was prepared to submit to any penalty that the law might impose. A deliberate attempt was made over and over again to use the Court for the purposes of intimidation. Such was the feeling entertained by the people who were present at the trial at the way in which the case was conducted, that the Judge had ultimately to order the Court to be cleared —a thing unexampled in the whole of his experience in regard to trials in Scotland. It could not be urged on the part of the Secretary for Scotland that he had not time to inquire into these facts. The noble Lord had had ample time, as the subject was one which had occupied the minds of the people of Scotland for a long period, and if it could exercise any influence on the mind of the Lord Advocate, he (Mr. Angus Sutherland) would point out that this affair had not been without direct effect upon Scotch elections. It had had a great effect upon the last election in Edinburgh, and a very material effect upon the election for the Ayr Burghs. It was a great misfortune, so far as law and order in the Highlands of Scotland was concerned, that the Secretary for Scotland had refused to do justice to this man Matheson, from his desire to screen certain officials, whose zeal had outrun their discretion, and who had been anxious to obtain convictions against the Clashmore rioters at any cost. He thought the Secretary for Scotland would be best consulting the dignity of the law, even at that late hour, by reconsidering his decision, and granting a free pardon and compensation to Hugh Matheson for all he had suffered.

Dr. CLARK said, he admitted that the Lord Advocate had found two inaccuracies in his statement. He had made a mistake by reading the number 9 for 1, and apparently he had made

some mistake in implying that there had been depositions from 16 different people. The fact was that there were 11 depositions, and then five more, but how many of the five came from the people who had signed depositions before, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not stated.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, a batch of five declarations were first received, and then a batch of 11, three of the latter coming from persons who had sent in the five. Four declarations were from persons themselves incriminated, and one was from Matheson's sister.

DR. CLARK said, that in order to verify the statement of the Lord Advocate the correspondence between the Marquess of Lothian and the friends of Matheson should be laid upon the Table. It was necessary that they should know whether or not the Lord Advocate had made statements utterly the reverse of the truth. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He did not insinuate, of course, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman knew that the statements he made were untrue. He would remind the Committee that if Matheson was not innocent of the assault upon the subfactor Gordon three individuals had committed perjury, the only evidence against him being that of a man who said he did not know him, and another man who knew him, but said his face was blacked, that he had one shawl round his head and another muffled round his face. In all 13 persons must have lied to the Secretary for Scotland if Matheson was guilty of the assault upon Gordon. Gordon himself could not swear that his assailant was Matheson, but only said he thought it was. On these facts the Government refused to do justice to Matheson. He knew what they wanted. They wanted to get another man into gaol, but they would not get that, because the people knew now what the intention of the Government was. He warned the Government that they were teaching the Scottish crofters a bad lesson. They were showing them that in order to obtain their rights they must launch into rioting. If that was the kind of education the Government wished to give the Highland people they would get plenty of riots. He trusted, however, that the Scotch Office would be wiser in future than they had been in the past, and would try to remedy the grievances of these people instead of compelling them to break the law in order to get redress. Under the circumstances, as he could not get a satisfactory answer from the Lord Advocate, he would move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £10.

Motion made, and, Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by £10, part of the salary of the Secretary for Scotland."—(*Dr. Clark.*)

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, that the Lord Advocate in the earlier part of his speech had especially appealed to him with reference to the practice in England with regard to the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy, and the point the right hon. and learned Gentleman had raised had been perfectly right. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was perfectly justified in laying down the proposition that the exercise of the Queen's Prerogative should always and only take place on a clear case—in a case where either the Home Secretary in England, or the Secretary for Scotland, or the Viceroy of Ireland were entirely satisfied that it was a proper one for the exercise of the greatest power which anyone of these individuals possessed under the present law. After the appeal the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made to him, he (Mr. Childers) believed it to be his duty to listen to what was said in the course of the debate, and to obtain, so far as he was able to do so, the Papers bearing upon the subject—not Papers laid upon the Table of the House, but such Papers as were procurable by private Members. He had perused these Papers, and given the best attention he could to remarks on the subject of the right hon. and learned Gentleman and all the hon. Members on either side of the House. He was bound to confess that he was very much struck with the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman with regard to dates in this case, and especially as to their non-connection in Lord Lothian's mind between the representations made to him and M'Leod's confession, and, on the other hand, Matheson's release. But it was clear that on the 9th July Lord Lothian said that the Government would make every possible effort to induce the real offender to surrender himself, and that

should his statement prove to be true Matheson's case would be reconsidered. It was to be presumed, therefore, that there must have been a connection between the possible liberation of Matheson and the surrender of a person admitting himself to be guilty. On the 26th July a further communication was made by Lord Lothian, to the effect that a large proportion of the jury strongly thought Matheson should be released. The date of Matheson's release was the 7th of August. Now, considering these dates, to all appearance there was a clear connection in Lord Lothian's mind between M'Leod's confession and Matheson's release. Under these circumstances it seemed to him (Mr. Childers) that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not been properly informed, and that the deliberate intention of Lord Lothian, having received the confession of M'Leod and the strong appeal of the jury and of other persons who had taken part in the case, was to do what he had said two or three weeks before he should be prepared to do. On that ground, and not doubting that the Lord Advocate had stated what he believed to be the case, he (Mr. Childers) could not think that the public would be satisfied with matters as they now stood, but that there would be a strong impression that a failure of justice had occurred, and that as it was practically admitted that the real offender had surrendered, the other ought not to remain under a stigma, but ought to be granted a free pardon.

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, that the right hon. Gentleman's statement certainly deserved the utmost respect, and for that reason only he (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) rose to say one word more. He still believed in the accuracy of the statement he had made. Lord Lothian had been informed that M'Leod proposed to give himself up, and he said that if M'Leod did so, and if it were proved that there had been a mistake, Matheson would be liberated. When, however, M'Leod gave himself up, it turned out, upon investigation, that Matheson had not been mistaken for him, and although M'Leod was guilty it did not follow that Matheson was innocent. The right hon. Gentleman had, in his last sentence, begged the question at issue, which was—whether the guilt of one man implied the innocence of the other. He (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) had pointed out over and over again, though he was afraid it had escaped the attention of the right hon. Gentleman that all the facts of the case completely admitted of both men being guilty. There was nothing said in Lord Lothian's letters which in the least degree implied that the mere fact of M'Leod's surrender would involve Matheson's release. What was stated was that if it were shown on M'Leod's giving himself up that he was the man for whom Matheson had been mistaken, Matheson would be released. He observed that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) had not said a word as to the merits of the case.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate would be able to lay upon the Table of the House the correspondence which had taken place on this subject between the Secretary for Scotland and the friends of Hugh Matheson?

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, that it would be contrary to all the rules regulating these delicate matters of the exercise of the Prerogative of the Crown to lay the Correspondence upon the Table.

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): Is it the right hon. and learned Gentleman's contention that Matheson was guilty?

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: Yes; I have said that over and over again.

Mr. HUNTER: Then, I want to know why Matheson was liberated?

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, he had stated over and over again that Matheson was liberated because it was thought that he had been punished sufficiently by undergoing nine months' imprisonment out of 12.

Mr. HUNTER said, that the circumstances of this case made him still further regret that the Secretary for Scotland was not in this House. It was very awkward to have this discussion taking place with the Lord Advocate acting as the advocate of an authority who was in "another place." The fact of Matheson being released at the end of three-fourths of his imprisonment showed that the Government did not believe him guilty, and as they did not believe him guilty they ought to give him a free pardon. It was impossible to entertain any doubt of the fact

that the Government had entered into a bargain with M'Leod to release Matheson on his (M'Leod's) confessing himself guilty of the offence.

DR. CLARK said, he understood the position of the Crown to be that they wanted to punish two more people besides Matheson, there having been three men on the field on the occasion of the riot. If Matheson was innocent they wanted another guilty one, but he (Dr. Clark) could assure the Government that there would be no more traffic in this direction. M'Leod had come to Edinburgh from Sutherland, about 300 miles, to give himself up, but the authorities had refused to take him, so that he had had to go back home again.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) thought this was a case in which the Secretary for Scotland had been misled by his advisers. He was not going to enter into the merits of the case, but from the letters which had been quoted to the House it seemed to him that there had been a clear and honourable understanding that if M'Leod came forward and confessed himself guilty and was convicted, the other man would be liberated. Possibly, putting Lord Lothian's letters into the hands of a lawyer, it might be held that technically his Lordship was not bound to liberate Matheson unless some other condition which did not appear on the face of the case were fulfilled. It appeared to him (Mr. J. W. Barclay), however, that the honourable understanding in Lord Lothian's letter was that if M'Leod came forward and was convicted, his statement being found to be true, Matheson would be liberated. It was also clear that following that liberation a free pardon should be given. With all desire to do justice to Lord Lothian, he thought that his Lordship, in this matter, had fallen short of the fulfilment of an honourable understanding and had not been as good as his word.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Hon. Gentlemen will agree that it is a very difficult thing to discuss these cases of the Prerogative of Mercy in this House, and that this is scarcely the tribunal to which an appeal should be made. If on the Vote for the Secretary for Scotland every case in which an application has been made for the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy, and every case where that Prerogative has not been exercised, is discussed, it will be impossible to see how we can come to a conclusion upon the Vote. Looking at the amount of interest attaching to some of the Scotch Votes still remaining to be passed, and at the length of time which has been devoted to the discussion of the present Vote, I feel bound to say that the time is come when I think the Committee ought to come to a conclusion upon the whole matter.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, he hoped the fact of an Irish Member availing himself of one of the privileges of the Union by intervening for a short time in this debate would not be considered an intrusion. He was as much a Home Ruler for other parts of the United Kingdom as for Ireland, and he should not interfere at all in this discussion if, in the first place, he had not some acquaintance with Scotland, and, in the next place, if he had not received a letter giving him some particulars with regard to this case and asking him to say a few words upon it. Even in the annals of Ireland he was not acquainted with a grosser case of miscarriage of justice than that which had occurred in this case of Hugh Matheson. It appeared that at the trial of Matheson three witnesses were examined for the prosecution. One of the three swore that he could not say that Matheson was in the riot at all. One of the other two witnesses, the sub-factor, swore that Matheson had knocked him down, but, in cross-examination, he said that although he believed it was Matheson who knocked him down he could not swear to it. The third witness positively identified Matheson as having been one of the rioters, but this witness had never seen Matheson before, and never saw him again until 10 days after the time on which he declared he had seen him attacking the man Gordon. Moreover, this witness, who was unacquainted with Matheson, said that the man he saw was dressed in woman's clothes and was otherwise disguised. He (Mr. Clancy) contended that upon such testimony as this they should not even hang a dog. For the Lord Advocate to cast aside, in the light way he did, the evidence of 13 independent witnesses in proof of an *alibi* was to cast an insult upon the whole of Scotland which he was surprised the Scotch Members had not re-

sented much more strongly than they had done. The Lord Advocate had forgotten to state that two of the persons concerned were accepted as witnesses for the Crown, and that the Procurator Fiscal had endeavoured to get two of the women to turn Crown witnesses, and, having done this, the Lord Advocate, with the audacity of an Irish Attorney General, came down to the House and threw ridicule upon the case made out on behalf of Matheson. Whilst listening to the debate, he (Mr. Clancy) was bound to say that he almost thought he was listening to an Irish discussion. There was strong evidence on one side and special pleading on the other, with the Scotch Secretary holding out against the majority of the Scotch Members, just as an Irish Chief Secretary was in the habit of holding out against the majority of the Irish Members; and there was the circumstance that, finally, the individual charged with the conduct of Scotch Business in this House wound up with a deliberate insult to the whole people of Scotland. He gathered that the real objection to doing justice in this matter was to avoid throwing a slur upon the packed jury which convicted Matheson. ["Oh, oh!"] A Unionist below him said there was no packed jury in Scotland, but he was afraid that this hon. Member was not an impartial witness. From what he had read, the fact was that Judge Craighill, who tried Matheson, bullied the jury into their verdict.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! As I have already pointed out, such language cannot be applied in this House to one of Her Majesty's Judges.

MR. CLANCY said, he had not the slightest hesitation in withdrawing the words if they were out of Order, but he thought that he would be at liberty to repeat what he had read in a Scotch newspaper. He thought that in this case right was on the side of the accused, and that it was, whether it was in Scotland or Ireland or England, that 20 guilty men should escape rather than that one innocent man should be punished. It would be inflicting a lasting injury upon the administration of justice and weakening respect for the law if an innocent man were punished and the impression were conveyed that the administration of justice was tainted.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 127; Noes 68: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 338.)

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 78; Noes 134: Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 339.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer claimed, "That the Original Question be now put."

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Amendment which had been moved applied to item A, in which there was very little else than the salary of the Secretary of State; but it was possible some debate might arise on the other matter contained in the Sub-Head, and he would, therefore, not put the motion.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he desired to have some information with regard to the Supplementary Vote for £500, the greater part of which appeared to be for the purpose of providing for an increase of staff during the illness of the Assistant Under Secretary. He found that the staff of the Secretary of State consisted of Secretary, Under Secretary, and Assistant Under Secretary. There seemed to be very few clerks—indeed, a somewhat inefficient staff—and that the higher officials of the Department were engaged at salaries of £1,500 and £1,000 a-year in doing clerk's work. He should have thought that during the illness of the Under Secretary there would have been some increase of the ordinary staff, and that it would not be necessary to provide, at the public expense, a substitute for him.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, that a Departmental Inquiry with regard to the Scotch Office had taken place, and it showed that for the work which ought to be done in the Scotch Office some addition to the staff was necessary. This had been made in the case of the lower division clerks. But in addition to that the Treasury had for six months sanctioned the lending of a clerk by the Home Office to the Scotch Office, and

the sum in question was necessary to meet the payment that would have to be made in consequence. The arrangement was a temporary one, and extended to the end of December, and in the meantime an endeavour would be made to meet the necessities of the Scotch Office in the best and most economical manner.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked if they were to understand that, an addition having been made to the staff, there was no increase of pay? It was most undesirable that there should be increase of pay provided by Supplementary Estimate.

MR. JACKSON said, that no portion of the Supplementary Estimate was for increase of pay to the existing staff.

MR. CALDWELL said, he wished to call attention to the curious anomaly in the rate of pay of clerks in the Scotch Office. The assistant secretaries began with a salary of £220, which incresed by £20 per annum up to £600. It seemed an extraordinary thing that these officials should receive as a maximum three times their original salary. Then the salaries of the lower division clerks began at £150 and increased by £15 a-year to £250; so that the older they got the more pay they received. He contended that the difference between the maximum and minimum pay was utterly disproportionate, and that in any re-arrangement of the Office which might take place, the question of salaries should be re-considered. He thought that a man who received £200 a-year at first should not receive more than a maximum salary of £300, and, if that were done, the staff might be increased without adding to the expense. There was no doubt that the staff was far too small for the amount of work that had to be done.

MR. THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk) asked, if the sum on the Estimate was paid in addition to the emolument which the clerk lent to the Scotch Office received from the Home Office.

MR. JACKSON said, the clerk referred to did not get double pay. There were other clerks in the Home Office to take the position of this particular clerk, who had been selected as especially fit for the work, and had, he believed, given great satisfaction.

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, he would point out to the hon. Gentleman the Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell) that the same system with regard to salaries prevailed at the Home Office, Foreign Office, and in other Departments as that which was in operation in the Scotch Office. There were many instances of commencing salaries of £200 ending with a maximum of £600.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,376, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, in the present state of business he did not wish unnecessarily to take up time, but he objected to retaining on the Votes amounts for the payment of Heralds, Lyon King-at-Arms, Pursuivants, Historiographer, and other useless personages, and he should therefore move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £900, which represented their salaries.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,476, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

MR. HUNTER said, he could not imagine any subject that would be more gratifying to the people of Scotland than to know that Section 37 of the 13th of Victoria was to be repealed. He was not altogether in favour of striking out all the items named by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, but if the Committee went to a Division he should vote against them. He trusted, however, that the Government would give an assurance that the question of Lyon King-at-Arms would be considered, and then he thought that the Committee would be spared the necessity of taking up time by dividing against the Vote.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) asked what were the duties of the Historiographer?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) said, the Historiographer was constantly at work. He admitted that the office was archaic, but it offered one of those rewards which from time to time had been given by all civilized Governments in

recognition of literary merit, and it was a reward to which men having that qualification might legitimately aspire. The question raised by the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) was an extremely complicated one, and he had more than once, with limited success, endeavoured to explain it in Committee. But he might point out that against the charge which appeared on the Vote for the Lyon King-at-Arms there had to be set the fees paid into the Exchequer for stamps on patents of creation of orders of knighthood, over which the Lyon King-at-Arms—one of the most ancient officers in Scotland — still presided. Whether it was desirable that the office should be maintained was, of course, a matter for the judgment of the House. It could not, at all events, be said that it cost the public anything; and if the hon. Gentleman would consult with him he would show that, so far from that being the case, there was a considerable gain.

MR. HUNTER said, he did not consider the answer of the hon. Baronet satisfactory, because he could not admit that the office of Lyon King-at-Arms cost nothing. If fees had to be paid by gentlemen who obtained patents of knighthood, there was no reason why they should not pay them into the Exchequer. The office was a perfect absurdity, and he thought it was due to the people of Scotland that they should protest against the Vote; and unless the hon. Baronet could give an assurance that before next year this ancient office, which had lasted long enough, would be entombed, they would perhaps have more to say upon the question.

DR. CLARK said, he understood that the charge for the Historiographer was only another way of giving an extra pension to the Deputy Clerk of Session. The right to publish the Bible in Scotland was, he understood, given to a certain individual. He thought there was room for reduction here, and that they were entitled to know what was done for the money charged for the Bible Board.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he hoped the Government would say that the Historiographer would be required to employ his talents in illustrating the history of Scotland, in which there were many obscurities, and that he would not be allowed to draw this money for nothing. Then he would like to know what was done for the amount paid to the Royal Archers?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said that £20 was all that the Royal Archers received in recognition of their ancient office. With regard to the Bible Board, the Committee would recollect that last year a Committee was appointed to inquire into the constitution of the Board. He had fully expected to have the Report of the Committee before that time, but for some reason, of which he had not been informed, it had not yet been made. He thought, however, that by next year he would be able to give the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) a satisfactory assurance on the question he had raised.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 69; Noes 166: Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 340.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum not exceeding £7,427, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland, and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays."

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) said, he desired to approach this Vote in a perfectly friendly spirit. He did not want to move any reduction, but merely some suggestions, which, he believed, would be of advantage to the Board itself, and also to the fishing interest of Scotland. The value of the fish landed on the Scotch coast amounted to no less than £2,000,000 sterling, and, to give a further example, the value of the fish landed on the coast of Aberdeenshire, one of the largest Counties in Scotland, amounted to a greater sum than the entire agricultural rental of the County. He believed that they had got the right system in having a central Board; but he could not say that he believed the constitution of the present Board to be as satisfactory and as useful as it might be. He believed they would do better if they had a considerable representation of fishermen on the Board, and he believed also that the Board would be better, stronger, and more useful if there were some reduction of the legal element upon it. There were upon the

Board no less than three Sheriffs who were *ex officio* members. He thought that the Board should have legal members upon it, but that one Sheriff would be sufficient. He desired that the Board should be a strong one, able to hold its own and lay down and enforce regulations, and that it should not be a Board liable to be influenced unduly one way or the other by different sections of the fishing community, and, therefore, he wanted to see it not a weak and shifting body, but a strong and stable one. The Fishery Board, at its origin, was a very different body from what it was at present; it was originally established for the purpose of superintending the branding of herring barrels, but its work had infinitely expanded; it had become much more valuable and useful by that expansion, and was most useful, inasmuch as it had borne the cost in each district of a fishing officer. There were fishing officers distributed all round the coast, together with the Inspectors, and it was the case of these fishing officers that he desired to bring before the Committee. The work of the fishing officers in connection with the superintendence of the branding of herring barrels alone had enormously increased. But the branding of herrings was only a small part of the work of the officers; they had other duties of what he conceived to be of a still more important character laid upon them. In the first place, a vast amount of statistics was collected by the Fishery Board every year, which were made use of by the fishing communities around the coast of Scotland, and this fact would show the laborious character of their work. Then they had to discharge very important duties as a sort of marine police; they had charge of such matters as the numbering and lettering of fishing boats, the care of drifting or derelict buoys and nets, and discharged, moreover, very considerable magisterial functions in cases of damage by trawlers and in other matters. He had a letter in his hand from an officer of the Board, detailing the work done and the extension which had taken place of the duties of the officers. But, notwithstanding all this increased work, these officers had not had any advance of pay in the last 27 years. He thought that their salaries of £100, rising by an annual increment to £180 a-year, were altogether insufficient for the responsible duties they were called on to perform, and for obtaining fully qualified men; and he, therefore, asked for some assurance from the Government that the question of their position should be taken up with a view to its improvement. He believed that this could be done without any great addition to the national expenditure. He thought that the time had gone by when they should insist that these Commissioners should necessarily be coopers. The time had come when this requirement should be modified, if not entirely dispensed with; and one reason why this was desirable was that apprentices to coopers no longer existed. He was aware of the necessity of being very careful in regard to the size of the barrels, because one of the very points that branding was supposed to insure was that the barrels should be of a certain definite size in order that it might be taken that they contained a certain number of herrings. But in these days any ordinary, intelligent man, using his measures and so forth, could do the work certainly satisfactory without first having gone through an apprenticeship. He also thought there should be some better care taken as to the localities in which these fishery officers were placed. During a recent visit of his on a fishery inquiry to Greenock, he found there were two fishery officers where there was hardly any fish landed at all. So little freedom was given to these officers that he asked one of them—an Assistant Inspector — about the mussel beds in his district, and he said he had not been able to go to them because he should have to apply to the Fishery Board for special orders to do so, and for a special allowance to enable him to do so. It was a most extraordinary thing that they should have an Inspector of the Fishery Board who should not be able to give them any information, from his own personal knowledge, in regard to the mussel beds in his own district because he had not sufficient freedom to enable him to visit those places. Then he desired for a moment to refer to the question of trawling. He wanted to receive some assurance from the Government that they would take the matter up, and that they would insist on the Fishery Board using the powers given them. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate would

admit that the Act had given the Scotch Fishery Board most complete powers to prohibit trawling within the three mile limit. The Board had used that power in certain localities, but what he wanted was that the rule should be applied to the whole of Scotland, and that within the three mile limit around Scotland trawling should be prohibited. He knew that the vast majority of the Members of the Fishery Board were in favour of such an application of the rule, and that what the Fishery Board required now was the support of the House of Commons in giving effect to the Act. The damage done to line fishing by trawlers had been to a considerable extent met by the Act of 1885. Undoubtedly line fishers did get with some considerable ease compensation for damage done to their lines by trawlers. But there was one point that had not been considered, and that was that the compensation for the loss of lines did not sufficiently meet the case. It seemed to be entirely forgotten that not only did fishermen lose their lines, but they lost the particular catch of fish on the lines. He thought that, in considering the damage to be awarded against trawlers in these cases, some fair allowance ought to be made for the probable catch of fish for that time of the year which would be on the line. He should like to have some explanation also of what seemed to him to be the very summary way in which two Members of the Fishery Board were removed from the Board last year when certain changes were made—namely, Mr. Grieve and Mr. Maxton Graham, with hardly any explanation, while both of them were very old members of the Board, and had done most valuable services. Lastly, he wished to know whether the Lord Advocate could tell them when he was going to produce the Salmon Fishing Bill which had been promised, a Bill which was to deal with all the salmon fisheries of Scotland. They were entitled to have that Bill introduced as early as possible in order that it might obtain full consideration. There were many other interesting points he would like to raise, but he would content himself by simply referring to these points, upon which he hoped the Lord Advocate would be able to give satisfactory assurances.

Mr. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) said, he did not approach the discussion of this important question in a controversial spirit, but he was not altogether sure that he should not be justified in moving a reduction of the Vote, because it seemed that unless they did that attention was not sufficiently drawn to fishery matters. There was one matter relating to the constitution of the Board which certainly deserved the censure of the Committee, and that was the payment of a salary of £800 a-year to the Chairman of the Board. It was very curious to find that in the case of a Board which ought to be a practical one, no member was paid except the Chairman. [Dr. Clark: The Sheriffs are.] His hon. Friend the Member for Caithness said that the Sheriffs were paid, but as far as he (Mr. Anderson) knew, they were not. They had it as a fact, however, that the Board which was constituted for the purpose of attending to the fishing interests of Scotland, and which ought to be composed of practical men connected with fishing, was composed of men who, with the exception of one, received no salary at all. Parliament in its wisdom, when it created the Board, assigned a salary of £800 a-year to the Chairman. That was a very large salary to pay, especially when the fact was borne in mind that the Chairman was not a practical man, that practically he knew nothing about the intricacies of the fishing industry. This was an anomaly which ought to be removed, and it was one of the things which he understood the Government intended to deal with, because the constitution of the Fishery Board had been the subject of discussion on several occasions. The Lord Advocate was probably aware that the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) and the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A Macdonald) had admitted that the Government considered the constitution of the Board and the powers of the Board ought to be thoroughly considered by the Government. Among other questions to be considered would be that of the salary paid to the Chairman. He had to ask why it had not been thought proper by the Government to bring forward the scheme which they had in their mind, or which they said they had been considering in regard to the re-constitution of the Board. He

was not going too far when he said that even with the added members, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Boyd, and Mr. Anderson Smith, the Board had not given satisfaction to the fishermen of Scotland. People spoke of the Board with a certain amount of ridicule; there was a general feeling among fishermen that the Board was not constituted in the interests of the fishing community. Within the past three years three gentlemen had been added to the Board who had no doubt materially strengthened it, still they had on the Board as elements of weakness three Sheriffs. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Majoribanks) seemed to think that one Sheriff would be enough; he (Mr. Anderson) thought it better that there should be no Sheriff on the Board. There ought to be on the Board men like Mr. Johnstone, who was a fish-curer of large experience; and, moreover, they ought to have men on the Board to represent the various branches of the fishing industry. Have a trawler, if they liked; have a fish-curer, if they liked; have a line fisherman, and various other persons who represented the different branches of the fishing industry. Upon the question of the re-constitution of the Board, one important matter had arisen which, of course, the fishermen spoke of with some amount of feeling. These people could not afford to give their time to the Board without being paid. The Chairman of the Board was, happily, not in that position, because he was a person perfectly independent of anything of the sort. Fishermen, fish-curers, and various persons whom they ought to have on the Board ought to be paid a fair sum for the time they gave to the duties of the Board. It was quite impossible to get practical people to attend to such matters unless they were paid for the services they performed. Therefore, he thought the best thing to do was to take away from the Chairman the £800 which was paid to him, and distribute it among the other Members of the Board. It was in that sense he proposed to reduce the Vote by striking out the Chairman's salary. Before he made that Motion, he desired to say a word upon the general action the Board had taken. He could not help thinking that, although the Report this year showed an amount of energy not shown before, which was very satisfactory, and although a very large amount of valuable information had been obtained, and although there were signs of additional work on the part of members of the Board, there were many matters which had not hitherto been dealt by the Fishery Board, and on account of which bitter disappointment was felt in the various fishing districts of Scotland. This chiefly arose, he imagined, from the fact that this was a central Board sitting in Edinburgh, and there were no representative Boards in the various fishing districts. In the re-constitution of the Board he trusted that provision would be made for the establishment of local or district Boards. If there were District Fishery Boards instead of one Central Board, they would have men in the different districts who knew the wants of the district, who had local knowledge, and who would be able to confer with the central body in Edinburgh; they would have local knowledge brought to bear upon the various questions, and they would have the wants of the people of the different localities attended to. The question of trawling had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire, and that, as everyone knew, was a very vexed question in Scotland. It was a question upon which a Commission had sat, and in regard to which voluminous evidence had been given. He was happy to think that the Fishery Board, judging from their Report and the statements they made as to experiments, were at last coming round to the opinion, which everybody who was well informed on the subject entertained—namely, that trawling did enormous damage to the fishing round the coasts of Scotland. That was great progress, and it was progress which was founded, he was satisfied from his own personal inquiries, upon fact. In regard to the portion of the coast of Scotland which he knew better than any other, he had been able to ascertain from the fishermen themselves that, as soon as trawling had been stopped, the in-shore fishing, especially the line fishing, had enormously increased, and that in places where formerly, while trawlers were at work, people had had great difficulty in getting any fish at all, they now could have a capital take. He could not

understand why there should be a reluctance on the part of the Fishery Board to stop trawling; and he hoped that in the general interest some more active action would be taken by the Board in this matter. He had also to refer to the harbour question. The Lord Advocate had said to-night that something was being done to improve the harbours on the coast of Scotland by the Fishery Board, who had large powers in dealing with harbours. He (Mr. Anderson) had read the Report of the Board, and he could not help thinking that, considering the money expended on the various harbours, the results had been very meagre and miserable. He thought he was correct in saying that the Fishery Board had not given assistance to one-tenth of the harbours applying for it, and he was sorry to find that where they had given assistance they had given it in a very lavish manner. He supposed it was thought necessary, when harbour works were undertaken, to spend a considerable sum of money. The lavish sums granted had swallowed up all the funds at the disposal of the Board, and what he had to ascertain was what were the views of the Government in regard to the question of harbours; because he conceived that, unless the powers of the Fishery Board in regard to harbours were extended, the same thing which had been going on for years would continue to go on, and very little real good would be done. Unless Parliament placed at the disposal of the Board a much larger sum than at present, it was obvious that the harbour question, which was a most important and vital question to the fishermen of Scotland, would go on dragging its weary length along little cared for by this Government, or, perhaps, by the next Government. He impressed upon the Committee that this was a matter of the most serious importance to the fishing industry. The lives of many fishermen were sacrificed year by year, for want of harbour accommodation, in a manner which would astonish people who chose to investigate the subject. There was another matter in regard to which he thought the action of the Board ought to be criticized. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire had referred to the question of the bait or mussel beds. The question might not be thought to be of importance by Members of the Government; but it was of vast importance to the fishermen, and he intended to make a few remarks upon it, for the purpose, if possible, of making the Government see the importance of it. Upon the bait question, no doubt, very valuable remarks were made in the Report of the Board, and he hoped that some good results would spring from the inquiries by the Commission at present sitting. In his opinion, the Fishery Board had altogether overlooked the importance of the subject. Everyone who had inquired into the subject of bait found that in many parts of Scotland it was absolutely impossible for the fishermen to obtain bait except at exorbitant prices. They had, for instance, to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* a basket for their bait, and the price they paid was frequently more than the value of the catch by line fishing. It might seem a trivial matter, but it was to these fishermen of the greatest importance. Upon this question of bait their livelihood depended, and he could not help thinking that the energies of the Fishery Board ought to be still further directed to the matter. He considered that upon the Fishery Question we ought to take advantage of the example set by the United States. Fishery matters in this country were dealt with in a most shabby and niggardly manner. Each successive Government seemed to think it was a matter of no importance, and fishermen were left to take care of their own interests and to go on in their own way. In the United States things were different. An enormous sum of money was spent annually out of the United States Treasury expressly for the purpose of developing the fishing industry, and promoting its prosperity by making experiments. He was sure he was not far wrong in saying that a sum of between £50,000 and £60,000 was at the present moment paid out of the Treasury of the United States for the purpose of developing and improving the fishing industry. That was an example we ought to follow to a great extent. Not many months ago he asked the Government whether they would not spend £1,000 in making experiments similar to those made by the Fishery Board in the United States. It was conceded, as it must be conceded by everyone who looked into the matter, that

by artificial culture fish of every kind could be enormously increased at very small cost, and he did not think it was extravagant in him to ask the Government to sanction the expenditure of so small a sum as £1,000 for the making of so important an experiment. The Answer he received was that, although the experiment might be very desirable, the Government did not see their way to adopt the suggestion. The same evening, however, the House of Commons was asked to vote £1,500,000 for the defence of the coaling stations. He never registered a vote with greater pleasure than he registered his vote against the expenditure on the coaling stations, because he thought that if the Government would not contribute so small a sum as £1,000 for so excellent an experiment as he referred to, and which had had great results in the United States, the less said about the coaling stations the better. The well-being of our fishermen was a subject in which he took great interest. They carried on a most dangerous and precarious calling, and he could not help thinking that the fishermen had not had that consideration which they deserved. With these remarks, which, he was afraid, had been somewhat unduly prolonged, and for the reason he stated at the commencement, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of £800, the salary of the Chairman of the Scotch Fishery Board.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £800, the Salary of the Chairman."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, that as it was impossible to discuss properly the Vote in the time which remained to them to-night, he presumed they would have an opportunity to-morrow of doing so. Perhaps, however, he might refer briefly to one or two of the details of the Vote, in the hope of receiving a reply from the Lord Advocate to-morrow. He noticed that under Sub-head H a sum of £2,000 was taken for the Scientific Department of the Fishery Board, but that no particulars of the expenditure were given.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! An Amendment has been moved with reference to the salary of the Chairman of the Board. The discussion must be confined to the Amendment.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, that he would, of course, confine his remarks to the Amendment. He could not help thinking that the Amendment went somewhat too far; in fact, he thought that if his hon. Friend (Mr. Anderson) wished to raise the question he would raise it better by proposing a smaller salary.

It being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *to-morrow;* Committee also report progress; to sit again *to-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [10th December] reported.

(1) "That a sum, not exceeding £369,288, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of the Constabulary Force, Ireland."

Resolution read a second time.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he had an Amendment to propose to this Vote. It would be in the recollection of the House that the discussion upon this Vote came to a somewhat untimely end yesterday, and that he was precluded, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, from calling attention to a distinct and deliberate misappropriation of public money. He did not intend to go into the evidence submitted to the Royal Commission now sitting, or to make any observations which, if made outside the House, might be deemed Contempt of Court. What he complained of was that money granted under this Vote, and that men who were paid salaries under the Vote, were being used for the purpose, whether it was intended or not, of assisting *The Times* newspaper to substantiate the charges they had made against the Irish Members of Parliament and the Land League. He proposed to give three instances to prove his contention that there was a misappropriation of public money. Thomas O'Connor was a witness before the Royal Commission, and he said in his evidence that he received a letter from Mr. Houston, the Secretary of the Loyal and Patriotic League, telling him

to call at the police barracks at Castle-island, and that the Inspector would then give him a ticket for London, where he was to give evidence for *The Times*. This was a clear case. The letter was read in court and it was not for a moment contested. He believed Mr. Houston to be a perfectly respectable gentleman, although not of his way of thinking, and he had no doubt he would admit the letter. Here they had a positive fact. Here was Mr. Houston, the Secretary of the Loyal and Patriotic League, acting for *The Times*, writing a letter to a man in Ireland, telling him to call at the police barracks, where the inspector would give him a ticket for London, where he was to bear witness. What was this but the use of a police barracks as a sort of office for obtaining evidence for *The Times*, and the use of the police as a species of bankers or monetary agents, in order to transmit money to the witnesses who come from Ireland for *The Times*.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I rise to a point of Order. Questions analogous to this came up in Committee of Supply, and the Chairman of Committees said that though he could not absolutely rule them out of Order, they were to be discouraged, and I was consequently precluded in Committee of Supply from dealing with questions connected with evidence given before the Commission which is now sitting in London. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether, if the hon. Gentleman is allowed to go into these questions, it will be competent for me, consistent with the Rules which regulate debate in this House, to make any reply.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E): On the point of Order, I wish to say that the question now raised by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) did not arise in Committee of Supply. The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly mistaken. What the Chairman of Committees remarked upon was the reference made to the evidence of a witness named Walsh, upon which evidence an argument was sought to be based. There was a question asked whether that evidence was truthful or not. The Chairman did not rule that was out of Order, but said it would be inconvenient to refer to the nature of the evidence sworn to before the Commissioners. As I understood the question brought before the House now is of a totally different character.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Northampton will be perfectly in Order if he confines his remarks to the conduct of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that the question he wanted to raise was the misconduct of Constabulary officers. He had already given one case. His second case was that of District Inspector Craig, who had admitted before the Commission that he had suggested to a witness named Kennedy, when in the office of Mr. Soames, the solicitor for *The Times*, the names of certain Boycotted persons whom he thought Kennedy ought to bring in in his evidence. He called it misconduct for an officer who was paid out of this Vote, to go to the office of Mr. Soames, sit by while witnesses were brought in, and suggest to witnesses that they should give evidence with regard to certain persons. When peasants of Ireland were told to go to a police barracks in Ireland, and there get their expenses to London, and when they came to London and found police officers in Mr. Soames' office where they had been taken to state what their evidence was, one could understand that these ignorant peasants would be under the impression that this was a Government prosecution, and that they might therefore be frightened into saying more than they otherwise would say. His third case was that of Inspector Irwin. This also was a case of misconduct. Inspector Irwin admitted before the Royal Commission that he had taken down evidence of other constables at a room in the Inns of Court Hotel. This was the business of the solicitor to *The Times*; it certainly was not the business of a police constable, who was paid out of public monies, to sit in a room in the Inns of Court Hotel preparing or arranging with other constables what they were to say and what they were not to say before the Royal Commission. He would not pursue his remarks further. He did not think he had gone into any controverted matter before the Commission. He had stated three cases. He saw present one of the counsel employed in the case, and he had no doubt that hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would bear him out that what he had stated positively occurred before the Commis-

sion. He had in no way exaggerated the facts. The shorthand notes could be referred to. He objected to this sort of thing. He thought hon. Members might reasonably object to it. They were asked to vote a large sum of money, and they were able to show that a portion of the money had been expended in this singular manner. If they were perfectly certain that no more would be expended in this way, then they might not think it necessary to pursue the matter further. But the House would shortly be prorogued. The inquiry was likely to go on for a considerable time, and hon. Members had reason to believe, from what had occurred, that if they did not object to the proceedings to which he had called attention, in all probability other expenditure of the same kind would take place. Under these circumstances, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £5,000.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£369,288," in order to insert "£364,288,"—(*Mr. Labouchere,*)—instead thereof:—

Question proposed, "That '£369,288' stand part of the Resolution."

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he also had a few observations to make which he would have preferred to make in Committee of Supply if that had not been made impossible by the unexpected application of the Rule of Closure. He had to call the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to the practice which had prevailed during the last 12 months of inflicting needless and wanton cruelty upon prisoners under the Crimes Act. Over and over again they had had to complain of the arrest of persons of respectable condition. Men had been taken out of their beds at night and kept for the remainder of the night in the stony cells of police stations. He respectfully submitted that in the case of persons of respectable condition who were accused of quasi-political offences under the Crimes Act, there was no reason whatever why the men should be taken into custody under warrant. Every end of justice would be satisfied by the service of a summons. It could not be pretended by the Solicitor General for Ireland, or anyone else, that when a charge was brought against a respectable shopkeeper or farmer of Ireland—one of those trumped-up charges of unlawful assembly, a riot, or obstruction of the police, or holding a meeting of a suppressed branch of the League—there was any apprehension that the man, if served with a summons, would fail to appear. A number of respectable men in County Donegal were remanded again and again by "Removable" Hamilton for refusing to give evidence before a Court of Star Chamber. They were remanded to the Gaol of Derry, some 50 miles distant, and would the House believe that on each occasion that these respectable men were brought up for examination — some of them were old men, some were men in extremely feeble health—they were handcuffed and placed on outside cars, and driven in the most inclement weather from Derry to the place where the Court was held, which was 50 miles distant? What was the meaning of this? Was it intended to secure evidence, or to vindicate the course of justice? It certainly had provoked from the Bishop of Raphoe, an ecclesiastic who enjoyed the respect of men of all opinions and classes in Ireland, as eloquent and indignant and well deserved a protest as ever proceeded from an ecclesiastic or layman. That case was bad enough, but what did he read in the newspapers yesterday? Why, that a number of gentlemen, respectable residents in the town of Naas, including amongst them the Chairman of the Town Commissioners and a number of merchants in the town, were charged with an offence under the Second Section of the Crimes Act which amounted simply to this—that when some cattle were seized, and were being sold under circumstances of such hardship to the tenant that the public condemned the proceedings, there was an assembly at the sale. There was some excitement. One boy threw a stone, but there was no blow struck; no one was injured. The excitement, whatever it was—natural and excusable as it was—ended harmlessly, but these gentlemen were sent to prison. They were taken yesterday morning by the police from the prison of Kilmainham, in the City of Dublin, handcuffed two and two, and in that condition were brought by railway into their own town--into the town where one was Chairman of the Town Commissioners. The House would not be surprised to hear that the result of the excitement caused

in the town was that the hearing of the case had to be abruptly adjourned. He could not imagine what was meant by such proceedings. Certainly one result, one which the Government could hardly have in their minds, was produced—these proceedings created in the minds of the people, and in the minds of the people of every class, not in the minds of one set of politicians, a feeling of such excitement and natural anger that law and order were more endangered by the proceedings under the Crimes Act than they ever could be advanced by the severest punishments that could be inflicted. He passed from that, and he asked what the learned Attorney General for Ireland had determined to do in the case of Police Constable Swindell, found guilty by a Coroner's Jury of the wilful murder of the man Patrick Ahern. Let the House observe that the Coroner's Jury was summoned by the police. The Coroner did not bring the jury together, but gave his precept to the police, and the police summoned the jury. The Coroners' Juries, whose verdicts for the last 12 months the Government had ignored, had in all cases included persons who were not of the school of politics to which he (Mr. Sexton) belonged. Indeed, in most cases the majority of the juries were supporters of the Government, and therefore opposed to the Nationalists. The Coroner's Jury selected by the police found Constable Swindell guilty of wilful murder. The Government brought the case into the Court of Queen's Bench, and the Court, upon the application of the Crown, released the constable found guilty of wilful murder, upon his own recognizances, and he was returned to stand his trial, as he (Mr. Sexton) understood, in the ordinary course of law at the Winter Assizes in Cork. The Winter Assizes were now proceeding. The Lord Chief Baron was the going Judge, but the proper documents had not been sent to the Lord Chief Baron by the Petty Sessions Clerk. Such was the contempt entertained for the administration of the law by officials in Ireland. The Attorney General for Ireland had determined not to proceed on the inquisition of the Coroner. The Solicitor General for Ireland had declared in the House of Commons that the Attorney General would not send up a Bill. What would the Attorney General do? The Attorney General had had ample time to make up his mind. Some weeks had elapsed since the murder was committed, and he (Mr. Sexton) had to ask whether the Attorney General, since he declined to proceed on the Coroner's inquisition, would at least submit the case to a magisterial investigation. He had also to call attention to the conduct of the police in the case of John Kinsella. Kinsella was murdered in cold blood and in broad daylight, and no one had been brought to justice for the crime. In this case the emergency men and the police had been allowed to live in the same house, and had been allowed to fall into habits of daily association and cultivate feelings of intimate friendship. Upon the morning of the murder, before the expedition set out, the sergeant of police, living in the house with the emergency gang, warned Freeman, the leader of the gang, that they might have trouble in the seizure of the cattle as the tenants might probably resist. Freeman replied, "You may go to Gorey. We will be able to take care of ourselves." They were able to take care of themselves. There were 18 men armed, as Judge O'Brien stated at the trial, and Judge O'Brien was not disposed to comment severely upon the proceedings of emergency men—armed as men were never armed on this side of Texas. They went on what had since been proved on the admission of Judge O'Brien and others an illegal expedition, the taking of life in which was an act of murder. They were armed to the teeth. Every one of them had a firearm, and some had two. Did the police go to Gorey? No; neither did they go to the point of contact between the emergency men and the tenants. He submitted to the House that if the Government had not allowed the emergency men and the police to live in the same house and arrange this matter between them in the morning, the police would have felt it their duty to be upon the scene when the conflict took place between the emergency men and the tenants, and he affirmed that if the police had been there the probability was that the murder would not have been committed, but that if it had been committed the murderer would have been brought justice. What did the police do? They placed themselves on a hill on the other side of the road, a

quarter of a mile distant. They saw the murder done. They were near enough to see it done, but they were too far off to be of any use. The bullet found in the body of Kinsella did not fit the revolver found in the possession of Freeman, who, upon the testimony of five persons, fired the fatal shot. If the police had been on the spot they could have prevented an exchange of weapons. The police did not get to the emergency men until the emergency men had returned to the road. In the mean time there has been ample time for an exchange of arms. The bullet did not fit the revolver found in Freeman's hand when the police came up, but it was a curious circumstance that another man of the party was found to have in his hand a rifle, and in his pocket a revolver. The revolver was loaded, but it had been recently discharged, the inference being that the revolver had been discharged by another hand, that it had been reloaded and transferred to the man upon whom the revolver which the bullet fitted was found. What he (Mr. Sexton) maintained was that if the police had done their duty, and they would have done it had they not been associates of the emergency men, they would have been at the gate where the murder took place. Freeman would never have fired the shot, but if he had the police would have been able to collect materials to satisfy the ends of justice. What was the miserable sequel to this case? The man Freeman had the bill against him ignored by a jury of landlords, and the other emergency men charged with manslaughter were found not guilty by a jury packed by the inclusion of 12 Protestants and the exclusion of 24 Catholics. After the murder the police arrested no one; they questioned no one with regard to the evidence he could give, but they drove with Freeman and another emergency man to Gorey, where they saw Lord Courtown, the Chairman of the Property Defence Association, the very man who sent the 18 armed men to make the seizure. A friendly conversation ensued between Lord Courtown, the emergency men, and the constables, and in the end Freeman went free. He gave evidence before the Coroner's Jury as an innocent man. Now, what action had been taken in regard to Captain Brownrigg, who ad charge of the police at Mitchelstown? Three men lost their lives through the brutality of the police. Captain Brownrigg was the man to whom Captain Plunkett sent the telegram, "Do not hesitate to shoot." Captain Brownrigg was the man who gave the order to the police to force a way for the police reporter to the platform. He (Mr. Sexton) hoped the Chief Secretary was now prepared to admit that in giving that order Captain Brownrigg violated, not only the law, but the expressed and specific provisions of the Police Code. The Police Code expressly directed that in the case of a public meeting the police should not intrude their reporter, but should either arrange with the promoters of the meeting for the accommodation of the reporter, or else the reporter should take the best place available. The police failed in the attempt to force a way for their reporter, and then Captain Brownrigg sent a second batch of constables to punish the meeting for not allowing the reporter to go through. The second batch of constables made a charge of revenge with batons and rifles. Captain Brownrigg kept a safe distance away, and as soon as some sticks were raised in the crowd, but before any blow was struck, some girls on the verge of the crowd ran away, and Captain Brownrigg ran away with them. Captain Brownrigg rushed into the police barracks, and said to the policemen, "Men, load your rifles, go up stairs, and fire from the upper windows." The police rushed up stairs fired 13 shots, and three lives were taken. Here again was a violation, not only of the law, but of the Constabulary Code, the Constabulary Code laying it down that the word of command should be given for each discharge. District Inspector Irwin, the only officer who kept his head, fortunately went up stairs while the police were there. After his arrival, he only allowed the men to fire two shots, but in each instance with buckshot. If there was one man who deserved at the hands of the Government signal honour for what he did on that day it was Inspector Irwin. The firing should never have taken place. There was no attempt on the part of the people to force an entrance of the barracks; a few stones were thrown, a pane of glass or two were broken, and then the people returned to the meeting. The whole proceedings of the police was illegal.

Captain Brownrigg, who in turn played the part of bully, coward, and murderer, strove to throw on the District Inspector the responsibility, not for stopping the firing, but for beginning it. He said the order he gave was—"Men, go upstairs and load your rifles; I will fire if this sort of thing continues." A likely thing that he left the men with loaded rifles kneeling at the windows! The County Inspector gave his evidence and tried to get rid of the responsibility of giving the order to fire. District Inspector Irwin gave evidence that the County Inspector gave the order to fire, and that he (the District Inspector) gave the order to cease firing. A private inquiry followed—not a public inquiry, that some Unionist Members considered essential, but a private inquiry; and this was held at the private lodgings of Captain Plunkett, the very magistrate who, by telegraph, despatched the order to Colonel Brownrigg, "Do not hesitate to shoot." District Inspector Irwin was given to understand that the Force was no place for him, and he was harassed until his position in the Force was made intolerable, simply because he had saved the lives of people at Mitchelstown. He could tell the House that if Colonel Brownrigg's intentions had been carried into effect, if the police had fired into the midst of the meeting in the Square instead of retiring into barracks, probably the deaths would have been, not three, but three score; and certainly not a policeman would have left the square alive. That might have been the unhappy result if Colonel Brownrigg had had his way. He (Mr. Sexton) heartily rejoiced the result was otherwise; but was it not a pitiful thing that this man whose action prevented such slaughter was harassed and persecuted by the Government, while the man whose cowardice and orders produced the evils of that day retained his rank and position? But this was not all. District Inspector Irwin asked leave to retire, and leave was given to him; but—and he hoped the Chief Secretary was not directly responsible, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would disavow responsibility—that honest and capable officer whose conduct was the one bright spot in the black and miserable record of official conduct at Mitchelstown, after 44 years honourable service, retired from the Force, not on the pension of £256 a-year to which he was entitled, but upon £200 only. He had been fined £56 a-year for the rest of his life, because he behaved like an honest man and a gallant officer. Before sitting down he had to press home the questions put by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) as to the relations between the Constabulary and the proprietors of *The Times* in reference to the inquiry now proceeding before the Royal Commission. He failed to understand, remembering what the First Lord of the Treasury told the House, that the Government would afford equal facilities to the Irish Members and to *The Times* newspaper, he failed to understand these relations. The first fact to notice was that, so long ago as August last, on the morrow of the passing of the Commission Act, Head Constable Irwin, Instructor of Shorthand, and having charge of a depôt in Dublin, left his duties there and was absent for weeks and months going through the country, and taking notes of the statements of various persons who would give evidence on behalf of *The Times*. This constable, he was informed, had received several hundred pounds for his services from *The Times*. He was not disposed to make any severe comment on the conduct of any man who earned extra money in any way that he considered honest; but the question he had a right to ask was—"Why was this man, receiving pay for his services in the Force, allowed to leave his depôt and his duties, and place himself at the service of *The Times*?" Next, he had to observe that the ordinary form of securing the attendance of witnesses was by service of subpœna, but this practice seemed to have been entirely suspended in relation to the Irish Constabulary. There had been numerous cases of constables and head constables being brought to London, not by subpœna but by telegram from their superior officer. How came it about that the superior gave such an order by telegraph? Was it through communication from *The Times* solicitor? The constable received an order to come to London and report himself to the solicitor to *The Times*. A curious thing it was that a novel department of the Irish Police had been opened in the City of London, at a certain hotel, where for weeks past there had been an assemblage of some scores—and, indeed, he

thought he should not be wrong if he said hundreds of Irish Police officials of various ranks from Captain Plunkett, who had abandoned duty altogether, down to the ordinary constable, and there, day after day, might be seen constables, under direction of Inspectors, taking down the evidence of all and sundry on behalf of *The Times*. If because of the state of Ireland it was necessary to have a Coercion Act in operation, how was it possible that the Irish Executive could allow hundreds of police to be thus absent from duty? If equal facilities were to be afforded to both parties, how was it that evidence for the defence had to be provided and prepared by funds from private sources, while official witnesses for *The Times* had their expenses paid and their pay provided from the public purse, though not performing their duties? The Under Secretary for Ireland was in London, the Divisional Magistrate from Cork, Crown Solicitors, and many other officials, were in London, but why, when merely by serving a subpœna any man who was required could be brought over by the next mail boat? In truth, it was not a matter of giving evidence at all; these people were here in position of agents for *The Times* and directors of the case for *The Times*. If anyone had the curiosity—he never had it himself, but some of his friends had been there—to go to the Royal Courts of Justice, he might see a squad of District Inspectors engaged in arranging and sorting witnesses for *The Times*, much as if they were training raw recruits on the parade ground in Phœnix Park. Some of the instances were very curious. Thomas O'Connor, of Castleisland, was directed to call on Sergeant Donaldson, who would give him a ticket for London. But how was it Sergeant Donaldson became financial and ticket agent for *The Times?* Be it remembered, too, that these proceedings were in regard to witnesses who were "interposed" in the case as it was called, taken out of the ordinary and arranged course of proceedings, and for no other motive that he could imagine except that a witness might be hustled into the box. his evidence taken, and then hustled out of the box before there could be any cross-examination into his antecedents, before any test of the value or worthlessness of the evidence hurriedly given could be applied. But perhaps he was straying beyond the limits of his subject, and would not pursue that matter. In another instance a boy named Tom Walsh was sent for by the police. This Walsh, a lad of 19 years of age, had committed a series of frauds or attempted frauds on an Insurance Company, and when the District Inspector sent for him and put questions as to evidence he could give, the Inspector remarked, "I don't know what may happen to you about that Insurance Company." The boy, of course, took this as a threat, and it was a threat and something more. It was a threat that if he did not give evidence satisfactory to the police he would be prosecuted, and it was an intimation that if he gave evidence for *The Times* in London he would not be prosecuted for fraud. There could be no more serious charge against District Inspector Allen than using his position as an executive officer; he had been guilty of condoning a grave crime in the interest of an official conspiracy of agents of the Government. What were equal facilities? He could understand if the Government had taken up the challenge of Irish Members; if they had instituted a criminal prosecution on their own behalf, or even if they had had recourse to a Select Committee of the House, he could understand their course and would cheerfully recognize their right to use all the resources at their disposal; but the Government had not the courage to take either course. As to the declaration about treating the parties equally, it was unfair, it was treacherous, and so public opinion would regard it, to put forward *The Times* as a thin veil behind which all the official forces of the Government, all the resources of the public purse, were discovered every day in full and energetic action.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he hoped the House would pardon him if he passed lightly over certain points in the speeches of hon. Members opposite relating to topics he had often had to deal with, and at that late hour he ventured to think the House would not desire that he should again go over the details of the occurrences at Mitchelstown. Allusion had frequently been made to the telegram despatched by Captain Plunkett, and the hon. Member for West Belfast had again quoted that telegram as if it

consisted of the words, "Do not hesitate to shoot," but he must surely be aware, if he had paid any attention to the proceedings, that what Captain Plunkett telegraphed was, "Do not hesitate to shoot should it prove to be necessary," or words to that effect, and it was obvious that the final words governed the whole sense of the sentence. Into that, however, there was no need for him to enter further. Then as to Inspector Irwin. He had never been quite able to understand why Inspector Irwin was made the particular pet of hon. Gentlemen opposite, for there could be no doubt whatever that he was the man who gave the least justifiable order, if any unjustifiable order was given at all, which he did not admit, the order given by Inspector Irwin was unjustifiable, or the least justifiable, because it was the last order given. [*Cries of dissent and* "Buckshot!"] If hon. Gentlemen would pardon him for saying it, the legality of using buckshot against a crowd which had run away was as much open to question; the legality or illegality was the same whether the firing was with buckshot or bullets. But the whole circumstances in relation to Mitchelstown had been discussed *ad nauseum*, and discussed under far more favourable circumstances than those of the present time. The first observation he had to make in reference to the events that resulted in the death of the man Kinsella was that the illegality committed by the Emergency men, so he was advised on legal opinion, was a technical one. He did not deny the technical illegality.

MR. SEXTON, interrupting, said, the illegality was both technical and substantial; technical in that they refused to show their authority, and substantial in that they went to destrain on a farm, the legal interest of which had passed out of the owner's hands.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was informed by his hon. and learned Friend that the second ground, the second allegation of illegality, was not a substantial one. The hon. Gentleman then went on to make an accusation against the police for not having accompanied the Emergency men on the expedition. This accusation he was sorry to hear, because it was one of the things insisted upon, and the Government were always most anxious that they should not be regarded as being in the position of having to give protection to Emergency men in the same way as they were required to give protection to officers of the law, and the police would be acting contrary to the general order. He was not alluding to any special order that might be given; they would be acting against the general spirit of their instructions if they attempted to give that kind of protection to Emergency men, who were servants of the landlord, as they were bound to give to officers of the law. He had no doubt it was upon that ground that the police abstained from accompanying the Emergency men on their expedition. Another thing should be mentioned which the hon. Member appeared to have entirely forgotten when he was attacking the Emergency man Freeman, and that was that the Judge had declared from the Bench that it was admitted on all hands that Freeman had not been identified as the man who fired the fatal shot. It was not necessary for the House to go into the evidence; it was sufficient to satisfy the Judge and Jury, and that would probably satisfy the House. The hon. Member went on to refer to disgraceful treatment he said prisoners received from the police; and here he might at once tell the hon. Member that he was extremely anxious to use the method of summons in preference to warrant, and now that he found that a summons was effective, gave directions that unless there were special grounds for supposing that a summons would not be obeyed, the method of summons should be used. But why the warrant was used rather than the summons in the early days of the Crimes Act was because many of those whom the hon. Gentleman described, and no doubt correctly, as respectable persons, Members of the House and others, refused to obey a summons, and went careering over the country, escaping from the police in every direction, until the Executive were obliged to work by the method of warrant rather than by the more lenient method of summons. Then the hon. Member asked why prisoners were handcuffed. Well, as a rule, prisoners were not handcuffed. The regulations for the Constabulary on this point were that handcuffs should only be used if the prisoner was charged with the commission of a serious crime, if he

was known to be of bad or violent character, if there was reason to apprehend an attempt at escape or an attempt at rescue or violence. No prisoner was handcuffed except for one of these reasons, and no doubt in the particular case to which the hon. Gentleman alluded, the last was the very ground for the action of the police, they had reason to believe, from the state of feeling in the district, that there might be some attempt at rescue or some attempt at violence. But what the hon. Member said in regard to the Dunloe prisoners was most unreasonable. He complained that prisoners had been brought up in custody, that they did not give evidence, and they were remanded again and again, and taken back from whence they were brought. But who was to blame for this when the prisoners refused to give evidence? It was a legal inquiry held under Section I. of the Act. The men were capable of giving evidence, but they refused, and their conduct was applauded by hon. Gentlemen opposite. ["Hear, hear!" *and cries of* "They will continue to refuse."] He did not desire to control the opinion of hon. Members in the House, but they must be aware that if they took that view it was absolutely impossible for the police to take any course other than that of carefully guarding the safety of those persons who refused to obey the obligations of the law. Passing to the next point, the hon. Gentleman asked what course the Attorney General was going to take in the matter of Constable Swindell. To this he had to say that he had that evening received a telegram from the Attorney General, informing him that Swindell was going to be examined before a magistrate. He reminded the hon. Gentleman, who supposed an unusual course had been taken, that he was wrong, but that it would be most unusual to pursue the course he recommended. To proceed against any man under such circumstances simply on the verdict of a Coroner's Jury was not the ordinary practice in Ireland, nor, indeed, in England, and the Attorney General had strictly followed the precedents set him by his Predecessors. There then remained only the complaint of hon. Members of the conduct of the police in reference to *The Times* newspaper. The Government were accused of not dealing equally as between the two parties before the Royal Commission. He absolutely denied the allegation. Let the House note that until it could be proved or shown that any demand made on the Constabulary by one party had been granted to that party, and a similar request made by the other party had not been granted, under these circumstances, and under these circumstances alone, would it be legitimate for hon. Members to say the Government did not act equally between the parties. What particular proofs were there of this general accusation of unfairness? The hon. Member for Northampton said that tickets had been sent by *The Times* to the police to give to persons in certain neighbourhoods. He was bound to say he saw no illegality in this use of the Constabulary in Ireland, and if the other party in the case desired similar assistance, if they desired to send a ticket to any priest whose address was not accurately known and could not readily be found in any other way, no doubt the Constabulary would act in a similar way. Then the hon. Gentleman brought forward the case of Inspector Irwin, and here the accusation was that the Inspector had taken down in shorthand the evidence of a police constable or several police constables. Again he could see no illegality in that, and really could not see what there was to complain of in one person assisting another, both living in London, to put his evidence into shape. How was it, asked the hon. Member for West Belfast, all these members of the Force were in London. Well, they were there becase they had been subpœnaed by *The Times*. ["Hear, hear," *and cries of* "Not all."] The hon. Member appeared to be of opinion that it was in accordance with his desire that these members of the Force should continue in London; but he could assure the hon. Member, and those who appeared to agree with the hon. Member, that the absence of these officers was extremely inconvenient to the Irish Government. [An hon. MEMBER: Send them back then]. He had done everything in his power to diminish the number of constables off duty, because the Executive Government was seriously hampered by their absence. They were, however, obliged to be in London under the orders of the Court, having been subpœnaed by *The Times*. So far as he

knew there were no Constabulary officers in London except under such circumstances. The last case adduced in support of the allegations made was that of the boy Walsh.

MR. LABOUCHERE remarked that the right hon. Gentleman had not mentioned the case of Inspector Gray.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he understood that the facts put forward in that instance were not correct; he was informed that the hon. Gentleman was mistaken. As to Walsh, that was the very case he was not allowed yesterday in Committee to deal with; he was sorry for it, for, had he been allowed to deal with it, it would have saved part of the present discussion. The hon. Member for West Belfast was labouring under an entire and complete misapprehension in the matter. The allegation in this instance was that Inspector Allen was examining Walsh on behalf of *The Times*, and, in doing this, coerced him, under a threat of prosecution for fraud, unless he gave evidence for *The Times*. Well, both statements were made by the hon. Gentleman under complete misapprehension of the true character of the case. To begin with, the police officer absolutely denied that he ever used any threat at all; and, in the second place, the investigation he was engaged in, the examination he was conducting, was not an examination on behalf of *The Times*, but an investigation preliminary to an inquiry under Section 1 of the Crimes Act for criminal conspiracy; and, in so doing, the police officer was not exceeding his duty as he would have been had he been conducting an inquiry on behalf of *The Times;* he was acting strictly within his right and according to the duty imposed upon him by the office he held. Under such circumstances the House would see that the serious accusation as to the manner in which the Constabulary had been used in regard to the pending inquiry before the Commission was wholly without foundation. Speaking on behalf of the Government, they were bound to give every assistance they could to the Commission to find out the truth; that duty he presumed hon. Gentlemen would not deny was imposed on the Government and on every member of the community. But while he laid this down as a general proposition, setting it forth as the rule that governed the action of the Government, that any question put to the Government by the Commission they were bound to answer, yet they held themselves absolutely equal between the parties—they would give one party nothing that they would not be prepared, under similar circumstances, to give to the other party.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, in the right hon. Gentleman's statement in reply to criticisms upon the circumstances that attended the death of Kinsella he had not met one charge made by his hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast—namely, that the police, being fully acquainted with the circumstances that led to the belief that a breach of the peace was likely to take place from the action of these Emergency men who were going on an errand of questionable legality, ought to have been on the spot, not for the protection of the landlord's servants, the Emergency men—for, as everybody knew, they were perfectly well able to take care of themselves, and knew it themselves—but to prevent a breach of the peace and for the protection of the people should a threatening state of things arise. He said instructions were given to the police that they were not in any case to protect the Emergency men, and he drew a line of distinction between armed Emergency men, the servants of the landlord, and the Sheriff's officers. To this he (Mr. Dillon) listened with astonishment, for it was only yesterday the right hon. Gentleman was engaged in pointing out that a large portion of the police were permanently occupied in protecting armed Emergency men.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR, interposing, said, he must have been so unfortunate as to make his meaning obscure. What he meant was that when Emergency men were simply engaged as servants of the landlord in a seizure, that was a case very different from the duty of protecting the officers of the law. Of course, where Emergency men were in danger and asked for protection it was given.

MR. DILLON resumed. Did he understand that the police in Ireland, being fully armed with knowledge that a breach of the peace was likely to arise between armed men and unarmed peasants, were not to be on the spot to prevent that breach of the peace and arrest the offenders? It was admitted by the Chief Secretary that a considerable body of police were quartered in

daily association with the Emergency men, and they knew the latter were going to a place where a breach of the peace was likely to occur; they had nothing to do but follow the men, but for a set purpose they abstained from doing so. If that was the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman, and his idea of the use of the police force, it was singularly different from that of any other civilized Government. One of the first duties of a Police Force was to be present to prevent an anticipated breach of the peace. In this instance there was no question of protecting Emergency men, or assisting them to make the seizure; it was a question of protecting unfortunate unarmed people about to be attacked by a large force of men armed with deadly weapons. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that in the course of this most unsatisfactory trial the Judge stated that everybody admitted Freeman did not fire the fatal shot, and that the learned Judge's dictum ought to be enough to satisfy the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Generally conceded.

MR. DILLON: Let the House examine the facts. On the one hand was the statement that it was generally conceded that Freeman did not fire the shot. But he (Mr. Dillon) stood by at the inquest, and heard three men swear they saw Freeman shoot the man through the heart with their own eyes. Three men swore that, and with a circumstantiality he never saw exceeded. They swore that Freeman, before taking aim, exclaimed—"By God, I'll shoot you!" and then drew a revolver. They described his action; how he put the weapon across his left wrist to take better aim; stepped to within two yards of where Kinsella stood, and shot the man through the heart, and they saw the murdered man fall. In the face of these three eye-witnesses, who swore to their evidence in his (Mr. Dillon's) hearing, and near the place where the corpse of the murdered man lay, the right hon. Gentleman said it was generally conceded that this man Freeman never fired the fatal shot. He had heard the statement of the learned Judge, but he did not know what was before the Judge to induce him to make such a statement. But in reference to what the right hon. Gentleman said, it should be pointed out that Freeman was never tried, so that, when the right hon. Gentleman went on to say the Judge's statement evidently satisfied the jury, there was no jury in the case, for it never came to trial. The Grand Jury, the agents of Freeman's employers, interfered to save Freeman from trial; and, indeed, it was manifest that if it had come to trial the statement of the Judge, in face of the evidence of the three eye-witnesses referred to, would be a most improper one, for on matters of fact it was for the jury to decide. Therefore, he declared the explanations in this case wholly unsatisfactory. This unfortunate man was murdered in open daylight, in the presence of a number of witnesses who swore to the fact; his murder had gone unavenged, his murderer walked about the neighbourhood scorning at the Law, and blood cried to Heaven for vengence from the soil it stained. Then, take the case of a man with whom he was acquainted—Mr. John Malone, of Newbridge, Chairman of the Town Council, apprehended by the police with other gentlemen of the district. Mr. Malone was a gentleman who by no possibility could be suspected of being guilty of violence, or attempt to escape or interfere with the course of the most unjust law, but he, with a number of other gentlemen, well known to be peaceful, respectable citizens, and, though nothing had been alleged affording a shadow of excuse—these were subjected to proceedings only resorted to by the police in England against violent and dangerous criminals. These respectable citizens, who were charged with an offence of the lightest character—unlawful assemblage—though it was doubtful whether it was unlawful even under the Coercion Act—but, admitting it was unlawful—admitting the crime—it was but of a trifling character even in the view of the Irish Government; and to bring them through the streets of the town from Kilmainham, handcuffed like thieves or desperate criminals, was an outrage which, though it might gratify the spite of Irish officials, it would be found he was no false prophet when he said it would cause an amount of trouble in County Kildare that would not be got rid of for some years to come. Such proceedings exhibited the agents of the Government in the most odious light, more odious even than acts of high-handed oppression; they exhibited the

malignant and petty desire to inflict every sort of ignominy, contumely, and disgrace of men respected by all their fellow-citizens. The right. hon. Gentleman asked what was to be done when witnesses refused to give evidence before a Commission of inquiry under Clause 1. Let the right hon. Gentleman know this fact, that might also interest Members of the House, that these peasants did refuse to give evidence under Clause 1, and that they beat him and his clause out of County Donegal. He started an inquiry in Dunloe and other districts under Clause 1, but these Donegal peasants hunted him and his magistrates out of the County. He could tell the right hon. Gentleman this, further, from County Donegal, that he defied him to get any man to give evidence under Clause 1. He admitted that under this iniquitous and horrible Act the right hon. Gentleman was entitled to prosecute and imprison the people, but he denied that he was entitled to murder them; he could imprison them, but he was not allowed to take their lives. The law never contemplated the taking of aged men on an outside-car in inclement weather 35 miles through the cold and rain, not allowing them sufficient covering or food, to Derry, and to repeat this three times. This was for no crime whatever, but to further inquiry into an alleged combination of tenants which, if it existed, had no criminality in it. No crime were they charged with but that of living in a poverty-stricken district, striving to get together a few meals of potatoes to keep body and soul together. Treated like dogs as they had been he was proud of these poor, poverty-stricken peasants of Donegal, who had such a sound respect for liberty as to defy the right hon. Gentleman and his Coercion Act tyranny. A few words he had to say in regard to the proposed enormous evictions on the Olphert estate in Donegal. He sought to reply to the right hon. Gentleman in Committee yesterday, but was unable to do so owing to the course taken. The right hon. Gentleman said that Mr. Olphert was an improving landlord, a popular landlord, and that no trouble had arisen on the estate until the agitators on whose shoulders all the disorders of Ireland were laid visited the district 18 months ago. He asked the right hon. Gentleman in debate did he mean to say that no trouble had arisen there before, and he said, "No, nothing of the kind; Mr. Olphert had always been a resident, popular, and improving landlord." Well, he confessed, taken without warning, he was astounded at the audacity of the statement, though he was accustomed to strong assurances from the right hon. Gentleman. But, as a fact, in 1884, Mr. Olphert evicted the whole of a townland, about 50 tenants, and after a protracted struggle they were reinstated on some terms of compromise through the intervention of Father M'Fadden, of Gweedore. So, then, the dispute did not begin with the action of agitators 18 months ago. But to bring home to the minds of Members the magnitude of the injury to be perpetrated at great expense to taxpayers, and by the agency of the Royal Irish Constabulary, he would be compelled to refer to a remoter period, when the House was so struck with the condition of things on the Olphert estate, in Donegal, that a special Committee was appointed to inquire into the distress that prevailed. He would read from the Report of the proceedings of that Committee, which sat in June, 1858. The inquiry was into the causes of the destitution that existed in certain districts in Donegal, within which the Olphert estate was situated. The parish priest of the time, in giving his evidence, referred to the wretched condition of the tenants; how their clothing could not be worse, how they partially existed on sea-weed.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now travelling wide of the Constabulary Vote in entering into the evidence given before this Committee so many years ago.

MR. DILLON said, he was anxious to observe the Rules of Order. Yesterday he pointed out that a large Constabulary force was actually on the march to assist at the eviction of a large number of tenants on this estate, and he was met with the assertion that what was taking place was due entirely to the course taken by himself and his friends, and that the landlord of the estate had ever been kind and indulgent, and he thought this justified the reference. He was going to show that the estate had been under a merciless, rack-renting, evicting landlord for

the past 30 years; that the tenants then were in a state of abject destitution, and thus he proposed to meet the allegation that the landlord never had any trouble or distress until the advent of himself and his friends.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he certainly never said that the district was prosperous.

MR. DILLON said, the right hon. Gentleman certainly gave the Committee to understand that Mr. Olphert was a good landlord, and that there never had been any trouble until himself and his friends intervened. Until then he gave the Committee yesterday to understand that the tenants were contented with their landlord. In view of the Speaker's ruling he would not go at length into the proceedings before the Select Committee; but he could prove beyond all question, and he invited Members to examine the evidence for themselves, the state of things that existed long years ago, when these tenants were found by visitors in such a state that they had not sufficient clothing for decency, that they had to rely on sea-weed to preserve themselves from starvation.

MR. SPEAKER: I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Gentleman, but this has nothing to do with the present Constabulary Vote.

MR. DILLON said, he would leave the subject, but he greatly feared that with 500 Constabulary marching to assist in levelling the houses of these unfortunate tenants it would very soon have a great deal to do with the Constabulary Vote.

MR. SPEAKER: My interruption of the hon. Member was to point out that to allude to the past history of the estate as he was doing, and the action of the landlord then, was foreign to the Constabulary Vote. If he has anything to urge in reference to the Constabulary, that they have transgressed their duty, anything in that respect would be in Order. But he would not be in Order in entering at length into a general account of the estate and the tenantry 30 years ago.

MR. DILLON said, he would not pursue the subject, but he would conclude with the hope that he had said enough to show the right hon. Gentleman that he was misinformed, and to induce him to institute some inquiry before he launched this force against these unfortunate tenants.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he yesterday received a direct challenge from the right hon. Gentleman who, unfortunately, held the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland, in reference to the troubles that occurred in Fermoy in the past year. The right hon. Gentleman had evidently received his information from the usual sources, and made the singular statement that the police were attacked at Fermoy in consequence of the excitement arising out of the trial and committal of the Member for North-East Cork by the Resident Magistrates, Messrs. Eaton and Stokes, in Mitchelstown. He had no opportunity of replying to the right hon. Gentleman on the previous day. Fermoy had always been a quiet town, but on the night following the trial of the Member for the district there was naturally some little excitement and a desire to know what had taken place. On his arrival there a certain number of Nationalists came to his hotel and asked him to say a few words. There was nothing unreasonable in this, though he confessed, having left Cork early that morning, he was more anxious for rest than to address a meeting. He, however, complied with the request, to give an account of what had taken place, and for the purpose went to the rooms of the Young Ireland Society. Some 300 or 400 people assembled, and to these he commenced to speak from a window. On the outskirts of the crowd he noticed some four sub-constables and a sergeant. He had not been speaking more than a minute-and-a-half when from the opposite corner of the square a large body of police appeared, wheeled into line, and advanced towards the people with batons drawn. Not unnaturally, many of the people, among whom were women and children, remembering Mitchelstown, Youghal, and other valiant deeds, under the doughty championship of the right hon. Gentleman, seeing the threatening attitude of the police, began to run. The police came up under the leadership of Sub-Inspector Jones, of Fermoy, and suddenly a policeman deliberately raised his baton and struck a man in the crowd; then there was a general scrimmage, the people ran, the

police charged about, and shouts, shrieks, cries, and groans arose on all sides. Seeing this, and knowing the temper of the police, and having been twice bludgeoned himself by them, and bearing in mind the order "baton them, but don't arrest," he ran out and did what he could; but the story would have been a great deal worse but for the arrival of the Resident Magistrate, Mr. Dunstable. Mr. Dunstable behaved like a gentleman, and thanked him for what he had done to prevent the disorderly outrage by the police on the people of Fermoy. Sub-Inspector Jones, however, split up his force into three parties, leaving one party with Mr. Dunstable. There was never any trouble where Mr. Dunstable was, but trouble followed wherever Jones and his heroes went. Two incidents he would mention that came under his observation. At the corner where the bridge crossed the Blackwater he saw a little girl running and a policeman following her with baton raised. He remonstrated with the man, and asked how he dared raise his staff against a child. The policeman said she was going to throw stones; but there was no evidence of it—and Minnie Murphy was but a child of 10 years. With Mr. Dunstable's aid the child was allowed to escape. But the police had extinguished the lights on the bridge, and were charging wildly here and there in the dark, batoning everybody they met. The right hon. Gentleman sat and smiled as Members talked of the actions of the Constabulary, but he should have liked the right hon. Gentlemen to have seen what he saw that night. He saw an old woman endeavouring to escape struck on the back by a policeman with his baton—the baton broke under the blow. Here was the baton broken with the force of the blow on the back of an old woman. [Here the hon. Member produced part of the broken staff.] Of course hon. and gallant Members who had done a good deal of execution among "Black men," whom the Chief of the Government reprobated, could afford to smile at anything that brought pain and misfortune on their fellow-creatures; but, perhaps, if the Chief Secretary realized what it meant, he would not allow that sort of thing to go on. During last week he happened to be in Kildare. He was not ashamed to say he was engaged in prosecuting the Plan of Campaign. On Monday he happened there to speak to a gentleman, a Conservative, a subscriber to the Loyal and Patriotic League—the hon. Member for South Huntingdon (Mr. Smith-Barry) would recognize the name if he mentioned it—and this gentleman said he had never seen anything more brutal, more deserving of reprobation than the conduct of the police in the streets of Naas. Such cases might be mentioned by the hundred. He could himself refer to 56 such cases, in 32 of which he was witness of the scenes, scenes some of which were enough to make even Tory blood run cold. Of course the right hon. Gentleman had always a different version, but then it was derived from the very persons who were responsible for these troubles. Murder had been committed in the name of law in many districts. Although barren of a result, it was still the duty of Irish Members to press these matters on the attention of the House and of a Minister unworthy of his position.

Mr. Arthur Balfour rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Much confusion; during which Dr. Tanner placed the broken bton on the Front Bench, beside the seat of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who removed it to the table.

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 141; Noes 39: Majority 102.—Div. List, No. 341.)

Dr. TANNER, addressing the Speaker seated, and with his hat on, said he had to call attention to a personal matter. Just now he left a broken baton near the Chief Secretary, that the right hon. Gentleman might look at it, and see how it had been broken. Since then a private Member—he did not know the Division he represented, but he gave him his name as Thomas Fielden—insisted on going into the Aye Lobby, and refused to restore the broken baton, which was his (Dr. Tanner's) property. He (Dr. Tanner) regretted the absence of the Speaker from the Chair, or he would have mentioned this at once. How

came the Speaker to be absent and then present?

MR. SPEAKER: The House is almost as tired as I am of these wretched personal disputes that circulate around the hon. Member for Mid Cork. At the same time, if any hon. Member has taken the baton referred to, I hope he will at once restore it.

MR. FIELDEN (Lancashire, S. E., Middleton) said, the baton was thrown upon the floor, as he understood, for examination by any Member who cared to look at it; but if the hon. Member wished to have it——

MR. SPEAKER: I am sure the hon. Member ——

DR. TANNER: He took it off the desk.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I am sure the hon. Gentleman will not think it necessary to pursue the subject further. He will be good enough to hand the baton back.

MR. FIELDEN then replaced the baton on the Table of the House.

Question put accordingly, "That £369,288 stand part of the Resolution."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 141; Noes 39: Majority 102.—(Div. List, No. 342.)

Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."

MR. SEXTON asked, on behalf of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), who had been compelled to leave, how it was that the promised copies of Papers, in reference to Mr. Thomas Moroney and his imprisonment, had not been forwarded as had been promised at the Irish Office?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had just written to the hon. Member, enclosing copies of medical Reports, and other matters in reference to this subject.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at ten minutes after Two o'clock.

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TO

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VOLUME CCCXXXI.

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When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

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Moved, "That the Bill be now considered" *Dec* 7, 1426
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Question put accordingly, "That 'now,' &c;" A. 202, N. 141; M. 61 (D.L. 331)
Moved, "That the Main Question be now put;" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*); Main Question put, and agreed to; Further Proceedings adjourned

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c. Bill withdrawn * *Nov* 29 [Bill 204]

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Land Charges Registration and Searches Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Haldane*)
c. As amended, considered *Nov* 27, 455
Read 3° * *Nov* 29 [Bill 356]
l. Commons' Amendts. considered and agreed to *Dec* 4, 980; Consequential Amendts. made

Land Law (Ireland) Act (1887) Amendment (Leaseholders) Bill
(*Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Pinkerton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Nov* 23 [Bill 388]

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Colonel King-Harman*)
c. Order for Committtee read *Nov* 23, 32
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide that the Irish Land Commission may take an account of the amount of arrears of rent due from tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings, who have made, or shall make, application to have judicial rents fixed for their holdings, and may decide whether the whole, or any, or what part of such arrears ought to be paid, and whether in one payment or by instalments, and at what dates the same should be paid" (*Mr. Parnell*); after debate, Question put; A. 148, N. 182; M. 34, (D. L. 301)

[*cont.*

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—cont.
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to enable the Land Commission to permit of tenants, when purchasing their holdings, to also purchase grass land or other lands not held to be used wholly or mainly for the purposes of tillage and situate in the neighbourhood of their holdings" (*Colonel Nolan*); after short debate, Question put; A. 128, N. 159; M. 31 (D. L. 302); Committee—R.P.
Committee—R.P. *Nov* 26, 164 [Bill 385]
Committee; Report *Nov* 27, 328
As amended, considered *Nov* 28, 459
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Nov* 29, 558
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Dr. Clark*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 202, N. 141; M. 61
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 581
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3°
l. Read 1ª * (*L. Ashbourne*) *Nov* 30 (No. 293)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *Dec* 4, 980
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day two months") (*The Lord Denman*); after debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c.; resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª
Committee, after short debate *Dec* 6, 1221
Standing Order No. XXXV. considered, and dispensed with; Report; read 3ª
c. Lords' Amendt. considered, amended, and agreed to *Dec* 10, 1732
l. Bill returned from the Commons with the Amendt. agreed to, with an Amendt.; Amendt. considered, and agreed to *Dec* 11, 1735

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill
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(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Report of Select Comm. *Dec* 4 [No. 294]
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Privilege

Service of a Summons in the Outer Lobby on Mr. Sheehy, M.P.

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress" (*Mr. Sheehy*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to *Nov* 26, 207

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the attempted service (together with the attendant circumstances) of a summons upon Mr. Sheehy, Member for South Galway, made in the Outer Lobby of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*), 207; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; List of the Committee, 220

Question proposed, "That Mr. T. M. Healy be a Member of the Committee;" Question put, and agreed to

Question proposed, "That Mr. Hanbury be a Member of the Committee;" Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records; that five be a quorum; to withdraw immediately;" Question put, and agreed to

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Letters Posted to Members of this House, Observations, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton) *Dec* 1, 812

Ordered, That the said Letters be referred to the Select Committee on Privilege (Service of a Summons in the Outer Lobby on Mr. Sheehy, M.P.)

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up and read *Dec* 8, 1566

Moved, "That the report be considered upon Tuesday next" (*Mr. Sexton*); Motion withdrawn

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [No. 411]

Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton). Mr. John Morley; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Dec* 10, 1613

Privilege—Attashment of a Member (*Mr. Gent-Davis*), Letter received by Mr. Speaker; Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Speaker; Observations, Mr. T. M. Healy; Reply, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 28, 484; Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. E. Robertson; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury *Nov* 29, 523

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Postponement of Notice, Mr. T. M. Healy *Dec* 3, 857

New Writs

Issue of Writs, Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Dec* 7, 1423

Moved, "That a New Writ be issued in the room of the late Major Ross, the Member for Maidstone" (*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Akers-Douglas*) *Dec* 7, 1425; after short debate, Motion agreed to

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Jackson*) *Nov* 27, 456; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Jackson*) *Nov* 30, 729; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" *Dec* 8, 1566; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" *Dec* 11, 1906; Question put, and agreed to

Sittings of the House (*Exemption from the Standing Order*)

Moved, "That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Nov* 23, 32; Question put; A. 195, N. 159; M. 36 (D. L. 300)

Moved, "That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Nov* 26, 164; Question put; A. 207, N. 135; M. 72 (D. L. 304)

Moved, "That the proceedings on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Nov* 27, 328; Question put; A. 202, N. 129; M. 73 (D. L. 310)

Exemption of the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means from the Standing Order, Questions, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 29, 526

Moved, "That the proceedings on the Committee of Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Nov* 30, 614; Question put; A. 167, N. 117; M. 50 (D. L. 318)

Moved, "That the proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Dec* 3, 858; Question put; A. 179, N. 97; M. 82 (D. L. 325)

Moved, "That the proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Stand-

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Sittings and Adjournment of the House*—cont.

ing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Dec* 6, 1275; Question put; A. 226, N. 117; M. 109 (D. L. 328)

Moved, "That the proceedings on Supply, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Dec* 10, 1615; Question put; A. 176, N. 97; M. 79 (D. L. 133)

Saturday Sittings

Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 23, 24

Moved, "That the Sitting of the House this day be held subject to the Rules and Orders in force with regard to the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Dec* 1, 731; Motion agreed to

Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Dec* 8, 1498

Observation, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 29, 558

The Twelve o'Clock Rule

Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Mr. Picton [no reply] *Nov* 27, 326

A Point of Order, Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Dec* 10, 1614

Printing and Publication of Reports and Proceedings in Parliament, Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *Nov* 23, 17; Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury *Dec* 10, 1600

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Observations, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) [Questions thereon] *Nov* 23, 28; Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury [further Questions thereon] *Nov* 27, 324; Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury [further Questions thereon] *Nov* 28, 486; Question, Mr. John Morley; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury [further Questions thereon] *Nov* 30, 611; Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. A. E. Pease; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury *Dec* 3, 855; Ministerial Statement, The First Lord of the Treasury [Questions thereon] *Dec* 7, 1421; Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Dec* 8, 1564; Questions, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury *Dec* 10, 1613; Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell, The Lord Mayor of Dublin

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Westminster Hall, Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *Dec* 11, 1752

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Arrangements of this House, Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *Dec* 3, 824

Fog in the House, Question, Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works *Dec* 10, 1611

Parliament—Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887

Prosecution of Irish Members, Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 23, 26; Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *Nov* 26, 162; Questions, The Lord Mayor of Dublin; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland *Nov* 27, 327; Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 30, 610

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Matter, Egypt—Despatch of a British Battalion to Suakin
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Parliament—The New Rules of Procedure, 1888
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Nailers and Small Chainmakers, Questions, Mr. Cunninghame Graham, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Dec* 1, 732

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PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS
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c. Committee; Report *Nov* 29, 583 [Bill 348]
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Subsequent Resolutions agreed to
Considered in Committee *Dec* 1, 734—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, Vote 1
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